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"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."
"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."
Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
CENSOR. DEP.

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THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1882.

SCIENTIFIC NOTICES.

The History of the Earth and Moon.

WE think that Mr. George Howard Darwin[1] bids fair to rival in renown his distinguished father. He seems to have taken in hand the only portion of creation which the better known writer and investigator has let alone. What is on the earth has been long subject to the scrutinizing observation of the elder Darwin, and now the younger exercises equal care and diligence in dealing with the things above the earth, so far at least as the solar system is concerned. The same careful study, the same untiring diligence and inexhaustible patience, characterize both, but as their respective lines of research are different, so of course their methods of investigation are far apart. The one is the observer, the other the analyser, the one looks around and draws his conclusion from what meets his eye; the other is the profound student, whose study is his field of observation, and whose conclusions are drawn from the unerring laws of geometry and mathematics. We may question the outcome of the work of the former, but that of the latter is built upon what cannot be gainsayed. Human passions and feelings will have their share in our estimate of the one, but the other, like the subject with which it deals, soars above such distractions, and has its place in those pure regions where human weaknesses are unknown.

[1] Mr. G. H. Darwin was Second Wrangler and Second Smith's Prizeman in 1868, and is now Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

It is with the calculations of Mr. George Darwin and the surprising results which are their outcome, that we have briefly to deal. The subject is too vast and too profound to be more than glanced at in our paper. Our aim is to direct the attention of mathematicians to the papers which have been published by the Royal Society, and to give to the general reader some idea of the important conclusions which of necessity follow from these investigations.

We shall, as much as possible, allow Mr. Darwin to speak for himself; which he is in a remarkable manner qualified to do, not more by his profound papers for the skilled mathematician, than by his lucid and simple summaries for those who are not given to such studies.

Dealing as he does with astronomy we must remark that his work is not that of an observer. His instruments are pen, ink, and paper, not telescopes; his labour is in the study and not in the observatory; in short, he is a mathematician, and not what is popularly implied by an astronomer. Yet, work of this kind is as practical in its results as that which comes of observation; as witness the discovery of the planet Neptune in 1846, by those two great men, Adams and Leverrier, quite independently of one another; who by their mathematical calculations, without a single glance through a telescope, pointed out the exact spot in the heavens where the as-yet-unknown planet was to be found, and where the telescope, thus directed, proved it to be. So is it with Mr. G. Darwin's investigations: the problems he set himself are worked out by the higher analysis, and the result is, the history of the solar system for numberless ages; and more especially of our Earth and Moon, from the time when they were but one planet until the present day: with no small insight into the course which lies before them, and their mutual relation to, and influence upon one another until it shall please their Divine Maker to bring them to an end.

Researches of this kind have occupied, as we can well imagine, several years, and have been carried on in that orderly manner which alone could insure success. From time to time the results have been laid before the Royal Society, first in abstract in their Proceedings,[1] and then in full among their Transactions.[2] How methodical was the

[1] Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol., xxix 1879.
[2] Transactions of the same, vol. 171, 1879, and vol. 172, 1880.

work we may form some idea, by the very names of the papers which came in due succession.

1. On the bodily tides of viscous and semi-elastic spheroids; and upon the ocean tides upon a yielding nucleus.

2. On the precession of a viscous spheroid, and on the remote history of the earth.

3. On problems connected with the tides of a viscous spheroid.

4. The determination of the secular effects of tidal friction by a graphical method.

Here we see (1) the Moon and Earth and the action of the ocean tides thereon, then (2) their mutual action on one another as the result of those tides, with the outcome of this in the disturbance and alteration of their orbits, (3) geological and thermal results, and (4) the gradual effect of all this during those long ages, which astronomers call secular periods.

Upon these follows a fifth paper, in which the combined results are gathered up, and as it were put into shape: so that the mind's eye may trace them back to the earliest times in which they were concerned, and onward to the dim future which may yet await them.

This fifth paper, he says, "is not so much an abstract as a rough substitute for analysis, the investigation being entirely analytical and rather long and complicated." In due time it was given in full in the Transactions, but we shall first content ourselves with the "rough substitute."

"In this and the previous papers," he says, "it is supposed that tides are raised in a planet by its satellites, and the problem is, to determine the various effects which result from the friction of those tides. The hypothesis generally adopted in these papers is that the planet is a viscous body, and that the tides are a bodily distortion of the whole mass of the planet; but nearly all the results would also follow from the friction of oceanic tides upon a rigid nucleus. The investigation is principally directed towards the case of the Earth, Sun, and Moon, and the phrascology of the paper is taken from our own planet and satellite; but the methods may be extended to the other planets." And now Mr. Darwin shall give us the outcome of the work of these tides especially upon the Earth and Moon; what each does to the other in affecting its motions, and therein and thereby altering not only its speed in its orbit, but the form of that orbit itself, and over and above

this, the relative position of the two orbits to one another.

But to understand the changes which have been effected in those long passed ages, we must call to mind what is the present state of affairs. We all know that now the Moon revolves round the Earth in 27·3 days, in an elliptical orbit which has what is called an eccentricity of one-eighteenth, which we know means that its longer axis exceeds its shorter one by that quantity. This lunar orbit is inclined at an angle of five degrees nine minutes, to a certain plane which is said to be "proper to the orbit," and this proper plane is itself inclined to the ecliptic at a small angle of about eight seconds, and intersects the ecliptic in the equinoctial line; it lies on the same side of the ecliptic as the Earth's equator. What are called periodical inequalities are here neglected.

"In this and the previous papers," says Mr. Darwin, "it was proved that frictional tides in the earth are causing, and must have caused, changes in the configuration of the system. These changes in the past may be summarized as follows:—

1. The lunar period must have been *shorter* in the past, and may be traced back from the present 27·3 days until initially the moon revolved round the earth in from *two to four hours.*

2. The inclination of the orbit to the proper plane must have been *larger* in the past, and may be traced back from the present five degrees nine minutes until it was six or seven degrees. This six or seven was a maximum inclination, and in the more remote past the inclination was less, and initially was very small or zero.

3. The inclination of the proper plane to the ecliptic must have been *greater* in the past, and may be traced back from the present eight seconds until it was in very early times about eleven degrees forty-five minutes. It is possible that initially this inclination was less, and that this was a maximum value.

4. The eccentricity of the orbit must have been *smaller* in the past. Either at one time it had a minimum value, before which it had a maximum value, and again earlier it was very small or zero; or else the maximum value never occurred, and the eccentricity had been always increasing. The history of the eccentricity depends on the nature of the tides in the earth, but the former of these alterations seems the more probable.

So much with respect to the Moon.

We will now consider the Earth.

At the present time the Earth rotates in twenty-four hours; its equator is inclined at about nine seconds to a plane, which in this paper is called the proper plane of the Earth. This proper plane is inclined at an angle of twenty-three degrees twenty-eight minutes to the ecliptic, and its intersection with the ecliptic is the equinoctial line. (In the ordinary mode of statement this proper plane is called the mean equator, and the true equator is described as nutating about the mean equator with a period of nineteen years, and an amplitude of nine seconds).

It is here proved that the frictional tides in the Earth have caused changes which may be summarized as follows:—

5. The Earth's period of rotation, or the day, must have been *shorter* in the past, and it may be traced back from its present value of twenty-four hours until initially it was from *two to four* hours in length. It was then identical with the moon's period of revolution described in (1).

6. The inclination of the equator to the Earth's proper plane must have been *larger* in the past, and may be traced back from the present value of nine seconds until it was about two degrees forty-five minutes. This was a maximum inclination, and in the more remote past the inclination was less, and initially it was very small or zero.

7. The inclination of the Earth's proper plane to the ecliptic must have been *smaller* in the past, and it may be traced back from its present value of twenty-three degrees twenty-eight minutes until initially it was eleven degrees forty-five minutes, or perhaps somewhat less. It was then *identical* with the proper plane of the lunar orbit, and this is true whether or not eleven degrees forty-five minutes was a maximum inclination of the lunar proper plane to the ecliptic as described in (3).

The preceding statements may be subject to varieties of detail, according to the nature of the tides raised in the Earth, but the above is a summary of what appears to be the most probable course of evolution.

The hypothesis which is suggested as most probable is, that the more recent changes in the system have been principally due to oceanic tidal friction, and that the more ancient changes were produced by bodily tidal friction.

These seven statements, when taken together, exhibit the Earth and Moon initially nearly in contact: the Moon

always opposite the same face of the Earth, or moving very slowly relatively to the Earth's surface; the whole system rotating in from two to four hours, about an axis inclined to the normal to the ecliptic, at an angle of eleven degrees forty-five minutes, or somewhat less; and the Moon moving in a circular orbit, the plane of which is nearly coincident with the Earth's equator. This initial configuration suggests that the Moon was produced by the RUPTURE, in consequence of rapid rotation or other causes, of a primeval planet, whose mass was made up of the present Earth and Moon. The coincidence is noted in the paper, that the shortest period of revolution of a fluid mass of the same mean density as the Earth, which is consistent with an ellipsoidal form of equilibrium, is two hours twenty four minutes: and that if the Moon were to revolve about the Earth with this periodic time, the surfaces of the two bodies would be almost in contact with one another.

Tidal friction is a *vera causa*, and the only postulates of this theory of the evolution of our system are lapse of time, and the non-existence of sufficient diffused matter to materially affect the motions of the Moon and Earth through space.

The systems of the other planets of the solar system are reviewed from the point of view of this tidal theory of evolution; and it is found that there are many confirmatory circumstances, and none which appear condemnatory. But as the present investigation only treats of a planet with a single satellite, it necessarily leaves many points untouched. In relation to this theory, the most interesting points are the two satellites of Mars, and the inclinations of the orbits of Jupiter's satellites to their proper planes."

Perhaps the most striking feature in these results of tidal friction of the Moon upon the Earth, and of Earth again upon the Moon, is the gradual and necessary separation of them, one from the other. Mr. Darwin explains it thus:—

"Since the Moon is tending to retard the Earth's diurnal rotation, it is obvious that the Earth must exercise a force on the Moon tending to accelerate her linear velocity. The effect of this force is to cause her to *recede* from the Earth, and to decrease her orbital angular velocity. Hence tidal re-action causes a secular retardation of the Moon's mean motion." Curiously enough, this explains what has hitherto been an unexplained secular acceleration of the Moon of about four seconds per century.

But this increase of distance between the Earth and Moon, by the withdrawal of the satellite at first from its union, and then from its close proximity to the Earth, is diminishing the force of the tidal friction; so that what at first was brought about in comparatively short intervals of time, now requires secular periods to effect the result. Looking back into the long passed ages, we see the day, month, and obliquity all diminishing, and the change proceeding at a rapidly increasing rate; so that an amount of change, which at the beginning (*i.e.* in times nearer to our own) required many millions of years, at the end (*i.e.* the further end) only required as many thousands. The reason of this is, that the Moon's distance diminishes with great rapidity, and as the effects vary as the square of the tide-generating force, they vary as the inverse sixth power of the Moon's distance, or, in physical language, the height of the tide increases with great rapidity, and so also does the Moon's attraction. Thus the lunar effects increase in importance as we look backwards.

Now perhaps we may be prepared to take our stand beside Mr. Darwin, and with him review his tidal theory of evolution, so far at least as he applies it to the Moon and Earth; leaving out of our present consideration its application to the other members of the solar system. "I will now collect," he says,[1] "the various results so far as to form a sketch of what the previous investigations show as to the probable history of the Earth and Moon; and in order to indicate how far the history is the result of calculation, references will be given to the parts of my several papers in which each point is especially considered."—These references we do not give, because they are of no use except to those who have the Transactions themselves of the Royal Society, and who can follow the higher mathematics therein involved.

He takes us back through the far distant ages, and we may imagine ourselves standing some fifty-four millions of years ago—for a less period will not suffice for the actions which are to produce our present Earth and Moon—and in calm, passionless, scientific language he tells us what is that stupendous body which is wildly whirling round before us. "We begin with a planet not very much more than eight thousand miles in diameter, and probably partly solid, partly liquid and partly gaseous. This planet is rotating

[1] Transactions of the Royal Society, Vol. 171, 1880.

about an axis inclined at eleven or twelve degrees to the normal to the ecliptic, with a period of from two to four hours, and is revolving about the Sun with a period not very much shorter than our present year. The rapidity of the planet's rotation causes so great a compression of its figure that it cannot continue to exist in an ellipsoidal form with stability: or else it is so nearly unstable that complete instability is induced by the solar tides. The planet then separates into two masses, the larger being the Earth and the smaller the Moon. I do not attempt to define the mode of separation, or to say whether the Moon was initially more or less annular. At any rate it must be assumed that the smaller mass became more or less conglomerated and finally fused into a spheroid —perhaps in consequence of impacts between its constituent meteorites, which were once part of the primeval planet. Up to this point the history is largely speculative, and although the limiting ellipticity of form of a rotating mass of fluid is known, yet the conditions of its stability and, *a fortiori*, of its rupture, have not as yet been investigated.

We now have the Earth and Moon nearly in contact with one another, and rotating nearly as though they were parts of one rigid body.

This is the system which has been made the subject of the present dynamical investigation.

As the two masses are not rigid, the attraction of each distorts the other; and if they do not move rigorously with the same periodic time, each raises a tide in the other. Also the Sun raises tides in both.

In consequence of the frictional resistance of these tidal motions such a system is dynamically unstable. If the Moon had moved orbitally a little faster than the Earth rotates, she must have fallen back into the Earth: thus the existence of the Moon compels us to believe that the equilibrium broke down by the Moon revolving orbitally a little slower than the Earth rotates. Perhaps the actual rupture into two masses was the cause of this slower motion: for if the detached mass retained the same moment of momentum as it had initially, when it formed part of the primeval planet, this would, I think, necessarily be the case.

In consequence of the tidal friction the periodic time of the Moon (or the month) increases in length, and that of the Earth's rotation (or the day) also increases; but the month increases in length at a much greater rate than the

day. At some early stage in the history of the system, the Moon had conglomerated into a spheroidal form and had acquired a rotation about an axis nearly parallel with that of the Earth.

We will now follow the Moon itself for a time.

The axial rotation of the Moon is retarded by the attraction of the Earth on the tides raised in the Moon, and this retardation takes place at a far greater rate than the similar retardation of the Earth's rotation.

As soon as the Moon rotates round her axis with *twice* the angular velocity with which she revolves in her orbit, the position of her axis of rotation (parallel with the Earth's axis) becomes dynamically unstable. The obliquity of the lunar equator to the plane of the orbit increases, attains a maximum, and then diminishes. Meanwhile the lunar axial rotation is being reduced towards identity with the orbital motion.

Finally, her equator is nearly coincident with the plane of her orbit, and the attraction of the Earth on a tide, which degenerates into a permanent ellipticity of the lunar equator, causes her always to show the same face to the Earth.[1]

All this must have taken place early in the history of the Earth, to which I now return.

As the month increases in length the lunar orbit becomes eccentric, and the eccentricity reaches a maximum when the month occupies about *a rotation and a half* of the Earth. The maximum of eccentricity is probably not large. After this the eccentricity diminishes. The plane of the lunar orbit is at first identical with the Earth's equator, but as the Moon recedes from the Earth, the Sun's attraction begins to make itself felt. Here then we must introduce the conception of the two ideal planes (here called the "proper planes"), to which the motion of the Earth and Moon must be referred. The lunar proper plane is at first inclined at a very small angle to the Earth's proper plane, and the orbit and equator coincide with their respective proper planes.

As soon as the Earth rotates with *twice* the angular velocity with which the Moon revolves in her orbit, a new instability sets in. The month is then about *twelve* of our present hours, and the day is about *six* of our present hours

[1] This explanation of the phenomenon was first given by Helmholtz (as Mr. Darwin mentions). Laplace has shown that this is a necessary consequence of the elliptic form of the lunar equator.

in length. The inclinations of the lunar orbit and of the equator to their respective proper planes increase. The inclination of the lunar orbit to its proper plane increases to a maximum of six or seven degrees, and ever after diminishes; the inclination of the equator to its proper plane increases to a maximum of about two degrees forty-five minutes, and ever after diminishes. The maximum inclination of the lunar orbit to its proper plane takes place when the day is a little less than *nine* of our present hours, and the month a little less than *six* of our present days. The maximum inclination of the equator to its proper plane takes place earlier than this.

Whilst these changes have been going on, the proper planes have been themselves changing in their positions, relatively to one another, and to the ecliptic.

At first they were nearly coincident with one another and with the Earth's equator, but they then open out, and the inclination of the lunar proper plane to the ecliptic continually diminishes, whilst that of the terrestrial proper plane continually increases.

At some stage the Earth has become more rigid, and oceans have been formed, so that it is probable that *oceanic* tidal friction has come to play a more important part than *bodily* tidal friction. If this be the case, the eccentricity of the orbit, after passing through a stationary phase, begins to increase again.

We have now traced the system to a state in which the day and month are increasing, but at unequal rates; the inclination of the lunar proper plane to the ecliptic and of the orbit to its proper plane are diminishing; the inclination of the terrestrial proper plane to the ecliptic is increasing, and of the equator to its proper plane is diminishing; and the eccentricity of the orbit is increasing.

No new phase now supervenes, and at length we have the system in its present configuration.

The minimum time in which the changes from first to last can have taken place is fifty-four millions of years."

In the third of the previous papers among the 'Problems' which Mr. Darwin considered were two which are especially valuable to geologists, of which he says: "It was shown that there are other collateral results of the viscosity of the earth; for during this course of evolution the earth's mass must have suffered a screwing motion, so that the polar regions have travelled a little from west to east relatively to the equator. This affords a possible

explanation of the north and south trend of our great continents. Also a large amount of heat has been generated by friction deep down in the earth, and some very small part of the observed increase of temperature in underground borings may be attributable to this cause."

If the reader will draw a few diagrams of the different stages of the process above described, he will find them of great use in following Mr. Darwin's investigations, and will see grow before his eyes the wondrous work which has resulted in the present system.

In conclusion we will give the modest and manly words in which Mr. George Darwin places his profound researches and their stupendous results before the scientific world, and indeed before all who can in any measure grasp such inquiries and form a judgment upon them; "A theory reposing upon *veræ causæ*, which bring into quantitative correlation the lengths of our present day and month, the obliquity of the ecliptic, and the inclination and eccentricity of the lunar orbit, must, I think, have strong claims to acceptance."

In our paper we have let Mr. George Darwin speak for himself, for no language can describe so accurately, or so simply as his own, the result of his profound and most successful investigations.

Moreover, there is no small advantage in listening to a discoverer's own account of what he has done; and surely Mr. George Darwin must take a high place among modern discoverers in virtue of this his dynamical theory of evolution.[1]

HENRY BEDFORD.

[1] Professor R. Ball, the Royal Astronomer of Ireland, in a recent Lecture, *A Glimpse through the Corridors of Time*, has treated the subject in his usual happy manner, and stripping it of all technical language, has popularized it with great success. See *Nature*, vol. xxv., p. 79-82, 103-7.

THE HOLY HOUSE OF LORETTO.

AT the request of an esteemed correspondent we give a brief narrative of the translations of the Holy House of Loretto. We cannot, however, afford space for a critical examination of the subject, the story must speak for itself.

It is well known that the Blessed Virgin was espoused to St. Joseph at Nazareth; there, too, the Annunciation and Incarnation were accomplished; and there the Holy Family lived for many years after their return from Egypt. It was, as might be expected from their poverty and simplicity, a plain abode, consisting of two apartments which, tradition tells us, adjoined a grotto excavated in the face of the rocky hill on whose brow the little city then stood. This grotto still remains, but every trace of the house has disappeared. It has not, however, been covered by the dust of ages like a common ruin. As we shall see, it was miraculously transferred from the East to the West, from the El Nasirah of the infidel to the younger city by the Adriatic Sea, which Christian piety and faith have raised and embellished in honour of the Holy Shrine.

We may very reasonably assume that the abode of the Holy Family was, even in the first ages of the Church, a place of special reverence and devotion. No Christian could view with feelings of indifference, the scene of the most sacred and fundamental mystery of the religion which he professed. The Holy House would thus be guarded from profane intrusion, and become an object of special care and veneration to the faithful in its neighbourhood. However about the year A.D. 71 it seems that Nazareth, like most other of the towns in Judea, suffered much from the devastations of the victorious Romans. But the Holy House providentally escaped the ruin and pillage which, as St. Jerome tells us, reduced Nazareth to a half desolated hamlet; for we find that when peace was restored to the Church it became a shrine which was yearly visited by crowds of pilgrims. St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, caused a spacious and splendid church to be built round the Holy House, both for the accommodation of the pilgrims, and the more efficient and becoming protection of the Holy Shrine. Over its portals were inscribed these words: "This is the sanctuary wherein were laid the first foundations of our redemption." This church of St. Helena was for many centuries daily crowded with a

pilgrim host, and it is manifest that no profane hand could then dare to touch the smallest stone of the holy walls. We find St. Paula and Eustochium, the spiritual daughters of St. Jerome, making a pilgrimage to the shrine towards the end of the fourth century. Later on we hear of St. John Damascene and St. John Calybites as pilgrims at the Holy Shrine of Nazareth; in the twelfth century Tancred with many of his companions in arms went in palmer's guise to the house of the Blessed Mary; in the thirteenth century three illustrious pilgrims went thither from the far West, St. Francis of Assisi, Sigefroy, Archbishop of Mayence, and Cardinal James de Vitry, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and author of the "Historia Orientalis," the most valuable mediæval work on Eastern history. The testimony of Cardinal de Vitry about the Holy House is especially valuable. He tells us that on the Feast of the Annunciation in 1228, "he celebrated the Holy Mysteries in the very abode where Mary was saluted by the Angel." In 1252, on the same day, the 25th March, the Feast of the Annunciation, the good king Louis of France, "received communion in the sacred chamber of the Mother of God."

These express testimonies leave no doubt that in the thirteenth century the Holy House was still to be seen at Nazareth, in the Church of St. Helena, and therefore outweigh any arguments derived from the silence of other writers, who might be expected to make explicit mention of the fact. Positive testimony on one side must disprove any merely negative evidence on the other.

In the spring of 1291, Tripoli and Ptolemais were taken by the Saracens, who had previously defeated the Christians in many fierce encounters, and overrun the country even to Nazareth, where they partly destroyed the Church of St. Helena. The Holy House within, however, was still spared, but there could be no doubt that now the fanatical Moslem, having conquered the last strongholds of the Christians, would make short work of the sacred shrine, had not Providence signally interfered.

Ptolemais and Tripoli were captured in 1291—the former in the month of April. The victorious Moslems thereupon began to overrun the country with fire and sword, making special efforts to destroy everything venerated by Christians. They were already on their way to Nazareth, when suddenly the Holy House entirely disappeared, leaving only the traces of its foundations behind. This was in May 1291, on the 9th or 10th day of the

month. At the very same time, on the morning of the 10th of May, a new and very strange house was for the first time seen at a place called Tersatz or Tersatto, near Fiume, in Dalmatia. The old castle of Tersatto is situated in what is now the Austrian crownland of Croatia, but the place is the same. The strange sight drew curious passers-by to the spot, they had never seen a house there before, and they were still more astonished when, on nearer approach, they observed the apparently old edifice resting on the uneven soil, and built of a curious brick-coloured stone, of which they had not seen the like anywhere in the neighbourhood. On entering, they were lost in wonder to see an altar, a rude statue of the Virgin and Child, a crucifix, and several sacred emblems in various parts of the House. What could it be? Where did it come from? No one could tell. But no human hand had built it there. So old and yet so new: it was clearly a holy place, a miraculous thing, but more they knew not.

Their doubts however were soon set at rest. The news had spread abroad, and reached the Bishop of Tersatto, who was then dangerously ill. His name was Alexander; he was very anxious to see the miraculous house, but he was unable to travel. That same night, however, the Blessed Virgin appeared to Alexander, and declared that the strange house was the very building in which she was born, where the Incarnation was accomplished, and where she had lived so long with St. Joseph and her divine Son. As a sign he was immediately cured, and came to the Holy House, and told the wondering crowds that it was indeed the abode of Mary and of her Son. The crowds increased, miracles were multiplied; the news even reached the camp of the Emperor Rudolph I., where Nicholas Frangipani, Lord of Tersatto, and Governor of Dalmatia, then was serving in the camp of the Emperor. He asked permission to return, and investigate the story for himself. The leave was readily granted, and Frangipani, to his amazement, found the reality even more wondrous than the relation.

He resolved, however, to act with prudence. So he sent four Commissioners, of whom Alexander the Bishop was one, all the way to Nazareth, to compare the facts, and make further inquiries. Accordingly the Commissioners, before their departure, took exact measurements of the length, breadth, and height of the house, and the thickness of the walls; they observed the style of the building and

the nature of the material. All was found to be as they expected. The foundations of the Holy House, its empty place, were there in Nazareth, but the building itself was gone—quite recently gone, as the inhabitants themselves admitted. The walls were of the same dimensions, the material was the same, the reddish sandstone, fine in texture, and striped with yellow veins, which they had noticed in the house at Tersatto, and now saw strewn about in the streets and quarries of Nazareth. When they returned home, and gave a detailed account of their observations, no one could any longer doubt that the vision of their Bishop was indeed from the Blessed Virgin, or that the Holy House of Nazareth was now resting on the summit of that hill which overlooks the green islands of the Adriatic, where the foaming Fiumara still thunders down its rocky bed, through the deep ravine of the Porta Hungarica.

But the Holy House did not long remain in Dalmatia. It disappeared quite as suddenly as it came, after a period of some three years and a half. The people were filled with grief for the loss of the Holy House; they feared it was a chastisement for their sins or irreverence towards the Shrine; and so the governor and citizens in memory of the vanished treasure built upon the spot a new house of exactly the same style, and shape, and size. But an inscription in the wall expressly declared that the abode of Mary had disappeared from amongst them, and that this was only a memorial chapel. On the road leading to the church there was also raised another inscription which mentioned the exact dates: "The Holy House of the Blessed Virgin Mary, came to Tersatz on the 10th of May, 1291, and departed on the 12th December, 1294." A column marks the spot even to the present day, for the chapel has disappeared; and so early as the fifteenth century the inhabitants of Tersatto, who used to come to Loretto every year in crowds, founded there the Confraternity of the Corpus Domini or Perpetual Adoration, which was confirmed by Sixtus IV. in 1464.

On its disappearance from Tersatto the Holy House borne in the hands of Angels crossed the Adriatic, and was first seen on the 10th of December, 1294, in a laurel grove about three miles from the sea, in the Marches of Ancona. As at the Nativity, the wondrous sight was first seen by shepherds in the night time. It may be, they were watching their flocks in the wintry weather under shelter of the laurel grove, when they were attracted by a light in the

lonely wood, and on nearer approach found the Holy House exactly as it was seen in Dalmatia, with the altar, crucifix, and statue of the Madonna. The shepherds at once proclaimed the wonder, and crowds came from the neighbouring town of Recanati to behold the unwonted sight. Numerous miracles were wrought at the shrine. St. Nicholas of Tolentino, and a holy hermit in the neighbourhood, had each a vision revealing to them that the Holy House of Nazareth was indeed in the grove of Laurels. The ecclesiastical authorities had hitherto taken no step, but news of the wonder was soon brought to Rome, and Boniface VIII. ordered the Bishop to take an exact relation of the alleged miraculous occurrences, and ascertain the truth by every means in his power.

The Bishop thereupon sent a commission of sixteen of the notables of Recanati, first to Dalmatia, and afterwards to Nazareth, and ordered them to draw up an exact account of the result of their inquiries. They did so, and the report is in substance the same as that given above. This report was solemnly attested by the oaths of the members, it was preserved in the Archives of Recanati, and the early Historians of Loretto, Angelita, Riera and Tursellin, expressly declare that they had copies of the report in their own hands at the time of their writing.

Meanwhile, however, the Holy House had twice changed its site.

The laurel wood was remote and lonely, so brigands took advantage of the shelter of the trees to rob and otherwise maltreat unwary pilgrims, which was probably the cause why, after eight months' sojourn in the grove, it was suddenly transferred to a place quite near the highway—a small hill belonging to two brothers called Simon and Stephen Rinaldi de Antici. Here, as elsewhere, miracles were of daily occurrence, and the crowd of pilgrims increased daily, and made rich offerings to the Holy Shrine. The cupidity of the brothers was excited, they quarrelled for the possession of what was likely to be so profitable a spot, and the quarrel had well nigh ended in murder. It is not then to be wondered at that, after the short space of four months, the Holy House was again miraculously transferred, this time to the very centre of the highway then leading to Recanati, where it has remained ever since. This last translation took place towards the end of the year 1295.

In 1296 Charles II., king of Naples, wrote to a holy

hermit who lived in the neighbourhood of Recanati, asking for an exact account of the wonderful translation of the Santa Casa, and of the alleged miracles which were every day reported. The hermit, in a long letter to the king, confirmed the truth of the story from what he had seen with his own eyes, and testified of his own knowledge to the reality of the miracles said to have been performed. This letter is given in full by Martorelli, from a copy taken in 1674 by the Imperial Notary, Domenico Biscia. The original document was at that time preserved in the family archives of the Antici, to which family the two brothers already referred to had belonged.

In 1300, on the occasion of the first great centennial Jubilee in Rome, an immense crowd of pilgrims visited Loretto, and for their convenience the first buildings of what has since become a considerable city, were erected in the immediate neighbourhood of the Shrine. The name is frequently said to be derived from the laurel grove in which the Holy House first rested. It is more likely, however, that the Domus Lauretana, which gave its name to the city of Loretto, was so called from the lady Lauretta to whom the original site is said to have belonged.

A church was built round the Santa Casa by the citizens of Recanati, and great indulgences were granted in 1334 by Benedict XII., to all pilgrims visiting the Shrine.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, Paul II. laid the foundations of a new Church, much larger and more magnificent than that built by the people of Recanati. In his Bull of the 15th October, 1464, he declares that it is manifest from experience that "the Church of the Holy Mary of Loretto in the diocese of Recanati, by the innumerable and extraordinary miracles which are wrought therein at the prayer of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of which *we ourselves have had experience in our own person*, draws to that enclosure persons from all parts of the world, &c." This Church, a memorial of the Pope's gratitude and devotion to the Blessed Virgin for the miracle wrought in his own favour, was subsequently enriched and beautified both by other Popes, as well as by the crowds of grateful pilgrims who flocked thither from all parts of Europe.

Leo X. surrounded the Holy House with a casing of white marble, on which the greatest artists of the age lavished their utmost ingenuity and artistic skill. We shall

notice further on some of the wonderful reliefs which adorn this structure. The Church and the Holy House were still further beautified by Clement VII., Paul III., and Sixtus V., who caused this inscription in golden letters to be engraved on a slab of black marble in the facade of the building:—

DEIPARAE DOMUS IN QUA VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST.

Thus leaving no doubt as to his own opinion of the reality of the translation.

Leo X. is equally explicit. In a Bull conferring large privileges and indulgences on the Santa Casa he declares, "that the Holy Virgin, as is proved by testimonies worthy of credit, having deigned by God's good will to transfer from Nazareth her image and her house, and place them first at Fiume in Dalmatia, afterwards in the territory of Recanati, in a place covered with wood, then on a hill belonging to private persons, finally in the middle of the highway where it still stands, and where it was placed by the hands of angels; the continual miracles worked therein by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary have determined the Roman Pontiffs, his predecessors, to bestow on the Church of Loretto very many spiritual favours," all of which he confirms and still further enlarges.

In 1550 a new commission of Papal chamberlains and other persons of note and credibility was sent to ascertain the tradition in Dalmatia regarding the translation of the Holy House. From Dalmatia they proceeded all the way to Nazareth, where they made an exact and detailed examination of the traditions and the locality. In both places abundant evidence was forthcoming confirmatory in every particular of the account recorded in the archives of Recanati and Tersatto. One of the commission, John of Sienna, brought from Nazareth two specimens of the native stone, which were found to correspond exactly in texture and colour with the material of the Holy House, the stone of which, as we have already noticed, though very much like brick in colour, and quite polished by contact of human hands, is in reality a reddish stone of fine texture streaked with yellowish veins, and quite different from any stone found in the neighbourhood of Recanati. De Sausure, however, the eminent French naturalist, whilst emphatically declaring that the material is stone and not brick, as many persons have said, says that he found abund-

ant specimens of stone of a *similar* character all around the district from Loretto to Ancona.

In 1751, when the old pavement was being removed, it was ascertained by actual experiment made in the presence of several bishops and competent architects that the walls of the Santa Casa rest on the surface soil, even the very pebbles of the old road were found beneath the walls, as well as a depth of several feet of clay, which would have been excavated for the foundations of any ordinary house. These facts were attested to the satisfaction of so keen a critic as Benedict XIV., by the Bishops of Jesi, Ascoli, Macerata, and Loretto.

The Feast of the Holy House is celebrated on the 10th December, the anniversary of its translation from Dalmatia to the Italian shore. In 1639 we find a decree of the Sacred Congregation permitting this Festival to be celebrated in all the Marches of Ancona. Later on in 1669 the Translation of the Holy House was ordered to be commemorated on the same day in the Roman Martyrology. "At Loretto in Picenum the Translation of the Holy House of the Mother of God in which the Word was made Flesh."

Pope Innocent XII. permitted a Special Mass and Office on the Festival: in the sixth lesson of the office the history of the Translation of the Holy House is briefly recorded. In 1719 this Feast and Office were extended to Etruria, and afterwards in 1725 and 1729 to Spain, and all the territories of the most Catholic monarch.

The Holy House has been enriched with all kinds of indulgences, immunities, privileges, and treasures, to which we cannot now refer in detail. A chapter was instituted by Leo X.; Sixtus V., raised Loretto to the dignity of an Episcopal See: Julius III. founded there a college of twenty penitentiaries to confess the pilgrims in almost every European language. Benedict XIII., in 1729 made the Cathedral Church a Basilica: Pius VI. granted to it the privilege of having seven Gregorian altars; Pius VII. allowed the canons to carry the golden cross and wear the violet soutane of prelates.

The city of Loretto is now in the province of Macerata, and belongs to the kingdom of Italy. Its population is about 8,000, who may be said to depend for their existence on the influx of pilgrims. The situation of the city is very fine, on a commanding eminence, flanked by lower hills, and overlooking the unquiet waters of the Adriatic Sea. The principal street leads to the piazza, or square, in which

the church of the Santa Casa is situated. One side of the square is occupied by a large house belonging to the Jesuits, on another is the splendid palace of the governor, while the church occupies the third side. In the centre is a bronze statue of Pope Sixtus V., who fortified Loretto against the Turks, in a sitting posture, giving the benediction. Over the central door of the church is a full length statue of the Virgin and Child in finest bronze, designed by Bramante. Within the church are three superb doors of bronze divided into compartments, and adorned with reliefs representing scenes from Sacred History.

The Campanile rises to a great height, and contains in an octagonal pyramid near its summit, a bell 22,000 pounds in weight. The bronze font is considered a masterpiece.

In the very centre of the Church, under the dome, is the Santa Casa itself. The casing of pure white marble is one of the finest works of Italian art in existence. Neither time, talent, nor money was spared in its decoration, It was designed by Bramante, and executed by Sansovino Girolamo, Lombardo, and other great artists, their disciples. Each of its four fronts is covered with Sculptures in bold relief. On the Western front is the Annunciation, which has been pronounced by a great artist to be a "divine work." On the Southern front is the Nativity; on the Eastern are depicted in relief the arrival of the Holy House at Loretto, and the Death and Burial of the Blessed Virgin. The Northern front is similarly decorated by representations of the Birth and Betrothal of the Blessed Virgin, and other sacred subjects.

This outer marble shell is a foot distant from the walls of the Santa Casa itself. The latter seems at first sight to be a small brick house, of coarse material and rude workmanship. There is one door facing the north, and a small window in the western side. The house itself is oblong, the greater length being from west to east, as is usual in most churches. The masonry is irregular, and the walls are not in plumb, yet the stones are fitted closely together, although not laid in regular courses. The length in the clear is about twenty-nine feet, the breadth twelve, and height over fifteen feet. The walls are only fourteen inches thick.

At the foot of the eastern wall there is a small and somewhat narrow fire-place, but the chimney does not seem to have been built to the roof, so the smoke must have escaped through an opening in the top, as not

unfrequently happens in the poorer class of Irish cottages. Near this fire-place is a small niche containing the statue of the Blessed Virgin and Child, which is said to have been the work of St. Luke. The statue, now almost as black as ebony, is evidently of very ancient date, and not of very artistic workmanship. In front of this eastern wall, from which it is separated only by a vacant space, there is an ancient altar on which the Apostles are said to have celebrated the Holy Sacrifice. This altar is now enclosed within a larger one, on which the pilgrim priests are allowed to say Mass. The roof of the Santa Casa is richly adorned, and has an opening for the purposes of ventilation, which is rendered necessary by the great crowd of pilgrims, as well as by the fumes of burning incense and lighted torches. The aspect of the Holy House gives further confirmation to the wondrous story of its translation; it is preeminently venerable with the holiness of antiquity.

The "Treasury Chapel" of the Santa Casa is adorned with some of the most beautiful frescoes in the world, and contains an immense wealth in gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, altar plate, vestments, and votive offerings of every kind. In 1796, the French Republicans laid sacrilegious hands on the treasures of the Santa Casa, as they did on every thing else their greedy eyes beheld, and the French nation is still in debt to the Holy House of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was not so in earlier days, for perhaps the richest offering in the Shrine, the crowns sparkling with precious stones, which adorn the statue of the Virgin and Child, was the gift of Louis XIII., king of France.

Even yet the wealth in the Treasury Chapel is enormous, filling forty-one out of the sixty-nine glass cases prepared for its preservation and exhibition.

Non-Catholics, as might be expected, invariably reject the story of the translation of the Holy House as a pious fraud, or at least a superstitious fancy originating in the dark ages, and unsupported by authentic evidence. Yet they can assign no plausible explanation of its origin, and to reject the historical evidence in its favour on account of the intrinsic improbability of the story is to undermine the certainty of all historical truth. At the same time the acceptance of this history of the Holy House is no part of Catholic faith; it is not even a dogmatic fact necessarily connected with the teaching functions of the Church, on which she therefore necessarily pronounces an infallible opinion. In fact, the

Church has pronounced no formal decision on the truth of the story, and consequently there is no formal obligation imposed on Catholics of accepting as an authentic fact the translation of the Holy House. Several Catholic writers have questioned the truth of the story, and subjected the proofs in its favour to sharp criticism. We may mention Calmet, whose piety and learning can hardly be called in question, although it is aid he afterwards retracted his opinion.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that almost all Catholic writers of every school, Gallican and Ultramontane, Jesuits, Thomists, and Scotists, have accepted the evidence in favour of the translation as quite conclusive, especially when taken in connection with the numberless miracles wrought at the Shrine, as well as the sanction of the Church, and the language of the Sovereign Pontiffs. It is, therefore, no sin against faith to question the reality of the translation, but in face of the evidence adduced, and especially of the sanction given by the Church in granting a special Mass and Office for the Feast, it seems to us that it would be very rash in any individual to reject the story as intrinsically improbable, more particularly if he should do so without a careful examination of the evidence adduced in its favour; and this rashness would in certain circumstances become gravely culpable.

For the rest, it is not for us to say *a priori* what is a suitable miracle for God to work, and what is not suitable. The spirit that questions all miracles, even the very existence of the supernatural, will also question or reject this miracle, but the docility of faith will accept the sanction of the Church as quite sufficient reason to believe in the miraculous preservation and translation of the Holy House, and give glory to God for thus honouring the earthly habitation of His Immaculate Mother, and her Divine Son.

J. Healy.

THE COLUMBIAN MONASTERIES AND RULE.

HAVING already considered the negative side of the question, and shown what the Columbian monks were not,[1] let us now look at the positive side of our friend's query, "What was the mode of life, the religious rule of the monks of St. Columba?"

All the houses founded by St. Columba, or in his name and by his authority or that of his successors, in Ireland, then called Scotia, and in Caledonia or Albyn, were united by subjection to the same head, and the practice of the same rule of life; formed in fact one great Religious Order. Columba himself during his lifetime, and his successors, the abbots of Iona, down to the ninth century, exercised jurisdiction over all these monasteries, as superiors-general. The monks of all these houses formed one religious family, just as the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Dominicans now. So many as thirty-seven different monasteries in Ireland alone recognised Columba as their founder and ruler.[2] The Order was known as the Family of St. Collum-cille or the Columbian Order. Constant communication was kept up between the monasteries, which were visited by the superior-general, and monks were removed from one monastery to another by the authority of the superiors. Notker Balbulus of St. Gall thus records the death of St. Columba:—"In Scotia insula Hibernia, depositio Sancti Columbæ, cognomento apud suos Columb-Killi, eo quod multarum cellarum, id est, monasteriorum vel ecclesiarum, institutor, fundator, et *rector* fuit." Bede writes:—"Cujus (*i.e.* Ioniae) monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scotorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriorum, non parvo tempore arcem tenebat,regendis que eorum populis preest."[3] And again he says:—"Plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus (i.e. Columbæ) in Britannia et in Hibernia propagata sunt: in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum tenet."[4] It is evident from the lives of the Saint that Columba made many journeys to Ireland to visit and direct the many monasteries which he had founded here. His

[1] Irish Ecclesiastical Record, August, 1881.

[2] Reeve's Adamnan. In the Appendix is given an enumeration of the thirty-seven foundations of Columcille in Ireland.

[3] Bede, Hist. Ecc. iii. 3.

[4] Bede iii. 4.

later visits are rendered memorable by the miracles which he wrought and by the wonderful demonstrations of enthusiasm, veneration, and affection, of monks and people towards him.[1] The continuous solicitude and love with which this great Father regarded all his children, as well those who were far away as those under his eye, are shown in the touching narrative of Adamnan, the relative and ninth successor of Columba as Abbot of Iona, born only a quarter of a century later. One day he was observed to stop suddenly short in the transcription in which he had been engaged in his little cell in Iona, and was heard to cry out with all his strength, "Help, Help!" This cry was addressed to the guardian angel of the Community, and the appeal was made in behalf of a man who had fallen from the top of the round tower, which was then being built at Durrow, in the centre of Ireland.[2] Another time at Iona, on a day of chilly fog, he was seen suddenly to burst into tears. When asked the reason of his distress, he answered, "Dear son, it is not without reason that I weep. At this very hour I see my dear monks at Durrow condemned by the Abbot to exhaust themselves in this dreary weather building the great round tower of the monastery, and the sight overwhelms me."[3] The same day and at the same hour, as was afterwards ascertained, Laisran, the Abbot of Durrow, felt within himself something like an internal flame, which enkindled in his heart a sentiment of pity for his monks. He immediately commanded them to leave their work, to warm themselves and take some food, and even forbade them to resume their building until the weather had improved. The same Laisran, who afterwards came to deserve the name of Consoler of the monks, was a relative of Columba, and became his third successor at Iona, showing further the union between all the Columbian monasteries. In the history of Libranus we are told that the Saint prophesied to him, "you shall die after a good old age in one of my monasteries in Scotia (Ireland)." He died accordingly in Columba's famous monastery of Durrow.[4] The Four Masters at the year 936 have the record, "Dubhthach, successor of Colum Cille and Adamnan in Ireland and Alba, died." For from the beginning of the Danish invasions in the ninth century, during which the Northmen ravaged the island and burned

[1] Adamnan, i. 3.
[2] Adamnan, iii. 15.
[3] Adamnan, i. 29. iii. 15.
[4] Adamnan ii. 39.

the monastery three different times, the Abbots of Iona ceased to exercise the office of Superior-General. The government of all the monasteries belonging to the family or order of Colum Cille was removed from Iona to another of the Saint's foundations at Kells, where a successor of Columba, Superior-General of the Order, titular Abbot of Iona, Armagh, or some other great Irish monastery, and bearing the distinctive title of *Coarb*, resided for three centuries more.[1] Yet even in the thirteenth century the monastery of Iona existed as a house of the Columbian Order. Colgan relates that in 1208 Kellach who seems to have been the Abbot, erected a monastery in Iona in opposition to the monks or seniors. A Council was held in Ireland attended by the Bishops of Tirone (Derry), Tirconnell (Raphoe) the Abbots of Derry and Armagh, O'Cobhtoich, a Columbian monk, afterwards Abbot of Derry. They decided against Kellach, whose monastery at Iona was destroyed, and Amalgod O'Ferral, Abbot of Derry, was elected Abbot of Iona.[2]

There can, we presume, be no doubt that the religious of all these Columbian communities in Scotia and Albyn, observed the same monastic rule. But was there a written rule drawn up by Columba, different from the rule of other Irish monasteries founded by St. Patrick? St. Wilfrid in his answer to St. Colman, at the Conference of Whitby, speaks of the "regulam ac praecepta" of Columba and his followers.[3] Colgan reckons the Columbian rule as one of the eight principal rules formerly observed in Ireland.[4] Usher and Ware speak of Columba's rule as still extant. The former observes that it is written in very old and difficult Irish.

Still we believe that at the present day the opinion of the most competent authorities is, that no rule of the Columbian Order distinct from that of other Celtic monasteries is at present known to exist. It is true that a very ancient Irish monastic rule, of which a summary is given by O'Curry, is called the rule of St. Columcille.[5] But from its contents it is clear that this rule applied not to the Columbian communities, but only to hermits or anchorites, always numerous in Ireland, and who lived in solitary cells, in islands, in caves, on mountains, and in deserts, perhaps

[1] Chronicon Hyense of Reeves from 597 to 1219.
[2] Trias-Thaum, p. 581.
[3] Bede: L. iii. c. 25.
[4] Tr. Th. p. 471.
[5] MS. Mat p. 374.

under the direction of St. Columcille. O'Curry gives a brief account of the eight Celtic monastic rules referred to by Colgan, of whose authenticity, he says, there can be no reasonable doubt. The fourth is the rule of St. Columcille, and is a "precept for the regulation of the life of a religious brother who preferred solitude to living in community." This evidently is the rule spoken of by Usher and Ware. Colgan[1] speaks of two rules written by St. Columcille; one for his monasteries, of which, if such were ever written by him, no trace can now be discovered, the other for brethren living in a desert. On the whole, it seems that we may safely conclude with Cressy, who tells us that Columba's rule was a rivulet from that of St. Patrick, that is to say, founded on the monastic system first brought into Ireland by her great Apostle. That was the system followed in the monastic establishment of St. Martin of Tours, where St. Patrick spent four years, and received his training for the ecclesiastical state, and at Lerins, the constitution of whose monastery was the same as that of St. Martin. Baronius tells us, that the system of life brought into Gaul by St. Martin, was the same as that established by St. Augustine, in Africa.[2] That most noble kind of life led by the solitaries of the Thebaid was first introduced into Gaul by the great St. Athanasius, the friend, the disciple, and the biographer of St. Anthony,[3] father and head of all the anchorites of the Thebaid, and first founder of the monastic life. Athanasius lived in the desert as one of Anthony's monks, for six years. Exiled to Treves by Constantine, in 336,[4] he instructed the clergy by word and example in the religious life which he had learned from St. Anthony. From Treves it quickly spread through Gaul, and was first regularly established by St. Martin,[5] who, when Bishop of Tours, founded the famous monastery of Marmoutier, on the Loire. Having served twenty campaigns with the cavalry, he then devoted himself to a more arduous warfare, and like St. Augustine, at Hippo, lived with his priests and religious, from whose number were drawn so many saintly bishops. The monas-

[1] Tr. Th. p. 471.

[2] Quod ipsum praestantissimum vitae genus Sanctus Martinus Turonensis transvexit in Gallias et Sanctus Augustinus in Africam. Baronius, Ann. ad an. 328.

[3] Died A.D. 356.

[5] 316–397.

[4] He was three times in Gaul; 336, 346, 349

tery of Lerins, whose constitution was the same as that of St. Martin, and where St. Patrick also studied the religious life, was founded by St. Honoratus,[1] on a rocky and desert island, off the coast of Provence, changed by the labours of the monks into a paradise of verdure and bloom, and it became a famous school of theology and philosophy, and a nursery also of saints and bishops. The great and modest St. Vincent, the first controversialist of his age, was the contemporary there of St. Patrick; so also was Salvian,[2] the most eloquent man of his time after St. Augustine, surnamed the Master of Bishops, though himself only a priest. In such sanctuaries of religion and learning, and under such masters, did St. Patrick study that religious life, first practised by St. Anthony, carried into Gaul by St. Athanasius, and regularly established there by St. Martin. Such was the system of religious life taught and established here by our great Apostle, and practised in the Celtic monasteries. It was the same system, as we have seen, which St. Augustine established in Africa, inasmuch as it was derived from the same source.

After his conversion Augustine returned to his native place, Thagaste, where he formed a religious community; and after his ordination,[3] he established a house at Hippo, in a garden given to him by Valerius, the Bishop. This, also, like the establishments of St. Martin of Tours, and St. Honoratus, became a school of the Church, a seminary of bishops. Posidius, the pupil and friend of Augustine, mentions ten bishops of his own acquaintance who had studied in his school. When raised to the episcopacy he left his monastery, but still continued to lead the same kind of life with the clergy of his see, who gave up all personal property, and were supported by a common fund. "Volui," he says, "habere in ista domo episcopi meum monasterium clericorum. Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in societate habere aliquid proprium."[4] We have seen, that after this example, most of the early Irish bishops were monks or the disciples of monks, and continued to live in conventual life after their elevation to the episcopacy,[5] and their houses were also the colleges in which students were trained for the sacred ministry.

The rule, therefore, drawn up by St. Augustine, in 423, originally written for a convent of women which he had

[1] 410. [2] 390–484. [3] A.D. 389. [4] Sermon 49. De diversis.
[5] Irish Ecclesiastical Record, *August*, 1881, p. 474.

founded at Hippo, and over which he had placed his sister, together with his great work "De Opere Monachorum," drawn from the same source as the system of St. Martin, cannot fail to give us a true idea of the manner of life and religious rule of these ancient Irish monks; and an examination of the observances and peculiarities spoken of in Adamnan, O'Donnell, and the other biographies of St. Columba, will show us that the mode of life followed by the Columbian communities, was founded on the monastic system brought into Ireland by St. Patrick, and was substantially the same as that followed by the monks of St. Martin, St. Honoratus, and St. Augustine, differing, no doubt, in some details in the case of Columba. The word *regula*, therefore, used by St. Wilfrid and others, with regard to St. Columba, is fairly taken to mean the observance or discipline of the Celtic monasteries, not a written rule peculiar to St. Columba's monks. We have also in the rule of St. Columbanus, drawn up by him for the monasteries which he founded in Gaul, the religious practices and life of the Irish monks reduced to writing; for the rule of St. Columbanus embodies the religious spirit of his country, and is in this respect precisely, distinguished from the rule of St. Benedict. Columbanus formed his rule from the system followed in the monasteries of Ireland, of one of which, viz., Bangor, he had been himself a monk. Born some four years before the departure of Columba for Iona,[1] and dying eighteen years after him, his rule must be, in substance identical with that followed in the Irish monasteries of Columba; for down to the Danish invasions, the Irish monasteries, particularly in the North, were guided and controlled by the spirit of his successors and disciples.

In his celebrated treatise De Opere Monachorum, the greatest of the Fathers of the Church inculcates the strict duty of manual labour on all monks. He refers to the example of patricians who watered with their sweat the monastic gardens, and senators who toiled at hard labour. He refers to St. Paul making tents to supply his bodily needs. He met the reasoning of some who wished to give up manual labour, in order to sing more continuously the praises of God, by replying that they could both sing and work as the boatmen and labourers often did. The days of monks, he said, were to be divided between manual

[1] St. Columba was born on the 17th December, probably, 521; left Ireland for Iona, 563; died 597. St. Columbanus was born about 559, died 615.

labour, study, and prayer. St. Columba established his monastery at Iona on the same foundation of mental and manual toil. A prince himself of the royal race of Niall, and possible heir to the monarchy, he had learned under St. Finnian in the monastery of Clonard, to practise that manual labour, which in Ireland, as in Africa and Gaul and the East, formed a chief part of the life of the monk. There he had ground over night the corn for the next day's food, with Kieran the carpenter's son from Fuerty, near Roscommon,[1] destined to found at Clonmacnoise a centre of religion, learning, and civilization, scarcely less renowned than that of his young companion at Iona.

That postulants became members of the Columbian order by taking the monastic vows, we learn from various passages in Adamnan. Thus in the history of Libranus we are told that after he had confessed all his sins to St. Columba, after he had done penance for his sins for seven years, after he had discharged all obligations to his parents and others who had claims upon him, he was at length admitted into the brotherhood of Iona. "Libranus took at the same time the monastic vows with much fervour." And the Saint then foretold to him, "you shall die after a good old age in one of my monasteries in Scotia." He died accordingly in Columba's monastery of Durrow.[2] He tells us also of two strangers who came to Iona from a distant land. The Saint having embraced them asked them the objects of their journey. They said: "We are come to reside with you for this year." The Saint replied: "With me you cannot reside for a year unless you take the monastic vow." "They entered the chapel with the Saint, and on bended knees took the monastic vow." Usually he did not admit postulants to the vows, till after a long probation. He made an exception in the case of these brothers, because his prophetic knowledge showed him that they should soon pass to their eternal rest. The Saint then said to his monks: "These two strangers, who have presented themselves a living sacrifice to God, who of Christian warfare have fulfilled a long time within a short

[1] The Tripartite tells us that Patrick left in the territory of Hy Many the Arch-priest Justus for whom he erected the Church of Fidharta, now Fuerty, and "Justus in his old age, baptized Ciaran Mac-int-Sair from Patrick's book." From this it is fair to infer that St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise was baptized by St. Justus or Juis in his Church of Fuerty.

[2] Adamnan, ii. 39.

space, will pass away from earth to Christ our Lord this very month."[1] And so it was. A monk could not make these solemn vows, binding him to the religious state, till he was at least twenty years of age.[2]

The same unquestionable authority shows us that in the communities of Columcille were practised fasting of a very severe kind, prayers to the saints, observance of festivals, on which they had solemn Mass as on Sundays, Masses for the dead; in fact, that in their houses all the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church were observed thirteen hundred years ago, just as they are observed in religious communities to-day.[3] The simplicity of the fare of the monks is shown by what we read of a wicked man named Benan, who once sent to ask the remains of the meal which the monks of Iona had just eaten, in order to turn them into derision. Baithen, who succeeded Columba, sent him what remained of the milk which had made the meal of the brethren. After he had drunk it the scoffer was seized with such suffering that he was converted, and died confessing his sins.[4] Besides milk, they used herbs, pulse, meal moistened with water, and a little bread or biscuit. They eat only in the evening, so as to render fasting a daily practice. They abstained from flesh meat, but were allowed fish. We have seen in a former number Columba directing his monks in fishing in the river Boyle,[5] when following his advice they hauled in two salmon of enormous size, and St. Gall and his master were often occupied in fishing. They, however, supplied their visitors and guests with meat. They learned also that fasting and corporal austerities did not of themselves make saints, and obedience, humility, chastity, discretion were inculcated as even more necessary than bodily mortifications.[6] In the intervals of labour, and through the watches of the night, they recited the canonical hours of the divine office, and prayed in their own cells. They had time, too, allowed to devote to study, and to attend the lectures of their professors. The Columbian monks wore mantles of white

[1] Adam. i. 32. [2] Synod of St. Patrick, cap. 17.

[3] Vide Adamnan, ii. 39, 5, 15, 39, 40. iii. 12, I. 40. Colgan Vita Prima, c. 8.

[4] Act. S. S. Boll, Vol. ii., June, p. 238.

[5] Irish Ecc. Record, vol. i. p. 395, Vid. Adam. Vita. S. Col. Lib. vi. c. 19.

[6] Regula S. Columbani, cap. 3. De cibo et potu.

wool,[1] over which was the monastic cowl, and all bore the Irish tonsure.

The illustrious prince and sainted Abbot Columba, set himself the example of labour and humility to the humblest of his monks, each of whom he loved as a dear child. We find him ever despising rest, untiring in labour. Adamnan writes :—"Nullum etiam unius horae intervallum transire poterat, quo non orationi, aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam alicui operationi incumberet. Jejunationum et vigiliarum indefessis laboribus, sine ulla intermissione, die noctuque ita occupatus, ut supra humanam possibilitatem pondus uniuscujusque videretur specialis operis. Et inter haec omnibus carus, hilarem semper faciem ostendens, Spiritus Sancti guadio intimis laetificabatur praecordiis."[2] From various parts of the same authentic and edifying history we learn how faithfully St. Augustine's precepts with regard to monastic labour were practised in the Columbian monasteries. The chronicles of these ruined abbeys and vanished monks indisputably prove that those whom an ungrateful posterity who have possessed themselves of the fruits of the labour of twenty generations of religious, have slandered as "lazy," were the most indomitable toilers, mentally and corporally, whom the world has ever known. They show us that the men "who cleared the thorns from the souls of our fathers were the same men who had cleared the soil" from forests, and left by their labour the fens and untilled moors, now rich and green pasturage around their plundered and desecrated sanctuaries. We read of Columba himself kneeling before pilgrims, and before his monks just come from the labours of the field, taking off their shoes, washing and respectfully kissing their feet. He dwelt in a hut built of planks, within the monastic enclosure. Up to the age of seventy-six he slept there upon the hard floor, with no pillow but a stone. His stone bed at Kells still remains there. He laboured at outdoor work, toiling like the least of his monks. "Nullum horae momentulum," writes O'Donnell, "transibat quo non pie occupatum reperiri potuerit. In manuali laboratione cum aliis fratribus non secus ac eorum minimus colloborabat."[3] His entire life bears the mark of his ardent sympathy with the labourers

[1] Adam. L. iii. c. 12. He speaks of the "Candida tunica" of St. Columba, L. ii. c. 44. The Vita Secunda mentions the "Candidos Monachorum Greges" of Iona.

[2] Adamnan, Praef. ii,

[3] Trias. Th. Vita Quinta, iii. 37, 39.

in the field, from the times of his early travels as a young man in Ireland, when he furnished the ploughman with plough-shares, and had the young men trained to the trade of blacksmith, up to the days of his old age, when he could only follow afar off the labour of his monks.[1] The monks of Iona were also sailors, and besides cultivating the ungrateful soil of their desolate island, had also to "row, and cross the sea in their leathern barks,"[2] and accompany their abbot in his voyages through the islands. It becomes comparatively easy to represent to ourselves with Montalembert "the tall, old man, with his fine and regular features, his sweet, powerful, and penetrating voice, looked upon as one of his most miraculous gifts, the Irish tonsure high on his shaven head, and his long locks falling behind, clothed with his monastic cowl, and seated at the prow of his coracle, steering through the misty archipelago and narrow lakes of the north of Scotland, and bearing from isle to isle and from shore to shore, light, justice, and truth, the life of conscience and of the soul."

Such was his love of the Sacred Scriptures that he is said to have made with his own hand, three hundred copies of the holy Gospels, a labour of love at which he toiled from youth to age. The last day of his life found him copying part of the Psalter, and having finished a page with a verse of the thirty-third psalm, he stopped and said: "Let Baithen (his successor) write the remainder."[3] Of his immense labours in preaching the Gospel, we do not here intend to speak. His sainted biographer, kinsman, and successor relates, how when he could no longer go out to work with his brothers, he put down his pen to bless them as they came home from the fields.[4]

Besides their manual labour, the monks of the Columbian Order, after the example of their great Father and founder, devoted themselves to literary work. Montalembert says that the Irish Church was entirely swayed by the spirit of Columba and his successors and disciples, during the time which is looked upon as the Golden Age of its history, down to the Danish invasions in the eighth century. Speaking with special reference to the Columbian monasteries, this celebrated writer, who spent many years of unremitting toil in drawing every

[1] Quinta Vita, i. 68.
[2] Adamnan, i. 28, ii. 35.
[3] Ib. c. xxiii.
[4] Adamnan i. 37.

fact and statement from original and contemporary sources, subjected to the most rigorous investigation,[1] says :—

"It has been said, and cannot be sufficiently repeated, that Ireland was then regarded by all Christian Europe as the principal centre of knowledge and piety. In the shelter of its numberless monasteries, a crowd of missionaries, doctors, and preachers, were educated for the service of the Church and the propagation of the faith in all Christian countries. A vast and continued development of literary and religious efforts is there apparent, superior to anything that could be seen in any other country in Europe. Certain arts—those of architecture, carving, metallurgy, as applied to the decoration of churches—were successfully cultivated, without speaking of music, which continued to flourish both among the learned and the people. The classic languages, not only Latin, but Greek, were cultivated, spoken, and written. And in Ireland, more than anywhere else, each monastery was a school, and each school a workshop of transcription, from which, day by day issued new copies of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the primitive Church—copies which were dispersed through all Europe, and which are still to be found in continental libraries. Columba, as has been seen, had given an example of this unwearied labour to the monastic scribes; his example was continually followed in the Irish Cloisters, where the monks did not entirely limit themselves to the transcription of Holy Scripture, but reproduced also Greek and Latin authors, sometimes in Celtic character, with gloss and commentary in Irish, like that Horace which modern learning has discovered in the library of Berne. These marvellous manuscripts, illuminated with incomparable ability and patience, by the monastic family of Columba, excited four hundred years later, the declamatory enthusiasm of a great enemy of Ireland, the Anglo-Norman historian, Gerald de Barry. Exact annals of the events of the time were also made out in all the monasteries. These annals replaced the chronicles of the bards; and so far as they have been preserved, and already published or about to be published, now form the principal source of Irish History."[2]

We remark that according to O'Curry,[3] the Annals erroneously called the Annals of Kilronan, ought to be called the Annals of Inch-Mac-Nerin, in Loch Ce. This is the island, on which, as we have seen, St. Columba founded his monastery. Dr. Nicholson describes these annals in his Irish Historical Library thus: "Annals of the old Abbey of Inch-Mac-Creen, an island in the Lake of Loch Kea, very different from those of the Holy Trinity, an

[1] "Monks of the West." Introduction, ch. ix.
[2] "Monks of the West," Book ix., c. viii.
[3] Lect. on MS. Mat., Sec. v.

Abbey in the same Loch, of a much later foundation." The Columbian monastery of Inch-Mac-Nerin,[1] now called Church Island, flourished down to the thirteenth century, if not later.[2]

Let us add the testimony which the learned Usher has borne to the strict discipline of the ancient Irish monasteries, to the piety, purity, learning, and zeal of the Irish monks:—[3]

"Our monasteries in ancient times were seminaries of the ministry; being as it were so many colleges of learned divines, whereunto the people usually resorted for instruction, and from whence the Church was wont to be supplied with able ministers, the benefit whereof was not contained only within the limit of this island, but extended itself to foreign countries likewise. For this it was that drew Egbert and Ceadda, for example, into Ireland, that they might there 'lead a monastic life in prayer and continency, and meditation of the Holy Scriptures.' This was the principal means whereby the knowledge both of Scriptures and of all good learning was preserved in that inundation of barbarism, wherewith the whole West was, in a manner, overwhelmed. They (the monks) did observe perpetual virginity, which is not commanded, whereas for not sinning it is sufficient to observe the precepts. Our monks were religious indeed. How then did these men live? Walafridius Strabo tells us that, 'some wrought in the garden, others dressed the orchard; Gallus made nets and took fish wherewith he not only relieved his own company, but also assisted strangers.' And the Apostle's rule is generally laid down for all monks in the Life of Fursaeus: 'They who live in monasteries should work with silence, and eat their own bread.' Such monks, as Bede affirms, loved to regulate their watches, fastings, and prayers, and manual labour according to the will of their governor."[4]

Altogether looking at the manner of life, religious rule, and observances of the Columbian monks, one is struck with the thought, that the "primitive Protestantism of the Celtic Church" was something very different from latter-day Protestantism; and when we are told that these ancient Irish Columbian monks were "good Presbyterians, and preserved for centuries the pure doctrine, church government, and discipline of Presbyterianism," we can only marvel that the present doctrine, church government, and discipline of Presbyterians, are so different from their primitive forms.

[1] See Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Third Series; vol. i., p. 396.

[2] Annals of Loch Key, Anno 1230.

[3] A Discourse on the Religion of the Ancient Irish, &c., ch. vi. Of the discipline of our ancient monks.

[4] Bede: Lib. iv. Hist. cap. 3.

Such were the saintly monks who dwelt of old in St. Columcille's monasteries, at Assylyn, by the swift flowing Boyle, and Inch-mac-Nerin, on the fair Loch Ce. Those who have possessed themselves of the lands watered by their sweat, and fertilized by their ceaseless labour, whose own lives are so filled with work, well may talk of their laziness. Those who owe their knowledge and civilization to their unwearied literary industry, well may talk of their ignorance.

J. J. K.

SACRED RHETORIC.

Catechetical Instruction.

IN the last number of the Record we could barely announce the publication of this book which, considered in connection with its companion volumes—"Programmes of Sermons and Instructions," is, we believe, destined to produce a marked effect on the future of Irish Sacred Oratory. We have already remarked that it deals with almost every department of Sacred Rhetoric. In the present paper we mean to confine our attention to the one very important department of Catechetical Instruction, with which this book deals fully and satisfactorily. We shall try then to summarize what the experienced author has to say on this subject. We shall add such observations as have come to us from other sources, or have occurred to us from our own reflections.

We are told at the outset that the word *Catechism* signifies according to its etymology (κατὰ ἦχον, secundum sonum or vocem) a *viva voce*, as opposed to a *written* instruction. By a Catechetical Instruction, therefore, we are to understand a familiar oral instruction on the elementary truths of Faith, or on the principal duties and obligations of Religion, usually delivered in the form of a dialogue between the Catechist and his pupils.

This mode of imparting religious instruction, sanctioned by the example of our Divine Saviour and His Apostles, was further recommended, and indeed rendered obligatory in the early ages of the Church, by the "Discipline of the Secret." The early Fathers and Doctors of the Church

were prevented from giving full *written* expositions of the mysteries of Faith, or detailed *written* instructions on the Sacraments, lest such compositions should fall into the hands of scoffing pagans, and become in their hands objects of insult and profanation.

Hence we find that at a very early period, Catechetical Schools such as that of Jerusalem under St. Cyril, and that of Alexandria under St. Clement and Origen, were formed in the Eastern Church for the purpose of reducing to a fixed method this mode of imparting religious instruction. Nor was the Western Church wanting in great names like those of St. Augustine and St. Jerome, to recommend the same style of simple oral teaching. In more modern times a whole host of saintly names might be given, such as St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Francis Xavier, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Francis Regis, St. Charles Borromeo, Gerson, and Cardinal Bellarmine, who by word and example illustrated the utility of Catechetical Instruction.

What greater proof could Gerson, the illustrious Chancellor of the University of Paris, justly styled the "Most Christian Doctor," give of the value he set on this exercise of zeal, than by leaving his high position, and retiring to Lyons at an age when he might reasonably seek for rest, to occupy himself in teaching the Catechism.

His reply to the remonstrance of some of his friends is well known. "Yes I might preach with more pomp as you say, but not with greater fruit," "forte pomposius, sed non efficacius neque fructuosius." We are told that when Pope Paul III. sent Fathers Salmeron and Laynez two of the first disciples of St. Ignatius, as his divines, to the Council of Trent, the direction given to them by their Superior was, that before giving their opinion in the Council, they should each day attend the sick in the hospital, and teach children the Catechism. He knew no better way of obtaining for his disciples light and grace to guide the deliberations of the assembled Bishops to a successful issue.

But the duty of teaching Catechism is enforced by even a more binding sanction than the example of the learned, the holy, and the zealous Pastors of the Church in every age. It is commanded as strictly obligatory by the Council of Trent in the 4th Chapter of the 24th Session. "Iidem [Episcopi] etiam *saltem* Dominicis et aliis Festivis diebus, pueros in singulis parochiis fidei rudimenta et

obedientiam erga Deum et parentes, diligenter ab iis ad quos spectabit, doceri curabunt, et si opus sit, etiam per censuras ecclesiasticas compellent, non obstantibus privilegiis et consuetudinibus."

But in speaking of the obligation of teaching Catechism there is danger of grave misapprehension about its meaning. Teaching Catechism in the minds of many persons has come to be identified with aiding children to commit the words of the Catechism to memory, or testing their knowledge of it, by proposing the questions and listening to the recital of the answers given in some approved compendium of Christian Doctrine. But surely this is not what is sanctioned by the example of so many Saints—this is not the object of the precept enjoined on Bishops, and through them on the Pastors of souls, by the Council of Trent, and by so many National and Provincial Synods throughout the Church. No, it would be a fatal error to suppose that the obligation of the Pastor ended when the children under his charge have committed the words of the Catechism to memory. It would be nearer to the truth to say that his most serious obligation begins at this point. His principal duty is to give the children an intelligent knowledge of the fundamental truths of Faith, and of the chief duties of Religion. A child might have committed to memory every line of the Catechism and still be very ignorant of the Faith which is essential for salvation. "Now Faith is not only subjective, but objective also, and necessarily requires that all who have attained the use of reason must distinctly believe, at least, the elementary truths, or, as they are better known, the principal mysteries of religion. Equally necessary for salvation is the observance of God's Commandments from the very dawn of reason. It follows immediately from these two laws, as to Faith and the observance of the Commandments of God, that a Pastor should be wanting in one of the most essential obligations of his charge, if he were to be content with a mere off-by-heart knowledge of the Catechism on the part of the children of his parish, and so admit them to the Sacraments." (*Sacred Rhetoric*, page 84.)

True the first step in the process of instruction is to get the children to commit the Catechism to memory, and in this the pastor may, and ought to avail himself of the assistance of parents, school teachers, and of the members of Christian Doctrine Confraternities. But the *exposition* of the Catechism is a duty which the Priest may commit to no

other hands. He is the teacher ordained and commissioned by the Church to give spiritual food to the little ones of his flock. It is a priestly and a personal duty which cannot be delegated to any laic. We are told that when Giezi laid the prophet's staff on the face of the lifeless child of the Sunamitess, "there was no voice nor sense" imparted to the boy. Hence the prophet had to go in person, and it was only after "he prayed to the Lord, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands on his hands, and bowed himself upon him" that "the child's flesh became warm, and he opened his eyes." So too it is by the personal ministry of the pastor that the quickening principle of supernatural life is to be imparted to the children committed to his care, and that their eyes are to be opened to the duties and obligation of the Christian religion.

Now, in order to accomplish this great work successfully three conditions are required, (1) *interior dispositions*, (2) *exterior manner*, and (3) *method of teaching*.

The interior dispositions—supposing the requisite knowledge to be present—may be reduced to (1) a lively sense of the importance of the work to be done. The pastor must feel that the future of the little ones of his flock is placed in his hands, that on their knowledge or ignorance of the truths and duties of Religion will depend their temporal and eternal happiness or misery. This just estimate of the importance of the work will naturally lead to the second disposition, namely, (2) zeal in its performance. After the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice and the administration of the Sacraments, there is no duty so holy or so acceptable to God as breaking the bread of life to the young and innocent, filling their minds with the truths of the Gospel, which is "the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth," and preparing them for the life-long warfare in which they must necessarily be engaged.

The exterior manner of the Catechist must be (*a*) at once amiable and grave. The combined character of Father and Priest must appear in all that he says and in all that he does. Then (*b*) the Catechist must exhibit great interest in the exposition of the Catechism. It is by feeling and manifesting great interest in the work that he can inspire young minds with corresponding enthusiasm. Finally (*c*) the manner of the Catechist must be interesting and varied. It is no easy matter to keep the mobile minds of children fixed for any considerable time on a particular subject. It

is only by making the instruction interesting and varied that the task can be accomplished.

But it is in his *method of teaching* that the Catechist must place his chief reliance for success. In considering the method of teaching, it is well to distinguish the *material* from the *moral* means to be employed. By the material means we understand what is commonly designated the *Discipline of the Catechism.*

Under this head it is required—1, That a fixed hour and place should be appointed for giving the instruction. It is obvious that if the Catechist wishes the children to be punctual in attendance, he himself must give the example of strict punctuality.

2, A roll should be regularly kept, in which the names and the absences of the children should be recorded.

3, It is recommended that giddy and restless children should be placed beside those who are known to be steady and reserved.

4, After calling the roll, and marking the names of the absent, a short prayer should be said, or a short hymn should be sung for the purpose of directing the attention of the children to the supernatural character of the work on which they are about to be engaged.

5, During the instruction, it will be the object of the Catechist to maintain silence and attention on the part of the children. Discipline may be maintained either (*a*) by fixing the eye on any child whose conduct is disorderly, or (*b*) by a short but impressive verbal reprimand, or (*c*) by unexpectedly interrogating the delinquent on the subject-matter just explained, or (*d*) by removing the child some distance from the others, but without ever sending him altogether away from the Catechism. The Catechist, however, must depend chiefly on the earnestness, impressiveness, and vivacity of his manner for preserving order and attention during his instructions.

We have now arrived at the last and most important part of our enquiry, namely, the style and method suitable for Catechetical Instruction. The *style* and *method* suitable to children, simple as they may appear, by their very simplicity create considerable difficulty for the unexperienced Catechist. Success requires, first of all, full and accurate knowledge of the subject to be explained. It also presupposes that general knowledge which will enable the Catechist to illustrate his meaning from other subjects and from different sources. Secondly, it requires a thorough

appreciation of the capacity of the children to be instructed —of their modes of thought, and forms of expression.

Thirdly, it requires a gradual development of doctrine, proceeding *a magis noto ad minus notum*, and making frequent use of familiar illustrations, examples, and anecdotes.

The successful Catechist will often have to vary the form, when he finds that the children have failed to catch his meaning in the form in which it was first presented to them.

Fourthly, it requires that the Catechist should frequently explain the nature of the thing before giving the meaning of its name. "For example, if we intend that the child should know the meaning of the answer to the question, 'What is Contrition?' we should not at once give a grammatical explanation of *sorrow* and *detestation*, and a *firm resolution*, but should by a familiar example make the child feel its value. 'What would your feelings be,' we should say to him, 'if in a great passion you raised your hand against your father, and severely hurt him? After committing so awful a deed, how would you feel?' The child would immediately answer, that he would be very sorry for doing such a thing, and that he would always grieve for it. 'Well, my child, that sorrow, that grief, which you would feel, is what is called *sorrow* and *detestation*. Would you after that again strike your father?' 'No, sir, not for anything.' Well then, that disposition is what is called a *firm resolution*." The application of this illustration to mortal sin, and the substitution of God for the earthly father, are so obvious that we may leave the developement to our readers. The illustration and its application are to be found in Fr. Power's Catechism: Doctrinal, Moral, Historical, and Liturgical, vol. i., p. 5.

After explaining the nature of the subject, the Catechist should interrogate the children on the explanation given, and thus secure and test their attention. This course avoids the inconvenience of a continuous narrative on the one hand and of a multiplicity of questions on the other. It introduces an agreeable variety, and keeps the attention of the children excited during the explanation, in anticipation of the questions which are to follow in the same matter.

Finally, at the conclusion of each Lesson, it is useful to sum up briefly all that has been explained, so that the children may see the meaning of what has been said as a whole, and the mutual relation and dependence on one part or another.

Our readers will naturally desire to see these precepts reduced to practice, in the composition of some Catechetical Instruction. We cannot select a more appropriate illustration than the following striking instruction on the Blessed Eucharist, which is supposed to be addressed to a class of children, whom the Pastor is preparing for their first Communion.

It will be found in "Sacred Rhetoric," p. 97, 107.[1]

I begin by saying, "Children, our task to-day is the Lesson in the Catechism, that treats of the Blessed Eucharist. OBS. O, children, how important is this lesson! How can we speak worthily of it? O, that an angel, dear children, would come down from heaven to explain this lesson of the Catechism to us! EXP. It begins by asking the Q. What is the Blessed Eucharist? You saw it at Mass in the hands of the Priest, as he raised it above his head, at the Altar, whilst the boys serving Mass rang a little bell, and all the people bent down, and very piously struck their breasts with their hand. What you saw then in the hands of the Priest was, dear children, the Blessed Eucharist under the appearance of bread. Again, dear children, you remember that, a little after, the Priest raised up the Chalice, and one of the Mass-servers rang the little bell, as before, and the people all about you bent down again, and struck their breasts. You did not see what was in the Chalice, but it was the Blessed Eucharist again, now, however, under the appearance of wine. You remember also, dear children, seeing people going to Communion, and how the Priest reached the Holy Communion to their mouths, which they received from him in that way. What he gave them, and what they received, as you saw, at the time, was also the Blessed Eucharist, but the Blessed Eucharist under the appearance of bread. You see, therefore, that the Blessed Eucharist is under two kinds of appearances that of bread and that of wine; but, dear children, whether under the one appearance or the other, it is the Body and Blood with the Soul and Divinity of Jesus Christ, truly, really, and substantially present, and true God and true man under either appearance. Now, dear children, you will answer me the questions I am going to ask you:

Q. Did you ever see the Blessed Eucharist, and when?

A. Yes, when the Priest raised it up at Mass, and the Altar boys rang the little bell, and the people bent down and struck their breasts.

Q. Under what appearance did you see it at that time?

A. Under the appearance of bread.

[1] In this instruction the following abbreviations are employed. EXP. = explanation, Q. = question, A. = answer, D. = divide the question, ILLUST. = illustration, OBS. = observation.

Q. Did you see it under another appearance, and what?

A. Yes, under the appearance of wine.

Q At what time?

A. When the Priest raised up the Chalice, and the little boys at the altar rang the little bell again, and the people again bent down, and struck their breasts.

Q. Under what appearance did you see the Blessed Eucharist this second time?

A. Under the appearance of wine.

Q. But you did not see it—did you?

A. No, but all the same, it was in the Chalice, and the Priest saw it.

Q. Did you see the Blessed Eucharist on any other occasion, and what?

A. Yes, when people were going to Communion.

Q. Under what appearance did you then see it?

A. Under the appearance of bread.

Q. Under how many kinds of appearances, therefore, have we the Blessed Eucharist?

A. Under two kinds of appearances, that of bread and that of wine.

Q. But in reality what is contained under these appearances?

A. The Body and Blood with the Soul and Divinity of Jesus Christ, truly, really, and substantially there present.

Q. Are we then to understand that Jesus Christ Himself is really present in the Blessed Eucharist?

A. Yes, most certainly.

Q. True God and true man?

A. Most certainly.

Q. The same Jesus Christ that was born of the Blessed Virgin?

A. The very same.

Q. The same that died on the Cross?

A. The very same.

Q. The same that is seated in glory at the right hand of His Father in heaven, and that will come to judge the living and the dead on the last day?

A. The very same.

Obs. O, dear children, how wonderful is all this! and what reason have you not to be very good and pious, seeing that, going to Holy Communion, you are to receive Jesus Christ Himself, who in His infinite bounty and mercy gives Himself, true God and true man as He is, under the appearance of bread to us poor wretched mortals.

Exp. But, dear children, the word Eucharist has another meaning also.

D. In the first place. it may mean a special grace or gift of God; and what gift could be greater? for in the Blessed Eucharist,

Jesus Christ gives us Himself, and beyond that He has nothing greater to give us. The word Eucharist also means a solemn, that is a public act of thanksgiving to God for all His mercies, and this thanksgiving our Saviour makes to His Eternal Father for us, on the Altar, at Mass, in all the Masses that are celebrated throughout the world.

Now children, let me ask you:

Q. What is the literal signification of the word Eucharist?

A. A special grace or gift. &c.

Q. D. You have said two things, which we must consider separately. *First*, you said the word Eucharist means a special grace or gift of God. Now, could our Divine Saviour bestow upon us a greater grace or gift than He does in the Blessed Eucharist?

A. No, He could not.

Q. Why?

A. Because in the Blessed Eucharist He gives us Himself, and there can be no gift or grace greater than that.

Q. But you said also, the word Eucharist means a solemn thanksgiving to God for all His mercies. Does the Blessed Eucharist offer a thanksgiving of this kind to Almighty God?

A. Yes.

Q. When and where?

A. At Mass and on the Altar.

Q. Then, do you mean that Jesus Christ really present, true God and true man, on the Altar, at Mass, offers Himself in thanksgiving for us to His Eternal Father?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Can there be any thanksgiving equal to this?

A. No.

Q. Why?

A. Because it is the thanksgiving of a God, that is of Jesus Christ, true God as well as true man, upon the Altar at Mass.

Q. Does this thanksgiving, which our Saviour makes for us at Mass, equal God's graces and mercies to us?

A. It does, and infinitely surpasses them.

Obs. O children, what a treasure have we not in the Blessed Eucharist! St. Augustine says, "our mind cannot think of anything better, our lips cannot express anything better, nor can our pen write anything better than 'thanks be to God,'" and it is not *our* poor mind, *our* lips, or *our* pen that says these blessed words, but it is our Saviour, that expresses them to His Eternal Father, giving an infinite value to the thanksgiving He thereby offers on our behalf. Ought you not be very fond of going to Mass, seeing that you have there such a thanksgiving to offer to God for all his graces and mercies to you every day, and every moment of your lives.

Exp. But we must proceed: you said the Blessed Eucharist

exists under the appearances of bread and wine, that means, that what the Blessed Eucharist *really is*, is one thing, and what it *appears* to be is another. It *appears* to be bread and wine only; that is, as we taste it, it tastes as bread and wine, as we look at it, it has the look of bread and wine, as well as the form, but this taste, this look, and this form are appearances only, whereas beneath these appearances our dear Lord and Saviour is truly, really, and substantially present, as we have already repeatedly said. It is true, that what *appears* bread *was* really bread, and what *appears* wine *was* really wine, up to a certain part of the Mass, that is, up to the time that the Priest raised up the Host and the Chalice, when the people bent down and struck their breasts. Just then, or rather a moment before, both bread and wine were changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, so that nothing of the bread and wine remains but the appearances, that is their taste, colour, and form. We will see later, dear children, how this wonderful change is effected, but for the present let me ask you:

Q. D. Are there not two things to be considered in the Blessed Sacrament? What are they?

A. What it is in reality, and what it is in the appearances it presents to us of bread and wine.

Q. Well, I shall not ask you what it is in reality, because this you have repeatedly told me, but I wish to know from you what is meant by the appearances of bread and wine? What do they mean?

A. That the taste, colour, and form of bread and wine remain after the bread itself, and the wine itself, have been changed into the Body and Blood of Christ.

Q. From what you say of a change, am I to understand from you that up to a certain part of the Mass the bread was really bread, and the wine really wine?

A. Yes; it was so up to the time, or a little before the time, when the Priest raised the Host, and then the Chalice, and all the people bent down and struck their breasts. Just then a wonderful change took place, by which the bread and wine were changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, nothing of the bread and wine thenceforth remaining but their appearances, that is, their taste, colour, and form.

Q. Now we come to an important question. I will ask you it in the words of the Catechism. It is: are both the Body and Blood of Christ under the appearance of bread, and under the appearance of wine?

A. Yes, Christ is whole and entire, *true God* and *true man*, under the appearance of each.

Exp. Very good; but we must see if you understand the meaning of what you say. You know, dear children, that the Priest at the Altar receives the Blessed Eucharist under the appearance of bread in the Host, and under the appearance of wine also in the

Chalice; but the people, when they go to Communion, receive the Blessed Eucharist under the appearance of bread only. Nevertheless, they receive the Blessed Eucharist as fully and entirely as the Priest, and the reason is, because both Priest and people receive Jesus Christ Himself, true God and true man, neither more nor less in reality, though under different appearances, the Priest under the appearances of bread and wine, and the people under the appearance of bread only. Now let us see if you understand this.

Q. D. When you will be going to Communion, under what appearance will you receive your Divine Saviour?

A. Under the appearance of bread only.

Q. And the Priest, under what appearance will he receive?

A. Under both appearances, that of bread and wine.

Q. Then does he receive our Divine Saviour more fully and more entirely than the people?

A. No; because our Divine Saviour being what both Priest and people receive, He, our Divine Saviour, cannot be greater for one and less for another. He must be the same for both.

Q. Then, if you going to Holy Communion, were to receive the Chalice like the Priest, you would not receive the Blessed Eucharist more fully nor more entirely than you do, though you are to receive it under the appearance of bread alone. Is that so?

A. It is, because it is all one and the same under one appearance, or both appearances, namely, the Body and Blood with the Soul and Divinity of Jesus Christ, or, in other words, Jesus Christ Himself, true God and true man.

Exp. We have now before us a question, which comes from the enemies of our holy Faith. They pretend to think that it is unworthy of our Divine Saviour, God of all glory as He is, to stoop so low as to make Himself present under the appearance of what we eat and drink for our ordinary food, that is of bread and wine. We answer them, and tell them to look at a crucifix, asking them what that means. They must acknowledge it is the figure of our Divine Saviour crucified. Then we say to them, you believe that our Divine Saviour submitted to be put to death in that way as a criminal—as a malefactor; and we ask what induced Him to submit to so painful and so shameful a death. They say, and they say rightly, it was for love of mankind; and then we say to them, if you believe that our Divine Lord, God of all glory as He is, submitted to be hanged upon a shameful Cross through love of us, how can you say that the same love would not induce Him to be present under the appearances of bread and wine, that He might give Himself to to us in Holy Communion? The Cross seems to be a greater stretch of His love, than the Blessed Eucharist, and in all human appearance the humiliation is very much greater. Now, let us see, if you understand all this by the Answers you will give to the Questions I shall ask you.

Q. D. What would you say to a Protestant, who would say to you, it is unworthy of our Divine Saviour, great God as He is, to be present under the appearances of bread and wine, what men eat and drink for their daily food—what would you say to him?

A. I would point to the crucifix, and say to him, that it is no wonder at all that He, who of His own free will died for us in that way, would give Himself to us in the form we receive Him in the Blessed Eucharist. If His love for us caused Him to die for us, and to die so terrible, and so shameful a death, how can you take upon yourself to say, that it is unworthy of that same love to condescend to the appearances He assumes in the Blessed Eucharist, which is specially a Mystery of love?

Exp. But, a heretic would ask you how can bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ, and you know what answer to give.

Q. What would you say?

A. By the goodness and power of God, with whom no word is impossible.

Illust. Just so, dear children, no word, that is, nothing is impossible to God, that He is pleased to do. Do you remember what our Divine Lord did at the marriage feast at Cana of Galilee? Listen and I will tell you, and listen very attentively, because I will ask you to-morrow to repeat it. Well, there was a marriage or a wedding, in a town called Cana in Galilee, out in the Holy Land, and our Divine Saviour and his Blessed Mother were invited to the wedding. They went; but it would appear that there were too many friends invited, and, when the feast had gone on for some time, the wine ran short. The Blessed Virgin noticed it, and saw how troubled the people of the house were, having no more wine for their friends. She whispered to our Divine Lord, calling His attention to the state of the case. He gave her a kind of answer as if inclined to do nothing. But she, knowing so well His benignity and goodness, was sure He would do something to get the family out of the shame they were in. She therefore told the waiters to place themselves at His service, and do whatever He would direct them to do. Accordingly He asked them to pour water into six stone water-pots, that were nigh, and fill them up to the brim. They did so, and the pots were full, but full of what, children? Full of water. But it was wine that was required. See then what our Saviour did: He ordered the water to become wine, and immediately, at His bidding, it became excellent wine, better than the company had the whole evening. Well, He acts in the same way in the Blessed Eucharist. Up to a certain part of the Mass the Priest has before him mere bread and wine, but when the moment comes, at which, according to the appointment of our Divine Lord, the bread and wine are to be changed into His Body and Blood, His infinite power acts upon the bread and

wine, and, at once, the great change takes place, so that what, a moment before, was mere bread and wine, is now the Body and Blood of Christ, with His Soul and Divinity, and He is there present before the congregation, true God, and true man, as He was present in the company at the Marriage Feast.

The only difference between the two cases is, that at the wedding the water on its becoming wine, changed colour, and took the colour of wine, whereas, at Mass, where the bread and wine are changed, the appearances remain the same as before, and it is the substance alone that is changed into the Body and Blood of our Divine Lord. But our faith penetrates beyond these outward appearances, and tells us of the presence of our Blessed Saviour. Therefore, you observe, dear children, how at the moment the change takes place, the Priest kneels down, and all tha people bend down, and strike their breasts, adoring our Blessed Lord just become present on the altars."

THE EDITOR.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

[We publish, with much pleasure, the following solution of important moral questions which we have received from an esteemed occasional correspondent.—ED. I. E. R.]

ON THE MORAL COALESCENCE OF LITTLE THEFTS.

How are the following words of St. Alphonsus to be understood, and applied in practice?

"Itaque juxta hanc opinionem, intervallum duorum mensium excusat a gravi obligatione restituendi furtula inter duos menses facta, quae materiam gravem non attingunt."—*Homo Apost.* Tr. x. n. 26.

The question here under discussion is the moral coalescence, and restitution *sub gravi*, of repeated separate small thefts, already consumed; committed without any preconceived intention of thereby arriving successively at a notable amount, or of doing any serious injury to the owner.

The opinion assented to by St. Alphonsus, and from which he draws the foregoing inference, is, that an interruption of two months will hinder the coalescence and the consequent grave obligation to restitution of thefts, the *materia* of which is *proxima gravi*. Whilst for thefts, of a

considerably lighter value, a much shorter interval, sc. one month, or fifteen days, will suffice to hinder their coalescence.

According, then, to this opinion, the interval required will be some way proportioned to the *materia*, more or less. We might say for instance: that, taking 4*s.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* as *materia proxima gravi*, for which an interval of two months suffices to prevent coalescence, one month would suffice for 2*s.*, fifteen days for 1*s.*, and one week for 6*d.* I do not of course mean that such is to be the standard in practice; but that some rule of proportion, at any rate, must be observed.

The sense of St. Alphonsus' conclusion in his own words above quoted seems to be this: If small thefts committed within a space of two months amount in all to a *materia* only *proxima gravi*, an interruption of two other months will hinder their coalescence with thefts after that interval, and will excuse from any grave obligation to restitution; and hence may we not fairly infer his meaning to be that thefts so small as not to amount altogether within the space of two months to a *materia proxima gravi*, but to only a *materia levis*, need not be taken into account in the question of mortal sin, and of a grave obligation to restitution?

I can find no mention elsewhere in St. Alphonsus or other authors of this space of *two months within which* the *furtula* are supposed to be committed.

For the sake of illustration let us take a few cases:

I. John, a boy in a shop, tempted each time on the occasion of his Saturday half-holiday, steals from his employer to the value of 2*d.* a week during the course of two years—this he consumes, or spends each time—he has no thought whatever of arriving successively by these small thefts at a *gravis materia.*

II. Anne, a domestic servant, goes out daily marketing for her mistress, and every now and then keeps back a penny or so, which she spends on herself.

III. Bridget, a woman employed in a shop, takes now and again an ounce or more of tea for the use of her family at home, which otherwise she could then ill provide.

Now the question is, do these isolated *furtula* coalesce, so that the above delinquents become guilty of grave theft, and obliged *sub gravi* to restitution.

According to the foregoing principles I should answer: *negative*, *per se*, strictly speaking. Since in the case of

such small thefts as 2*d.* (case I.) an interval of less than a week would seem to suffice to hinder their coalescence. Besides, the whole amount thus stolen within two months (viz. 1*s.* 6*d.*) is not equivalent to a *materia proxima gravi.* It might be, moreover, a question, as the thefts are small and at intervals, whether the *materia proxima gravi* should not be greater than 4*s.*, according to the principle laid down by St. Alphonsus of "*summa dimidia parte major.*"

Take another case:

IV. William, on the 1st of January, steals 4*s.*; again, early in March, 4*s.*, and so on at intervals of over two months for two years, and all under the same condition as in case I. He then goes to confession. Can the confessor oblige him *sub gravi* to restitution?

According to the opinion adopted by St. Alphonsus, I should answer certainly in this case, *negativé, per se.*

It would surely be strangely hard to say *affirmativé* in case I., and *negativé* in case IV. For John would have stolen in all 18*s.*, whilst William's thefts in the same space of time would amount to £2 8*s.*

Wherein must we seek for the reason of these determinations of various intervals of time by the moralists? In other words: how comes it that in the case of isolated venial thefts, certain intervals of interruption in some degree proportioned to the thefts are considered to cause or to hinder their moral coalescence into a *peccatum mortale,* entailing a grave obligation to restitution?

It cannot be precisely or, *per se,* the relative proximity of the acts of theft one to another. For this would imply a presence of intention, and some greater or less connection of the will in the successive acts. But this connection is excluded by the hypothesis; for if there were such connection as would affect, the case would come more or less under another category, viz., that of little thefts coalescing through intention. No doubt the close proximity of little repeated thefts one to another sometimes gives ground for suspicion of a preconceived and continued intention, but it does not by any means necessarily imply such intention; and we may often well conceive the absence of any such intention, as in the cases proposed above, where small thefts may be easily repeated, each one prompted by its own recurring occasion and temptation. Granted, however, the purpose to continue the little thefts, but without any thought of arriving at a notable sum, or reflection of doing any serious injury—even so, there would not be here any

grave obligation to restitution, *per se*, since, according to the common opinion of theologians, the thief would not be guilty of a mortal sin, unless in his last small theft he adverted to the fact, that by that act he was now completing a notable sum. "Potest autem, ait Henno, præsumi inadvertenter præcessisse quando fur ita habitualiter animo dispositus est, ut nunquam velit furtum mortale committere" (Crolly de Justitia, Tom. iii., n. 290). Dr. Crolly, however, if I have rightly understood him, maintains that even though the thief should have no such advertence in his last act, yet when he afterwards comes to learn that his successive little thefts, now consumed, had amounted to a notable sum, he would be obliged, *sub gravi*, to restitution, in order to avoid a mortal sin. (Ibid. n. 274-5.)

Nor again will any *habit* of committing little thefts of itself explain the coalescence, for no number of venial sins committed through habit, can ever, *per se*, amount to a mortal sin, or entail a grave obligation. And here it is supposed that the little repeated thefts are, *per se*, entirely isolated from one another, each simply a venial sin in itself, which no mere proximity of time or habit could cause to coalesce morally into a mortal sin.

For myself, I confess I have always had some difficulty as to the reason of the coalescence of venial thefts into one moral act of grave sin, and have thought that generally, both in moral treatises and in the class-room, it is not sufficiently explained why and how acts altogether venial *per se*, and independent, one of another, committed against the Seventh Commandment particularly, should form together a grave sin, contrary, as might at first sight appear, to the general rule, viz., that no number of venial sins can ever be equivalent to one mortal sin; or why relapse into venial sins against the Seventh Commandment should not be as readily admitted, and absence of intention to do a grievous injury be as well presumed to exist in this matter of justice, as relapse is allowed, and absence of further intention is presumed, with regard to other habitual venial sins, especially in the matter of little detractions against the Eighth Commandment. Indeed I presume that should a person suffer grievously in his character through a number of repeated venial detractions, coalescence would have force here equally as in matter of the Seventh Commandment, and a grave obligation of reparation might ensue.

What then is the reason of the coalescence of these *furtula?* And why do theologians hold it, together with

the grave obligation of restitution, to be dependent upon various intervals and spaces of time?

It seems to me that the reason is two-fold, founded (1) in the *damnum* incurred by the *dominus*, greater, it is considered when his property is stolen successively within a shorter space of time, than would be done him were it stolen successively during a more protracted period. Hence authors have assigned spaces of time and intervals more or less proportioned to the varying amount of the light injustices, beyond which a grave injury would not, according to common estimation, result from the successive petty thefts.

This consideration, that the *dominus* does not suffer so much when his property is taken little by little during a protracted period, seems to be the reason why, in successive small thefts, a larger *materia* than the ordinary (*summa dimidia parte major*) is required for mortal sin, and for a grave obligation to restitution.

(2) Again, the reason seems to lie in the *emolumentum* accruing to the thief, less, it is considered from successive small thefts spread over a longer time, than he would derive from thefts committed within a shorter period.

These two then, the amount of injury to the owner, and of profit to the thief, taken together, seem to be the ground for the teaching of theologians as to the moral coalescence of successive separate small thefts, and for the determination by authors of various intervals of time.

The rule approved of by St. Alphonsus as to the amount required for a *gravis materia* when thefts are from different owners at the same time, viz., "*summa dimidia parte* major," and when from different owners at intervals, viz. "*summa duplo major*," serves to confirm the above answer with regard to *damnum* and *emolumentum*.

In other words: the only principle which appears to me, *salvo meliori judicio*, really to underlie, and to be the true ground of the principle of coalescence, entailing a grave obligation to restitution, in the case of isolated *furtula*, is the *objective* grave wrong done to the *dominus*, or the *objective* notable unjust emolument accruing to the thief, resulting into one moral act according to common estimation. And where the protracted time during which these *furtula* are committed, would not, according to common estimation, allow their being considered as resulting into one whole moral act whether of grave injury or of notable unjust profit, there such coalescence would not have place.

Hence I infer that the practical meaning of St. Alphonsus, though not expressed in words, still to be drawn from his principles—is, that for the moral coalescence of separate small thefts into a *gravis materia*, and that the confessor should impose a grave obligation to restitution, the *damnum* to the *dominus*, or the *emolumentum* to the thief, must be *proximum gravi* within the space of two months, and that the *levis materia*, required to make up a really grave amount, must follow shortly—that is, within an interval of two other months. Otherwise the doctrine of moral coalescence would seem not to apply.

In suggesting this interpretation of St. Alphonsus's words, I do so not as though insisting on it, but in a tentative way, (*salvo sapientiorum judicio*), and leaving myself fully open to correction or conviction, should any better interpretation and sounder arguments be set forth.

In conclusion, I may observe that this question of petty thefts, soon repeated, and continued for a long time, is a very practical one in many places. The confessor cannot on the one hand excuse or palliate these delinquencies on the ground of recognised custom, &c., nor on the other has he any good hope, in many cases, that the penitent will give them up, or make restitution. Sometimes, no doubt, the confessor may with profit defer such penitents for a short time, with a view to their amendment or their making restitution, and especially, amongst other motives, because he sees this present dishonest practice will be a proximate occasion of mortal sin. Very often, however, such a course of dealing on the confessor's part would be productive of more harm than good to the penitent, who would not return, and might thus perhaps become more estranged from his duty, and from the Sacraments.

C.

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE IN THE INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION COURSE.

WE are glad to have permission to publish this practical Programme. It shows that in some at least of our most successful schools no less attention is paid to Religious than to Secular knowledge. It also points out the practical working of a scheme for Religious instruction, in accordance with the suggestions of more than one of our recent correspondents.—Ed. I. E. R.

The following Programme has been adopted by the Superiors of ST. VINCENT'S COLLEGE, CASTLEKNOCK, in order to secure for the study of Religion, under present educational circumstances, its due amount of time and attention. This Programme leaves the course of study substantially as it was, the only change being that Bible History is now taught in the elementary classes, while its place in the higher classes is taken by a Manual of Church History. The manner of examination has been entirely remodeled, and a new scale of rewards introduced, the object being to place Religious Knowledge on the same standing inside the College, that Secular knowledge is placed on outside by the action of the Intermediate system. This system has now become the principal agent in arousing and sustaining the energy of boys during their time at school. As the study of Religion cannot be brought within its influence, the next best thing is to devise a new system, which, appealing to higher feelings, and working on parallel lines, may attain the same end.

COURSE OF STUDY.

1. There shall be five classes—three corresponding to the Senior, Middle, and Junior Intermediate Grades, and two elementary classes.

2. BUTLER'S Catechism shall be taught in all classes, from the lowest to the highest, and shall form a necessary part of the examination at the end of the year.

3. In addition to Butler, a short history of the events of the Old Testament shall be taught in the two elementary classes.

4. The Junior Grade Course shall comprise :—

(*a*) SCHOUPPE'S "Religious Instruction," Part III., Moral—Our Duties and Obligations.

(*b*) "Church History," from the Institution of the Church to the Conversion of Constantine.

5. The Middle Grade Course shall include :—

(*a*) SCHOUPPE'S "Religious Instruction," Part II., Dogmatic—What we are bound to Believe.

(*b*) "Church History," from the Conversion of Constantine to the Fall of the Eastern Empire.

6. The Senior Grade Course shall embrace :—

(*a*) "SCHOUPPE'S "Religious Instruction," Part I., Apologetic—The Grounds of Catholic Faith, and the Refutation of the principal modern errors.

(*b*) "Church History," from the fall of the Western Empire to the beginning of the Reformation.

7. The total maximum of marks shall be 1,200, to be thus distributed :—

Butler, ...	250
Schouppe, ...	600
Church History, ...	350

8. To pass, it will be necessary and sufficient to obtain 25 per cent. of the maximum; to pass with Honours, 45 per cent.; always provided that no Student shall be awarded a Pass or Honours who shall not have obtained 20 per cent. of the marks assigned to Butler.

MANNER OF EXAMINATION.

1. The Examinations shall be conducted entirely in writing.

2. The time of Examination shall be the First Sunday in May.

3. The Examiners shall be Two Professors of Theology, unconnected with the College.

4. The papers of the Students shall be known only by numbers.

5. The Prizes shall be awarded to the Students obtaining the highest absolute totals at the Examinations, excluding those who fail to *pass* in Butler's Catechism.

REWARDS.

1. Philosophers and Rhetoricians.
   Gold Medal.
2. Senior Grade.
   1*st Prize*—Gold Medal. 2*nd Prize*—Silver Medal.
3. Middle Grade.
   1*st Prize*—Gold Medal. 2*nd Prize*—Silver Medal.
4. Junior Grade, First Division.
   1*st Prize*—Gold Medal. 2*nd Prize*—Books.
5. Junior Grade, Second Division.
   1*st Prize*—Silver Medal. 2*nd Prize*—Books.

6. The Prizes in the two elementary classes shall be in books.

7. The marks obtained by each boy in the higher classes shall be printed in the same table with the Intermediate marks of each year, the difference between mere Pass marks and Honour marks being indicated.

8. No one shall be eligible for any College premium in any class or subject unless he obtain a Pass in the Religious Knowledge examination for the current year.

Note.—The Medals, and even the prizes in books, may be withheld if on any occasion a reasonably high standard of excellence be not attained.

14*th November*, 1880.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Sanatio in Radice.

Very Rev. and Dear Sir.—Allow me to thank you for the kind notice you were pleased to take in the last number of the Record of what I had ventured to write to you on the subject of what some theologians term "Sanatio in Radice," but which you with other theologians call "Dispensatio in Radice;" and I desire to thank you all the more, because you did me this favour quite of yourself, and entirely beyond any expectation I had in writing to you. What I took the liberty of saying was suggested by some lingering reminiscences I retained of long ago reading on the subject; and having somewhat looked the matter up since, I would be glad, if you would permit me, to share with you the conclusions at which I have arrived. I wish, however, to clear up, beforehand, some misconceptions, it seems, I gave occasion to, and which you state amongst your other observations.

You say in the first place, "that it follows from my view, that, as the exemption from the ecclesiastical impediment is dependent on the future application for a 'Sanatio in Radice,' if such application be not made, the marriage was invalid, and the issue of such marriage illegitimate, all through the supposed marital union of the parties."

This would, indeed, be a serious inference, but I do not think it deducible from what I said. My theory is, that the marriage has been valid from the beginning, the impediment having been removed from the beginning by the reserve made in its enactment for certain rare cases of special difficulty; so that so far as these cases are concerned, the impediment existed as if it did not exist at all, and, therefore, the action of the Supreme Pontiff in granting the "Sanatio" is simply to recognise a particular rare case as not included in the impediment, and consequently to decide that the parties were married *ab initio*. Now all that would follow from this view is, that if the parties be ignorant of the impediment, they are neverthless relieved from its operation, and if they be aware of it, and do not apply for the "Sanatio" they are really husband and wife notwithstanding. There seems to me nothing anomalous in this, no more than in the case of parties going to get married under any ecclesiastical impediment, not being aware of its existence, in which case we may suppose an ordinary dispensation to be obtained without their knowledge. These parties are really and validly married. Their ignorance of the removal of the impediment is no bar in the case.

Your second misgiving in my regard you express as follows:—"If it be true that a person, who afterwards obtains a "*sanatio in radice*" was validly married from the beginning, it would follow

that if, before obtaining the "*sanatio in radice*," he attempted to contract another marriage, such a marriage would necessarily be invalid. I accept the consequence, and, therefore, venture to dissent from what you further say: "But it is sufficiently obvious that such a marriage would not be invalid, and, therefore, that the former marriage was not valid *ab initio*.

I repeat, I accept the consequence, and I see in it nothing more than a mistake, which may as easily occur in other cases of "Ligamen" as well.

A further difficulty you express as follows:—"When the impediment becomes known, it is open to the party concerned to apply, as he may freely determine, for an ordinary dispensation, or for a dispensation "*in radice*." If he determine to apply for an ordinary dispensation, our correspondent will freely admit, that his marriage has been hitherto invalid. How then can it be valid, all the time, from the accident of his determination to apply for a dispensation "*in radice?*"

In reply let me say, I do not admit the statement, that it is open to the party concerned to apply for an ordinary dispensation or a dispensation (I would rather say a "sanatio) *in radice*." In the passage you quote from Benedict XIV., it is expressly mentioned that the latter favour is rarely, or rather *most* rarely, granted "*in gravissimis urgentibus causis*" as the great Pontiff lays down; and, this being so, the option you allege is not allowed to the party concerned, and of course the conclusion you draw from such an allegation has no foundation to rest on.

Notwithstanding these strictures, you frankly and generously admit, that if my explanation of the "*sanatio in radice*" be correct, I have good grounds for objecting to the use of the word "*Dispensatio*" as applied to such an operation.

I must say this consideration weighs much with me. In theological, as well as in philosophical matters, names count for a great deal. They should not be mere appellatives depending on a prescribed acceptation. They should as far as possible, like a definition, not only signify what they purport to mean in the strict use of language, but exclude every other meaning, so that, as Quintilian would have it, "we be not only understood, but that we cannot be misunderstood." (*Lib.* viii. c. 2.) On this account I cannot but be glad, that you agree with me, that my theory comes nearer to the etymological meaning of "*sanatio in radice*" than yours, and that the term "*Dispensatio*" is not so appropriate. Surely we must consider that in employing the special words "*sanatio in radice*," theologians meant more than "*Dispensatio in radice*," otherwise they would not have searched for them, the latter words being so much at hand.

And now let us pass over to your side of the question, where you will please allow me to take towards you the attitude of "*videtur quod non*" in what I am going to say.

The only essential difference you make between the "*Sanatio in radice*," and the "*Dispensatio in radice*" is that the latter requires a renewal of consent as necessary, whereas the former dispenses with it, and in both cases you hold the marriage to have been invalid from the beginning, and all along.

I must admit, and I admit freely, you are in good company, who, as you allege, make quite a "consensus" against me. As to this we shall see later on. For the present let us occupy ourselves with the question, how a renewal of consent can be dispensed with in your view of the operation of the "*Sanatio*," or *Dispensatio, in radice*, the marriage up to this being invalid? Carriere treats the matter, and, in his COMPENDIUM, asks the question (No. 2,821), *Quid sit Dispensatio in* RADICE? to which he answers: Dispensatio in *radice*, qualem in praesenti spectamus ea est, per quam matrimonium ex irrito fit validum absque renovatione consensus." Let us fix attention on the words "qualem in praesenti spectamus." He is writing an elementary treatise, and he gives a definition, which he thinks sufficient for Tyrotheologians, but admits it to be inadequate. To supply the deficiency he appends a copious note, in which he goes through a long dissertation on the subject. Reading what he says I must confess, with all the respect I have for the distinguished author, he lacks his usual perspicuity, and is far from clearing up the difficulty he undertakes to explain.

He then afterwards tells us, that few Theologians treat of these dispensations in precisely the same respect in which he considers them, but they suppose their possibility and teach that the supreme Pontiff can, indeed, abrogate the effects of an ecclesiastical law not only for the future but for the past, and put matters back into the same position as if the impediment arising from the law never existed. This is all very well to assert as possible, but the difficulty yet remains as to HOW the object in view is to be accomplished. This is what few Theologians attempt to explain, as Carriere observes; and Perrone, dealing with the same difficulty, in his "DE MATRIMONIO CHRISTIANO," *Cap.* iv. *Art.* 1, asserts, that so great is the difficulty that several either totally denied, or only "nomine tenus" admitted, the power of curing a marriage "*in radice*," because, as he observes, they considered it impossible to understand how by a posterior act that could be made valid, which from the beginning was invalid, and that, sometimes after many years, nay sometimes after the death of one of the married parties, or even both. On this account he goes into a proof to show that the Supreme Pontiff has the power in question, and he concludes his proof with the authoritative declaration of Benedict XIV., to the effect that it would be criminal ("nefas") to call such a power into doubt, and that it is maintained by the authority of the canonists.

The power is, therefore, beyond all contradiction or doubt. But the question yet remains (and this is the question between us),

what is the PRINCIPLE of the Pope's action, and HOW his action produces its effect, whether on a marriage valid, or invalid from the beginning? You say invalid. Let us, therefore, make a practical case to test your position.

Here are two parties married under a diriment impediment, of which they were not aware, and they, therefore, gave full consent, as far as it depended on them, to their union, at the time. In course of time, however, one or both come to know of the impediment, but they continue to live together, understanding they are living in a state of concubinage; or, making the case still more difficult, let us suppose one or both have withdrawn their consent in the most distinct way, and are preparing to separate, or have actually separated. Now it is maintained by the advocates of your view, that either case may be remedied by a dispensation "*in radice*," and the parties made husband and wife, *and this without any renewal of consent*. How are we to understand this? To me it is incomprehensible, consistently with the principle of mutual consent being essential both by the natural and Divine law, as the basis of the matrimonial contract. In vain do you speak to me about ratifications, convalidations, and putting back matters into the state in which they would have been had no impediment been in the way. Here is a marriage to be contracted *hic et nunc*; I want consent *hic et nunc*. Where is it? I cannot believe the consent given in the first instant morally perseveres in face of the fact, that the parties have lived on for years, as it may have been, in an unlawful state, believing themselves not to be married at all, and much less can I think it possible in the supposition of their going asunder in consequence of this belief. But above all, how are we to imagine all to be set right, even when one or both parties are dead and gone, for this case is included in the theory?

Perrone, feeling the whole force of this difficulty in the case supposed, of the marriage having been invalid from the beginning, applies his penetrating mind to the question we are considering, namely, what is the principle of the Pope's action, and how it takes effect in granting a "*dispensatio*," or "*a sanatio in radice*," and he brings forward two explanations.

The first would solve the difficulty on the principle of a "*fictio juris*," according to the axiom, *fictio in casu ficto idem operatur ac veritas in vero*." But he is not pleased with this solution, and prefers another, which is as follows: the Church, in the enactment of impediments, does not legislate altogether absolutely, and as comprising every case without exception, but reserves to herself a decision for certain extraordinary circumstances, in which her impediments are to be no bar to the natural consent of the parties, so as to prevent it having its due effect; and he observes that in this view the impediments are to be understood as subject in the mind of the legislator to some condition, or reservation, or exception; and this, he

continues to remark, good sense would see to be possible for a wise legislator to do, and that it was so done by the Church is proved by her course of action in deciding, when she applies the "*sanatio in radice*" to marriages, that the impediment was no obstacle to the consent of the parties having its due effects.

He further teaches, that when the Church cures a marriage "*in radice*," she not merely *declares* the consent of the parties to have been valid, as if no impediment were to be considered as having been in the case, but that she rightfully exercised her authority, or an act of jurisdiction, whereby as legislatrix she *decides* that for the impediment in question the law offered no opposition to the consent.

From this explanation he infers that we are to regard the "*sanatio in radice*" to be improperly called a "*rehabilitatio*," and *convalliatio*, and that it differs from the notion of a *simple dispensation*, whether before or after marriage. For though *a post-nuptial* dispensation may be called in a certain sense a *ratihabitio* and even a *sanatio*, it is, nevertheless, nothing more than a simple dispensation which has its bearing and effect on the present moment, whilst the dispensation "*in radice*" goes back *directly* to the time, when the marriage was contracted, removes the impediment, holds the marriage to be good from the beginning, so that the offspring is legitimated by the *fullest* legitimacy as an offspring from a legitimate marriage, and distinct from the *full* or *fuller* legitimacy granted even by means of a subsequent marriage.

Taking my conclusions from these explanations, I will state them as follows:—

1. In the institution of impediments the church makes exceptions for special cases of difficulty, and intends that these cases are not to be affected by the impediments in question.

2. She also reserves to herself the right of judging of such cases, as they may be referred to her, and of deciding, if they be of the class excepted.

3. Deciding that they are so, she issues her sentence of "*sanatio*," which in the case is an act of jurisdiction both with regard to the impediment and the case, or as we might say, "*juris et facti*," and the law being thus taken account of with its exceptions, the particular case is judicially recognised as comprised in the exceptions, and the marriage is therefore pronounced to be valid, as if the impediment never existed.

I purposed dealing with the "*consensus*" of theologians, whom you have marshalled against this theory, but I have been more diffuse than I had expected, and I must reserve the task for another paper, with which I may trouble you for perhaps the next number of the Record, with likely some further observations on the entire subject.

Meanwhile I am glad you have brought this important and difficult matter under notice. The readers of the Record owe you

a debt of gratitude; and for my own part I desire to express to you my sense of thankfulness, and beg to remain very respectfully and sincerely yours, &c., &c.

[We feel that it will be much more satisfactory to reply to our esteemed correspondent's communication as a whole, than to undertake the defence of our position before he has completely developed his views. We shall await therefore, with much interest, his fuller exposition of a theory which by its very boldness challanges attention.—Ed. I. E. R.]

DOCUMENTS.

LITTERAE

SSmi D. N. Leonis XIII.; datae Archiepiscopo Mechliniensi omnibusque Belgii Episcopis.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Victori Augusto S. R. E. Card. Deschamps, Archiepiscopo Mechliniensi et omnibus Venerabilibus Fratribus Belgii Episcopis.

LEO PP. XIII.

Dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Licet multa postremis hisce temporibus in Belgio contigerint rei Catholicae perniciosa, quae animum Nostrum magno dolore affecerunt, solatium tamen consolationemque percepimus ex multis constantis amoris fideique testimoniis a Catholicis Belgii viris Nobis exhibitis, quoties opportuna se offerret occasio. In primis autem, Nos recreavit et recreat egregia vestra in Nos voluntas, studiumque a vobis impensum, ut christianus populus vobis commissus in fidei Catholicae sinceritate et unitate persistat. et amore in Ecclesiam Christique Vicarium in dies crescat. Placet autem id Vobis maxime laudi tribuere, quod optimae juventutis institutioni omni industria studetis, providentes ut in primis litterarum scholis de religione doctrina large adolescentibus tradatur. Nec minore cura contenditis ut christianae educationi cuncta benevertant in Gymnasiis etiam et Lyceis, et in ipsa Lovaniensi studiorum Universitate.

Nihilominus hac in re quieto aut securo Nos animo esse non sinunt quae Catholicorum hominum concordiae periculum creare penes Belgas videntur, eosque in contraria studia distrahere. Supervacaneum porro est hic memorare quae fuerint veteres recentesque dissidiorum causae, occasiones, incitamenta, inde

etiam profecta, unde minus expectandum esse videbatur: ea vos dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles fratres, prae ceteris intelligitis et Nobiscum deploratis, cum probe noveritis nullo unquam tempore tantam fuisse concordiae inter omnes Catholicos viros conciliandae et servandae necessitatem, quantam hoc nostro, quo christiani nominis hostes unanimi impetu Ecclesiam undique adoriuntur.

Itaque de ea tuenda solliciti, monemus, minus eidem favere nonnullas de jure publico controversias, quae solent animos apud vos maxime commovere: versantur autem circa necessitatem vel opportunitatem exigendi ad Catholicae doctrinae normam recentes rei publicae formas, juris novi, ut aiunt, principiis innixas.—Profecto Nos ipsi ante omnia summopere cupimus ut humana societas christiano more componatur, atque ut omnes civitatis ordines divina Christi virtus penetret ac pervadat. Id Nobis propositum esse statim ostendimus a Pontificatus Nostri exordiis, publicis editis documentis; potissimum autem Litteris Encyclicis, quas adversus socialismi errores, et nuper de politico principatu evulgavimus. Attamen Catholici viri omnes, si utiliter in commune bonum elaborare velint, prae oculis habeant et fideliter sequantur oportet consultam agendi rationem, quam in his rebus adhibere solet Ecclesia: quae licet caelestium doctrinarum integritatem justitiaeque principia inviolabili firmitate tueatur, maximeque enitatur ut privatis actibus publicisque institutis et moribus eadem principia moderentur; aequam tamen habet rerum, locorum, temporumque rationem; et saepe ut in humanis rebus assolet, quaedam aliquandiu tolerare cogitur mala, quae removeri vix aut ne vix quidem possunt, quin gravioribus malis et perturbationibus aditus aperiatur.

Illud insuper in controversiis agitandis cavendum est, ne modus transiliatur, quem aequitatis caritatisque leges praescribunt; neve temere insimulentur, vel in suspicionem adducantur viri ceteroquin Ecclesiae doctrinis addicti, maxime autem qui in Ecclesia dignitate et potestate praecellunt.—Id quidem tibi, dilecte fili Noster, contigisse dolemus, qui Ecclesiae Mechliniensi Archiepiscopi auctoritate praees, quique ob egregia tua in Ecclesiam merita et Catholicae doctrinae tuendae studium, dignus es habitus, qui Patrum Cardinalium Collegio a Decessore Nostro f. r. Pio IX. adscriberis.—Per se autem apparet, hanc in falsas insimulationes quemlibet vocandi levitatem alieno nomini detrahere, mutuae caritatis vincula relaxare, iniuriamque iis inferre quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei:* ideoque ut ab ea omnes Catholici viri temperent summopere cupimus, graviterque monemus. Quibus quidem scire satis sit, Apostolicae Sedi Romanoque Pontifici, ad quem omnibus semper patet accessus, officium esse demandatum, Catholicas ubique veritates tuendi, cavendique ne quid in Ecclesia serpat aut disseminetur, quod de fide et moribus doctrinae officere vel cum ea discrepare videatur,

Ad Vos quod attinet, dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres,

summa diligentia curate ut omnium doctorum virorum, et eorum praesertim, quibus iuventutis instituendae munus per vos est creditum, una sit mens eademque sententia in his, in quibus Apostolicae Sedis auctoritas dissentiendi libertatem non relinquit. In his autem quae sapientum disputationibus libere permittuntur ita, Vobis suadentibus ac monentibus, ingenia exerceantur, ut sententiarum diversitas animorum unitatem et voluntatum concordiam non abrumpat. Qua de re plena sapientiae ac gravitatis praecepta doctis viris tradidit immortalis memoriae Pontifex Decessor Noster Benedictus XIV in Constitutione "*Sollicita ac provida*;" imo etiam exemplar ad imitandum proposuit sanctum Thomam Aquinatem, qui pacato semper stilo et gravi dicendi forma utitur, non solum cum docet, veritatemque argumentis communit, sed etiam cum adversarios urget et insectatur. Placet Nobis haec eadem Decessoris Nostri praecepta iterum sapientibus commendare, idemque exemplar exhibere, ex quo non modo discant qua ratione sit cum adversariis agendum, sed etiam qualem in philosophicis et theologicis disciplinis doctrinam tradi oporteat et coli. Non semel vobis, dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres, significavimus quantopere Nos optemus ut sancti Thomae sapientia in scholis Catholicis restituatur et maximo ubique in honore habeatur. Auctores etiam Nos fuimus constituendi in Lovaniensi Academia altioris philosophiae, ad mentem S. Thomae, magisterium; qua in re, sicut et in ceteris omnibus, paratissimos vos nacti sumus desideriis Nostris obsequi voluntatemque Nostram perficere. Coepta igitur alacriter insistite, et studiose curate, ut in eadem Academia christianae philosophiae uberes fontes, e S. Thomae Aquinatis operibus erumpentes, large copioseque auditoribus recudantur, et ad omnium aliarum disciplinarum utilitatem deriventur. Qua in re neque consilium neque operam Nostram, ubi opus fuerit, Vobis unquam deesse sinemus.

Interim vero a Deo, qui fons sapientiae est et pacis auctor caritatisque amator, opportunam necessitatibus opem imploramus, et caelestium munerum copiam omnibus adprecamur. Quorum auspicem et singularis benevolentiae Nostrae testem Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis, dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres, simulque universo Clero et populo curis vestris credito, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 3 Augusti, 1881.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quarto.

[In the Latin Directory for last year there is reference in the Appendix to an Indult dated the 1st July, 1877, by virtue of which the Feast of the Presentation of our Blessed Lady may be celebrated as a double of the first class, with an Octave, in all Convents of Presentation

Nuns in Ireland. The following is the Indult to which reference is made.—Ed. I. E. R.]

Beatissime Pater.

Paulus Card. Archiepus Dublin. humiliter S.V. supplicat ut moniales Praesentationis quae in Hiberniae commorantur, nec non earumdem Ecclesiae, festum Praesentationis sub ritu primae classis cum octava valeant celebrare.

Quod, &c.

Ex Aud. SSmi diei 1 Julii, 1877.

SSmus D. N. Pius Div. Prov. PP. IX., referente infrascripto S.C. de Ppda. Fide Secr., benigne annuit pro gratia juxta petita.

Datum Romae ex aed. S.C. de Ppda Fide, die et anno ut supra.

P. B. Agnozzi, Secret

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Intermediate Education Rules and Programme of Examinations for the Year 1882.

The Intermediate Programme for 1882 has come with surprise upon the country. From the command of large sources of information, the financial position of the Intermediate Commissioners was not unknown to some people; but the majority of those interested in Intermediate Education only learned from the Programme itself the very serious changes entailed by the want of funds. The impression through the country generally, created we don't know how, was that the Commissioners could have been more liberal in the past. We need not say how unfounded that impression was. After the attention the subject has received from many competent writers in the public press, there is no necessity to inquire into the causes of the uninviting scale of fees now offered by the Commissioners. We may say, however, that we disapproved, at the time, of the extension of the Intermediate Act to girls. The Government was influenced, rather against the judgment of its leading members, to defer to the views of a body of sentimental legislators, who, we think, on this point did not represent the sounder sense of the country. In any case it is now pretty plain that it would have been more judicious, considering the limited amount of money placed at the disposal of the Commissioners, to commence a very novel experiment with boys alone, and to leave the further extension of the Act to time and experience. The result of yielding to the crotchet of a few fussy statesmen has been to deal a severe blow at the whole system.

However, it is now bootless to raise any question upon this point. No force of argument would lead to the application of the

funds in the direction originally intended. The practical question, and the only one worth considering, is how the old scale of rewards can be replaced. Many suggestions have been made, but the only practical solution is an increased grant. We cannot imagine that Parliament can raise any serious objection to a supplementary vote. The Intermediate Act was passed with singular unanimity, and the success of its working has justified every hope. The provision made to give it effect was certainly far from being extravagant, and we can scarcely believe that Parliament would object to supply the present grave deficiency by a grant to be included in the Estimates. We have the strongest conviction that if the question were once raised, the arguments for restoring the former scale of fees would be irresistible.

We are not amongst those who are ready to find fault with the details of the Programme. We are quite sure they are the result of very careful attention. But we do think, as the Commissioners can so easily elicit the views of the Standing Committees, that these bodies should be more freely consulted. This course would prevent the occasional appearance of works in the Programme which are open to objection. In some schools, one at least of the books prescribed for 1882 is not being read, and their candidates must, therefore, necessarily present themselves at a disadvantage. We would also re-echo the very general complaint that the late appearance of the "Programme" seriously affects the course of studies in Intermediate Schools.

We have received for Review the following Books :—

Messrs. Browne & Nolan—

The Troades of Euripides, with Revision of Text; and Notes chiefly intended for schools. By Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, F.T.C.D.

Select Satires of Horace. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices. By John I. Beare, B.A.

Messrs. Gill & Son—

Twenty Essays of Elia, selected from the works of Charles Lamb. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary and Questions for Examination, by J. J. Dogherty, LL.B.

Principles of Catholic Education. A Sermon preached in aid of the Schools of St. Francis Xavier, by the Rev. William Hayden, S.J.

Our Journey to the Chapel of Our Lady of Knock. By A Lady.

Messrs. Burns & Oates—

Our Lady's Almanac for the Year 1882. By the Author of "The Pilgrim's May Wreath."

F. Pustet, Ratisbon—

Institutiones Theologicae in usum Scholarum, Auctore J. Kleutgen, S.J. Vol. I. *De Ipso Deo.*

J. Haddon & Co—

The Psalmist, a collection of Tunes, Chants and Anthems.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

FEBRUARY, 1882.

LIGHTNING AND THUNDER.[1]

"First let me talk with this philosopher:
What is the cause of thunder?"

King Lear.

IDENTITY OF LIGHTNING AND ELECTRICITY.

THE electricity produced by an ordinary electric machine exhibits, under certain conditions, phenomena which bear a striking resemblance to the phenomena attendant on Lightning. In both cases there is a flash of light; in both there is a report, which, in the case of Lightning, we call Thunder; and, in both cases, intense heat is developed, which is capable of setting fire to combustible bodies. Further, the spark from an electric machine travels through space with extraordinary rapidity, and so does a flash of Lightning; the spark follows a zig-zag course, and so does a flash of Lightning; the spark moves silently and harmlessly through metal rods and wires, while it forces its way, with destructive effect, through bad conductors, and it is so, too, with a flash of Lightning. Lastly, the electricity of a machine is capable of giving a severe shock to the human body; and we know that Lightning gives a shock so severe as usually to cause immediate death. For these reasons it was long conjectured by scientific men that Lightning is, in its nature, identical with electricity; and

[1] A Lecture delivered in the Theatre of the Royal Dublin Society, on Wednesday, April 6th, 1881, by the Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D.

that it differs from the electricity of our machines only in this, that it exists in a more powerful and destructive form.

But it was reserved for the celebrated Benjamin Franklin to demonstrate the truth of this conjecture by direct experiment. He first conceived the idea of drawing electricity from a Thundercloud, in the same way as it is drawn from the conductor of an electric machine. For this purpose he proposed to place a kind of sentry-box on the summit of a lofty tower, and to erect, on the sentry-box, a metal rod projecting twenty or thirty feet upwards into the air, pointed at the end, and having no electrical communication with the earth. He predicted that, when a Thundercloud would pass over the tower, the metal rod would become charged with electricity, and that an observer, stationed in the sentry-box, might draw from it, at pleasure, a succession of electric sparks.

With the magnanimity of a really great man, Franklin published this project to the world; being more solicitous to extend the domain of science by new discoveries than to secure for himself the glory of having made them. The project was set forth in a letter to Mr. Collinson of London, which bears date July 29, 1750, and which, in the course of a year or two, was translated into the principal languages of Europe. Two years later the experiment suggested by Franklin was made by Monsieur Dalibard, a wealthy man of science, at his villa near Marly-la-Ville, a few miles from Paris. In the middle of an elevated plain Monsieur Dalibard erected an iron rod, forty feet in length, one inch in diameter, and ending above in a sharp steel point: the iron rod rested on an insulating support, and was kept in position by means of silk cords. In the absence of Monsieur Dalibard, who was called by business to Paris, this apparatus was watched by an old dragoon, named Coiffier; and on the afternoon of the tenth of May, 1752, he drew sparks from the lower end of the rod, at the time that a Thundercloud was passing over the neighbourhood. Conscious of the importance that would be attached to this phenomenon, the old dragoon summoned, in all haste, the prior of Marly to come and witness it. The prior came without delay, and he was followed by some of the principal inhabitants of the village. In the presence of the little group thus gathered together the experiment was repeated: electric sparks were again drawn, in rapid succession, from the iron rod; the prediction of Franklin was fulfilled to the letter; and the

identity of Lightning and electricity was, for the first time, demonstrated to the world.

Meanwhile Franklin had been waiting with impatience for the completion of the tower of Christchurch, in Philadelphia, on which he intended to make the experiment himself. He even collected money, it is said, to hasten on the building. But, notwithstanding his exertions, the progress of the tower was slow; and his active mind, which could ill brook delay, hit upon another expedient, remarkable alike for its simplicity and for its complete success. He constructed a boy's kite, using, however, a silk pocket-handkerchief, instead of paper, that it might not be damaged by rain. To the top of the kite he attached a pointed iron wire, about a foot long, and he provided a roll of hempen twine, which he knew to be a conductor of electricity, for flying it. This was the apparatus with which he proposed to explore the nature of a Thundercloud.

The Thundercloud came late in the afternoon of the fourth of July, 1752, and Franklin sallied out with his kite, accompanied by his son, and taking with him a common door-key and a Leyden Jar. The kite was soon high in air, and the philosopher awaited the result of his experiment, standing with his son under the lee of a cowshed, partly to protect himself from the rain that was coming, and partly, it is said, to shield himself from the ridicule of passers-by, who, having no sympathy with his philosophical speculations, might be inclined to regard him as a lunatic. To guard against the danger of receiving a flash of Lightning through his body he held the kite by means of a silk ribbon, which was tied to the door-key, the door-key being itself attached to the lower end of the hempen string. A flash of Lightning soon came from the cloud, and a second and a third; but no sign of electricity could be observed in the kite, or the hempen cord, or the key. Franklin was almost beginning to despair of success, when suddenly he noticed that the little fibres of the cord were bristling up, just as they would do if it were placed near an electric machine in action. He presented the door-key to the knob of the Leyden Jar, and a spark passed between them. Presently a shower began to fall: the cord, wetted by the rain, became a better conductor than it had been before, and sparks came more freely. With these sparks he now charged the Leyden Jar; and found, to his intense delight, that he could exhibit all the phenomena of electricity by means of the Lightning he had drawn from the clouds.

In the following year, a similar experiment, with even more striking results, was carried out, in France, by de Romas. Though it is said he had no knowledge of what Franklin had done in America, he too used a kite; and, with a view of making the string a better conductor, he interlaced with it a thin copper wire. Then flying his kite in the ordinary way, when it had risen to a height of about 550 feet, he drew sparks from it which, we are told, were upwards of nine feet long, and emitted a sound like the report of a pistol.

There can be no doubt that experiments of this kind, made with the electricity of a Thundercloud, were extremely dangerous; and this was soon proved by a fatal accident. Professor Richman, of St. Petersburgh, had erected on the roof of his house a pointed iron rod, the lower end of which passed into a glass vessel, intended, as we are informed, to measure the strength of the charge which he expected to receive from the clouds. On the sixth of August, 1753, observing the approach of a Thunderstorm, he hastened to his apparatus; and, as he stood near it, with his head bent down to watch the effect, a flash of Lightning passed through his body, and killed him on the spot. This catastrophe served to fix public attention on the danger of such experiments, and gave occasion to the saying of Voltaire: "There are some great lords whom we should always approach with extreme precaution, and Lightning is one of them."[1] From this time, the practice of making experiments directly with the Lightning of the clouds seems to have been, by common consent, abandoned.

IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF LIGHTNING.

And now, having set before you some of the most memorable experiments by which the identity of Lightning and electricity has been demonstrated, I will try to give you a clear conception regarding the immediate cause of Lightning, so far as the subject is understood at the present day by scientific men. You know that there are two kinds of electricity, which are called respectively, *positive* and *negative;* and that each kind repels electricity of the same kind as itself, while it attracts electricity of the opposite kind. Now, every

[1] "Il y a des grand seigneurs dont il ne faut approcher qu'avec d'extrêmes précautions. Le tonnerre est de ce nombre."—*Dict. Philos. art. Foudre.*

Thundercloud is charged with electricity of one kind or the other, positive or negative: and, as it hovers over the earth, it develops, by what is called *induction*, or influence, electricity of the opposite kind in that part of the earth which is immediately under it. Thus, we have two bodies —the cloud and the earth—charged with opposite kinds of electricity, and separated by a stratum of the atmosphere. The two opposite electricities powerfully attract each other; but, for a time, they are prevented from rushing together by the intervening stratum of air, which is a non-conductor of electricity, and acts as a barrier between them. As the electricity, however, continues to accumulate, the attraction becomes stronger and stronger, until at length it is able to overcome the resistance of this barrier; a violent disruptive discharge then takes place between the cloud and the earth; and the flash of Lightning is the consequence of the discharge.

The whole phenomenon may be illustrated, on a small scale, by means of this electric machine of Carré's which you see before you. When my assistant turns the handle of the machine, negative electricity is developed in that large brass cylinder, which in our experiment will represent the Thundercloud. At a distance of five or six inches from the cylinder, I hold a brass ball, which is in electrical communication with the earth through my body. The electrified brass cylinder acts by induction, or influence, on the brass ball, and develops in it, as well as in my body, a charge of positive electricity. Now, the positive electricity

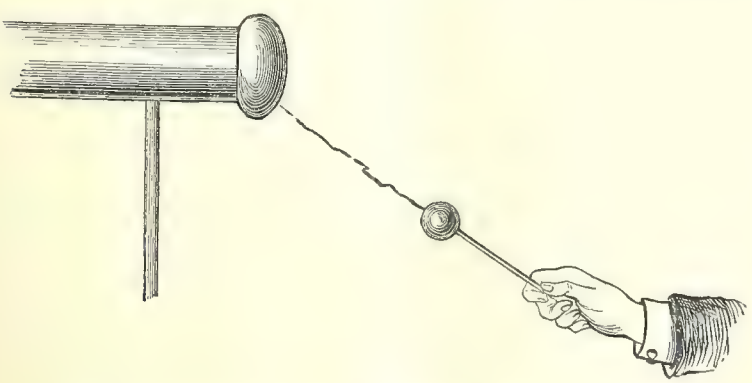


Fig. 1.—The Electric Spark; a Type of a Flash of Lightning.

of the ball, and the negative electricity of the cylinder, are mutually attracting each other, but the intervening stratum

of air offers a resistance which prevents a discharge from taking place. My assistant, however, continues to work the machine; the two opposite electricities rapidly accumulate on the cylinder and the ball; at length, their mutual attraction is strong enough to overcome the resistance interposed between them, a disruptive discharge follows, and at the same moment a spark is seen to pass, accompanied by a sharp snapping report. This spark is a miniature flash of Lightning; and the snapping report is a diminutive peal of Thunder. Furthermore, at the moment the spark passes, you may observe a slight convulsive movement in my hand and wrist. This convulsive movement represents, on a small scale, the violent shock, generally fatal to life, which is produced by a flash of Lightning when it passes through the body.

I can continue to take sparks from the conductor as long as the machine is worked; and it is interesting to observe that these sparks follow an irregular zig-zag course, just as Lightning does. The reason is the same in both cases: a discharge between two electrified bodies takes place along the line of least resistance; and, owing to the varying condition of the atmosphere, as well as of the minute particles of matter floating in it, the line of least resistance is almost always a zig-zag line.

Lightning, then, may be conceived as an electrical discharge, sudden and violent in its character, which takes place, through the atmosphere, between two bodies highly charged with opposite kinds of electricity. Sometimes this electrical discharge passes, as I have said, between a cloud and the earth: sometimes it passes between one cloud and another; sometimes, on a smaller scale, it takes place between the great mass of a cloud and its outlying fragments. But, if you ask me in what the discharge itself consists, I am utterly unable to tell you. It is usual to speak and write on this subject as if electricity were a material substance, a very subtle fluid, and as if, at the moment the discharge takes place, this fluid passed, like a rapid stream, from the body that was positively electrified to the body that was negatively electrified. But, we must always remember that this is only a conventional mode of expression, intended chiefly to assist our conceptions, and to help us to talk about the phenomena. It does not even profess to represent the objective truth. All that we know for certain is this: that immediately before the discharge, the two bodies are highly electrified with opposite kinds of

electricity; and, that immediately after the discharge, they are found to have returned to their ordinary condition, or, at least, to have become less highly electrified than they were before.

The flash of light that accompanies an electric discharge is often supposed to be the electricity itself, passing from one body to the other. But it is not: it is simply an effect produced by the discharge. Heat is generated by the energy of electrical attraction, at the moment it overcomes the resistance offered by the atmosphere; and this heat is so intense, that it produces a brilliant incandescence along the path of the discharge. When a spark appears, for example, between the conductor of the machine and this brass ball, it can be shown, by very satisfactory evidence, that minute particles of these solid bodies are first converted into vapour, and then made to glow with intense heat. The gases, too, of which the air is composed, and the solid particles floating in the air, are likewise raised to incandescence. So, too, with Lightning: the flash of light is due to the intense heat generated by the electrical discharge, and owes its character to the composition and the density of the atmosphere through which the discharge passes.

DURATION OF A FLASH OF LIGHTNING.

How long does a flash of Lightning last? You are aware, I dare say, that, when an impression of light is made on the eye, the impression remains for a sensible interval of time, not less than the tenth of a second, after the source of light has been extinguished or removed. Hence we continue, in fact, to see the light, for at least the tenth of a second, after the light has ceased. Now, if you reflect how brief is the moment for which a flash of Lightning is visible, and if you deduct the tenth of a second from that brief moment, you will see, at once, that the actual duration of a flash must be very short indeed.

So far as I know, the duration of a flash of Lightning has never been exactly measured. But the electric spark, as I have told you, is the type of a flash of Lightning; and Wheatstone has shown[1] that a spark, four inches long, taken from the conductor of a powerful electric machine,

[1] See Wheatstone's original Paper, Phil. Trans. Royal Society, 1834, vol. cxxv. pp. 583–591.

that is, just such a spark as you have seen here to-day, lasts considerably less than the millionth of a second. If a resisting wire is introduced into the path of the discharge, the spark will last for a longer time. Thus, for example, when the discharge from a Leyden Jar was made to pass through half a mile of copper wire, with breaks at intervals, the sparks that appeared at these breaks were found by Wheatstone to last for $\frac{1}{24000}$ of a second. The duration of a flash of Lightning probably lies somewhere between these limits, but, so far as my reading goes, has not yet been determined by direct experiment.[1]

It would be tedious, on an occasion like the present, to enter into an account of Wheatstone's beautiful and ingenious method of investigation, by which the above facts have been established. But I will show you a much more simple experiment, which brings home very forcibly to the mind how exceedingly short must be the duration of the electric spark. Here is a circular disc of cardboard, the outer part of which, as you see, is divided into sectors, black and white alternately, while the space about the

[1] I find it stated by several writers of high authority, by Mascart,[1] for example, by Daguin,[2] by Ganot,[3] that Wheatstone made experiments on the flash of Lightning itself, with a view to determine the time of its duration. These writers say that he employed a rotating disc, with black and white sectors, such as is described in my Lecture, a little further on. The details of the experiment are given by Deschanel,[4] who, however, does not ascribe it to Wheatstone. But no writer that I have seen gives any reference to the original record of this experiment; and I have hitherto searched for it in vain. The interest which must always be attached to the authentic account of so difficult and delicate an investigation, is greatly increased, in the present case, by the fact that widely different statements have recently been put forward, by very eminent men, regarding the duration of a flash of Lightning. According to Mascart,[5] it is less than the $\frac{1}{1.000}$ of a second; according to Deschanel[6] it is less than the $\frac{1}{10.000}$; according to Tyndall,[7] less than the $\frac{1}{100.000}$; and according to Professor Tait,[8] of Edinburgh, "Wheatstone has shown that Lightning certainly lasts less than the millionth part of a second." I should feel greatly obliged to any of my readers who could inform me, whether Wheatstone ever made such an experiment as is ascribed to him; or whether any one else ever made such an experiment; and where I may find the original account of it.

[1] *Electricité Statique*, ii. 561.
[2] *Traité de Physique*, iii. 213.
[3] *Treatise on Physics*, translated by Atkinson; Sixth Edition, p. 828.
[4] *Natural Philosophy*, translated by Everett; Sixth Edition, p. 641.
[5] loco citato.
[6] loco citato.
[7] *Fragments of Science;* Fifth Edition, p. 311.
[8] Lecture delivered in the City Hall, Glasgow, published in *Nature*, vol. xxii. 341.

centre is entirely white. The disc is mounted on a stand, by means of which I can make it rotate with great velocity. When it is put in rotation, the effect on the eye is very striking: the central space remains white as before, but in the outer rim the distinction of black and white

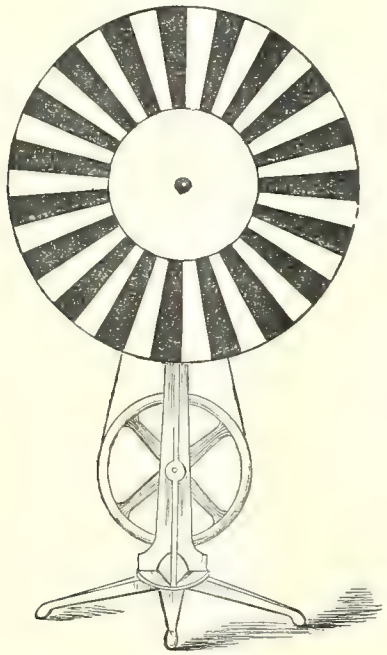


Fig. 2.—Cardboard Disc as seen when at Rest.

absolutely disappears, and gives place to a uniform gray. This colour is due to the blending together of black and white, in equal proportions; the blending being effected, not on the cardboard disc, but on the retina of the eye.

I mentioned, just now, that an impression made on the retina lasts for the tenth of a second after the cause of it has been removed. Now, when this disc is in rotation, the sectors follow one another so rapidly that the particular part of space occupied, at any moment, by a white sector will be occupied by a black sector within a time much less than the tenth of a second. It follows that the impression made by each white sector remains on the retina, until the following black sector comes into the same position; and, in like manner, the impression made by each black sector remains, until the following white sector takes up

the position of the black. Therefore the impression made by the whole outer rim is the impression of black and white combined, that is, the impression of gray.

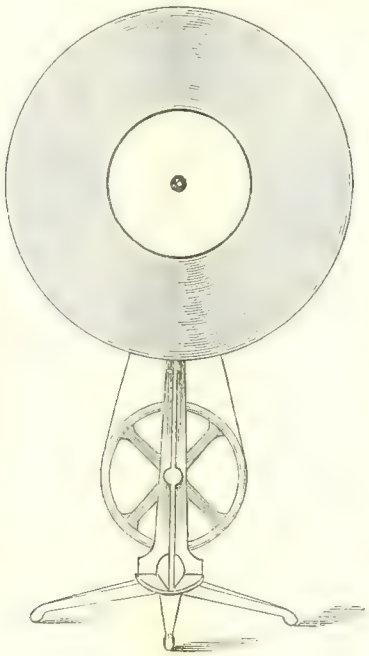


FIG. 3.—SAME DISC AS SEEN WHEN IN RAPID ROTATION.

So far, I dare say, the phenomenon is already familiar to you all. But the room will now be darkened, and I will illuminate the rotating disc, at intervals, by a brilliant electric spark obtained from the discharge of this Leyden Jar. At first, in the feeble light that remains, you can see the outer rim gray, and the central space white, as before. But when the disc is lit up, for a moment, by the electric spark, the black and white sectors are distinctly visible. The reason of this is clear: so brief is the moment for which the spark endures that the disc, though in rapid motion, makes no sensible advance during that small fraction of time; therefore, in the image on the retina, the impression made by the white sectors remains distinct from the impression made by the black; and the eye sees the disc as it really is.

I may notice, in passing, a very interesting consideration, suggested by this experiment. A cannon ball is now commonly discharged with a velocity of about 1600 feet a

second. Moving with this velocity it is, as you know, under ordinary circumstances, altogether invisible to the eye. But suppose it were illuminated, in the darkness of night, by this electric spark, which lasts, we will say, for the millionth of a second. During the moment of illumination, the cannon ball moves through the millionth part of 1600 feet, which is a little less than the fiftieth of an inch. Practically, we may say that the cannon ball does not sensibly change its place while the spark lasts. Further, the impression it makes on the eye, from the position it occupies at the moment of illumination, remains on the retina for the tenth of a second. Therefore if we are looking at that position, when the spark passes, we must see the cannon ball hanging motionless in space, though we know it is travelling at the rate of 1600 feet a second, or about 1000 miles an hour.

I should like to say one word about the brightness of a flash of Lightning. Somewhat more than thirty years ago, Professor Swan showed that the eye requires a sensible time—about the tenth of a second—to perceive the full brightness of a luminous object. Further, he proved, by a series of interesting experiments, that when a flash of light lasts for less than the tenth of a second, its apparent brilliancy to the eye is proportional to the time of its duration.[1] Now consider the consequence of these facts in reference to the brightness of our electric spark. If the spark lasted for the tenth of a second, we should perceive its full brightness; if it lasted for the tenth part of that time, we should see only the tenth part of its brightness; if it lasted for the hundredth part, we should see only the hundredth part of its brightness; and so on. But we know, in point of fact, that it lasts for less than the millionth of a second, that is, less than the hundred-thousandth part of the tenth of a second. Therefore we see only the hundred-thousandth part of its real brightness. Here is a startling conclusion; and one, I may say, fully justified by scientific evidence. That electric spark, brilliant as it appears to us, is really a hundred thousand times as bright as it seems to be. We cannot speak with the same precision of a flash of Lightning; because its duration has not been exactly determined. But if we suppose, according to the estimate already

[1] See original Paper by Swan, Trans. Royal Society, Edinburgh, 1849, vol. xvi. pp. 581–603. Also, a second Paper, ib. 1861, vol. xxii. pp. 33–39.

given, that it lasts for the hundred-thousandth of a second, then it must be ten thousand times as bright, in fact, as it appears to the eye.

VARIOUS FORMS OF LIGHTNING.

The Lightning of which I have spoken hitherto is commonly called *forked* Lightning; a name which seems to have been derived from the zig-zag line of light it presents to the eye. But there are other forms under which the electricity of the clouds often makes itself manifest; and to these I would now invite your attention, for a few moments. The most common of them all, at least in this country, is that which is familiarly known by the name of *sheet* Lightning. This is, probably, nothing else than the lighting up of the atmosphere, or of the clouds, by forked Lightning, which is not itself directly visible. Generally speaking, after a flash of sheet Lightning, we hear the rolling of distant Thunder. But it sometimes happens, especially in summer time, that the atmosphere is, again and again, lit up by a sudden glow of light, and yet no Thunder is heard. This phenomenon is commonly called *summer* Lightning, or *heat* Lightning. The cause of it cannot be stated with great confidence; but it is conjectured, not unreasonably, that, in this case too, the sudden illumination of the atmosphere is due to forked Lightning which is so remote that we can neither see the Lightning itself, nor hear the rolling of the Thunder.

Another form of Lightning, described by many writers, is called *globe* Lightning. It is said to appear as a ball of fire, about the size of a child's head, or even larger, which moves for a time slowly about, and then, after the lapse of several seconds, explodes with a terrific noise, sending forth flashes of fire in all directions, which burn whatever various places. But they are derived, for the most part, they strike. Many accounts are on record of such phenomena having been observed, at various times, and in from the evidence of persons who were not specially competent to apprehend, and to describe with precision, the facts that fell under their observation. Hence these accounts, while they are accepted by some, are rejected by others; and it seems to me, in the present state of the question, that the existence of globe Lightning can hardly be regarded as a demonstrated fact. In any case, if phenomena of this kind have really occurred, I can only say that

nothing we know of electricity, at present, will enable us to account for them.[1]

A much more authentic and, at the same time, very interesting form under which the electricity of the clouds sometimes manifests its presence, is known by the name of St. Elmo's fire. This phenomenon at one time presents the appearance of a star shining at the points of the lances or bayonets of a company of soldiers; at another, it takes the form of a tuft of bluish light, which seems to stream away from the masts and spars of a ship at sea, or from the pointed spire of a church. It was well known to the ancients. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, tells us that, after a stormy night, the iron points of the javelins of the fifth legion seemed to be on fire; and Pliny says that he saw lights, like stars, shining on the lances of the soldiers keeping watch by night upon the ramparts. When two such lights appeared at once, on the masts of a ship, they were called Castor and Pollux, and were regarded by sailors as a sign of a prosperous voyage. When only one appeared, it was called Helen, and was taken as an unfavourable omen.

In modern times, St. Elmo's fire has been witnessed by a host of observers, and all its various phases have been repeatedly described. In the memoirs of Forbin, we read that when he was sailing once, in 1696, among the Balearic Islands, a sudden storm came on during the night, accompanied by Lightning and Thunder. "We saw on the vessel," he says, "more than thirty St. Elmo's fires. Amongst the rest there was one on the vane of the main-mast, more than a foot and a half high. I sent a man up to fetch it down. When he was aloft, he cried out that it made a noise like wetted gunpowder set on fire. I told him to take off the vane and come down; but scarcely had he removed it from its place when the fire left it, and reappeared at the end of the mast, so that it was impossible to take it away. It remained for a long time and gradually went out."

On the fourteenth of January, 1824, Monsieur Maxadorf happened to look at a load of straw, in the middle of a field, just under a dense black cloud. The straw seemed literally on fire; a streak of light went forth from every blade; even the driver's whip shone with a pale blue flame. As

[1] See, however, an attempt to account for this phenomenon by de Larive, *A Treatise on Electricity*, London, 1853–8, vol. iii. pp. 199, 200; and another, quite recently, by Mr. Spottiswoode, in a *Lecture on the Electrical Discharge*, delivered before the British Association at York, in September, 1881, and published by Longmans, London, p. 42.

the black cloud passed away, the light gradually disappeared, after having lasted about ten minutes. Again, it is related that on the eighth of May, 1831, in Algiers, as the French artillery officers were walking out, after sunset, without their caps, each one saw a tuft of blue light on his neighbour's head; and when they stretched out their hands, a tuft of light was seen at the end of every finger. Not unfrequently, a traveller in the Alps sees the same luminous tuft on the point of his Alpenstock. And quite recently, during a Thunderstorm, a whole forest was observed to become luminous just before each flash of Lightning, and to become dark again, at the moment of the discharge.[1]

This phenomenon may be easily explained. It consists in a gradual and comparatively silent electrical discharge between the earth and the cloud; and generally, but not always, it has the effect of preventing such an accumulation of electricity as would be necessary to produce a flash of Lightning. I can illustrate this kind of discharge with the aid of our machine. If I hold a pointed metal rod towards the large conductor, you can see, when the machine is worked and the room darkened, how the point of the rod becomes luminous, and shines like a faint blue star. I substitute for the pointed rod the blunt handles of a pair of pliers, and a tuft of blue light is, at once, developed at the end of each handle, which seems to stream away with a hissing noise. I now put aside the pliers, and open out my

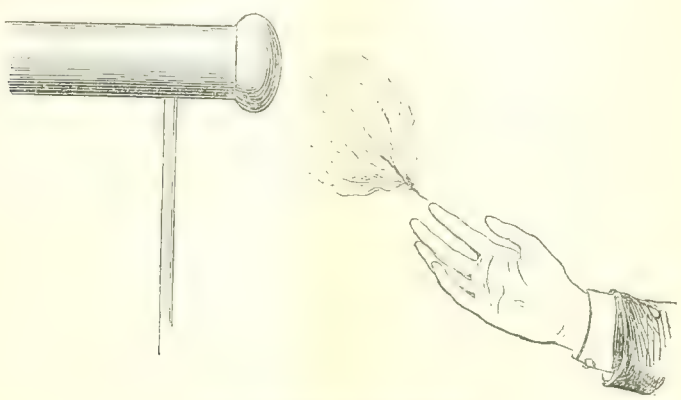


Fig. 4.—The Brush Discharge.

hand under the conductor; and observe how I can set up at pleasure, a luminous tuft at the tips of my fingers. Now

[1] See Jamin, *Cours de Physique*, i. 480–1; Tomlinson, *The Thunderstorm*, third edition, pp. 95–103; *Thunderstorms*, a Lecture by Professor Tait, *Nature*, vol. xxii. p. 356.

and then, a spark passes, giving me a smart shock, and showing how the electricity may sometimes accumulate so fast that it cannot be sufficiently discharged by the luminous tuft. Lastly, I present a small bushy branch of a tree to the conductor, and all its leaves and twigs are aglow with bluish light, which ceases for a moment when a spark escapes, to be again renewed when electricity is again developed by the working of the machine. Now, if you put a Thundercloud in the place of that conductor, you can easily realize how, through its influence, the lance and bayonet of the soldier, the Alpenstock of the traveller, the pointed spire of a church, the masts of a ship at sea, the trees of a forest, can all be made to glow with a silent electrical discharge, which may or may not, according to circumstances, culminate at intervals in a genuine flash of Lightning.

ORIGIN OF LIGHTNING.

When we seek to account for the origin of Lightning we are confronted, at once, with two questions of great interest and importance: First, what are the sources from which the electricity of the Thundercloud is derived; and Secondly, how does this electricity come to be developed in a form which so far transcends in power the electricity of our machines. These questions have long engaged the attention of scientific men; but I cannot say that they have yet received a perfectly satisfactory solution. Nevertheless, some facts of great scientific value have been established, and some speculations have been put forward, which are well deserving of consideration.

In the first place, it is quite certain that the atmosphere which surrounds our globe is almost always in a state of electrification. Further, the electrical condition of the atmosphere would seem to be as variable as the wind. It changes with the change of season; it changes from day to day; it changes from hour to hour. The charge of electricity is sometimes positive, sometimes negative; sometimes it is strong, sometimes feeble; and the transition from one condition to another is sometimes slow and gradual, sometimes sudden and violent.

As a general rule, in fine clear weather, the electricity of the atmosphere is positive, and not very strongly developed. In wet weather, the charge may be either positive or negative, and is generally strong, especially when there are sudden heavy showers. In fog, it is also strong, and almost always positive. In a snowstorm, it is

very strong, and most frequently positive. Finally, in a Thunderstorm, it is extremely strong and generally negative ; but it is subject to a sudden change of sign when a flash of Lightning passes, or when rain begins to fall.

So far I have simply stated facts, which have been ascertained by careful observations, made at different stations by competent observers, and extending over a period of many years. But as regards the process by which the electricity of the atmosphere is developed, we have, up to the present time, no certain knowledge. It has been said that electricity may be generated in the atmosphere by the friction of the air itself, and of the minute particles floating in it, against one another, and against the surface of the earth, against trees and buildings, against rocks, cliffs, and mountains. But this opinion, however probable it may be, has not yet been confirmed by any direct experimental investigation.

The second theory is that the electricity of the atmosphere is due, in great part at least, to the evaporation of salt water. Many years ago, Pouillet, a French philosopher, made a series of experiments in the laboratory, which seemed to show that evaporation is generally attended with the development of electricity ; and, in particular, he satisfied himself that the vapour which passes off from the surface of salt water is always positively electrified. Now, the atmosphere is everywhere charged, more or less, with vapour which comes almost entirely from the salt water of the ocean. Hence Pouillet inferred that the chief source of atmospheric electricity is the evaporation of sea water. This explanation would certainly go far to account for the presence of electricity in the atmosphere, if the fact on which it rests were established beyond dispute. But there is some reason to doubt whether the development of electricity, in the experiments of Pouillet, is due simply to the process of evaporation, and not rather to other causes, the influence of which he did not sufficiently take into account.

A conjecture has recently been started that electricity may be generated by the mere impact of minute particles of water vapour against minute particles of air.[1] If this conjecture could be established as a fact, it would be amply sufficient to account for all the electricity of the atmosphere. From the very nature of a gas, the molecules of which it is

[1] Professor Tait, loco citato, pp. 436–7.

composed are, for ever, flying about with incredible velocity; and therefore the particles of water vapour and the particles of air, which exist together in the atmosphere, must be incessantly coming into collision. Hence, however small may be the charge of electricity developed at each individual impact, the total amount generated over any considerable area, in a single day, must be very great indeed. It is evident, however, that this method of explaining the origin of atmospheric electricity can only be regarded as, at best, a probable hypothesis, until the assumption on which it rests is supported by the evidence of observation or experiment.

It would seem, then, that we are not yet in a position to indicate with certainty the sources from which the electricity of the atmosphere is derived. But whatever these sources may be, there can be little doubt that the electricity of the atmosphere is intimately associated with the minute particles of water vapour of which the Thundercloud is eventually built up. This consideration is of great importance when we come to consider the special properties of Lightning, as compared with other forms of electricity. The most striking characteristic of Lightning is the wonderful power it possesses of forcing its way through the resisting medium of the air. In this respect it incomparably surpasses all forms of electricity that have hitherto been produced by artificial means. The spark of an ordinary electric machine can leap across a space of three or four inches: the machine we have employed in our experiments to-day can give, under favourable circumstances, a spark of nine or ten inches: the longest electric spark ever yet produced artifically is probably the spark of Mr. Spottiswoode's gigantic Induction Coil; and it does not exceed three feet six inches. But the length of a flash of Lightning is not to be measured in inches or in feet or in yards; it varies from one or two miles, for ordinary flashes, to eight or ten miles in exceptional cases.

This power of discharging itself violently through a resisting medium—in which the Thundercloud so far transcends the conductor of an electric machine—is due to the property commonly known among scientific men as electrical *Potential*. The greater the distance to which an electrified body can shoot its flashes through the air, the higher must be its Potential. Hence the Potential of a Thundercloud must be exceedingly high, since its flashes can pierce the air to a distance of several miles. And what I wish to point out is

that we are able to account for this exceedingly high Potential, if we may only assume that the minute particles of water vapour in the atmosphere have, from any cause, received ever so small a charge of electricity. The number of such particles that go to make up an ordinary drop of rain are to be counted by millions of millions; and it is capable of scientific proof that as each new particle is added, in the building up of the drop, a rise of Potential is necessarily produced. It is clear, therefore, that there is practically no limit to the Potential that may be developed by the simple agglomeration of very small particles of vapour, each carrying a very small charge of electricity.[1]

This explanation, which traces the exceedingly high Potential of Lightning to the building up of rain drops in the Thundercloud, suggests a reason why it so often happens that, immediately after a flash of Lightning, "the big rain comes dancing to the earth." The Potential has been steadily rising as the drops have been getting larger and larger; until, at length, the Potential has become so high that the Thundercloud is able to discharge itself, and almost at the same moment, the drops have become so large that they can no longer be held aloft against the attracting force of gravity.

THUNDER.

Let us now proceed to consider the phenomenon of Thunder, which is so intimately associated with Lightning, and which though perfectly harmless in itself, and though never heard until the real danger is passed, often excites more terror in the mind than the Lightning

[1] The Potential of an electrified sphere is equal to the quantity of electricity with which the sphere is charged, divided by the radius of the sphere. Now the minute cloud particles, which go to make up a drop of rain, may be taken to be very small spheres; and if v represent the Potential of each one, q the quantity of electricity with which it is charged, and r the radius of the sphere, we have $v = \frac{q}{r}$. Suppose 1000 of these cloud particles to unite into one: the quantity of electricity in the drop thus formed will be $1000\,q$; and the radius, which increases in the ratio of the cube root of the volume, will be $10r$. Therefore the Potential of the new sphere will be $\frac{1000\,q}{10\,r}$, or $100\ \frac{q}{r}$; that is to say, it will be 100 times as great as the Potential of the several cloud particles. When a million of cloud particles are blended into a single drop, the same process will show that the Potential has been increased ten thousand fold; and when a drop is produced by the agglomeration of a million of millions of cloud particles, the Potential of the drop will be a hundred million times as great as that of the individual particles.

flash itself. The sound of Thunder, like that of the electric spark, is due to a disturbance caused in the air by the electric discharge. The air is first expanded by the intense heat that is developed along the line of discharge, and then it rushes back again to fill up the partial vacuum which its expansion has produced. This sudden movement, to and fro, gives rise to a series of sound waves which reach the ear in the form of Thunder. But there are certain peculiar characteristics of Thunder, which are deserving of special consideration.

They may be classified, I think, under two heads. First, the sound of Thunder is not an instantaneous report, like the sound of the electric spark: it is a prolonged peal, lasting sometimes for several seconds. Secondly, each flash of Lightning gives rise, not to one peal only, but to a succession of peals following one another at irregular intervals, and producing that effect, so familiar to every one, commonly described as the *rolling* of Thunder. Both of these phenomena may be sufficiently accounted for, I think, in accordance with the well established properties of sound.

To understand why the sound of Thunder reaches the ear as a prolonged peal we have only to remember that sound takes time to travel. Since a flash of Lightning is practically instantaneous, we may assume that the sound is produced at the same moment all along the line of discharge. But the sound waves, setting out at the same moment from all points along the line of discharge, must reach the ear in successive instants of time; arriving first from that point which is nearest to the observer, and last from that point which is most distant. Suppose, for example, that the nearest point of the flash is a mile distant from the observer, and the farthest point, two miles; the sound will take about five seconds to come from the nearest point, and about ten seconds to come from the farthest point: and moreover in each successive instant, from the time the first sound reaches the ear, the sound will continue to arrive from the successive points between. Therefore the Thunder, though instantaneous in its origin, will reach the ear as a prolonged peal extending over a period of five seconds.

The succession of peals produced by a single flash of Lightning is due to several causes, each one of which may contribute more or less, according to circumstances, towards the general effect. The first cause that I would mention is the zig-zag path of the Lightning discharge. To make clear to you the influence of this circumstance, I must ask

your attention, for a moment, to the diagram before you. Let the broken line represent the path of a flash of Lightning, and let O represent the position of an observer. The sound will reach him first from the point A which is the nearest to him; and then it will continue to arrive in successive instants from the successive points along the line A N, and along the line A M, thus producing the effect

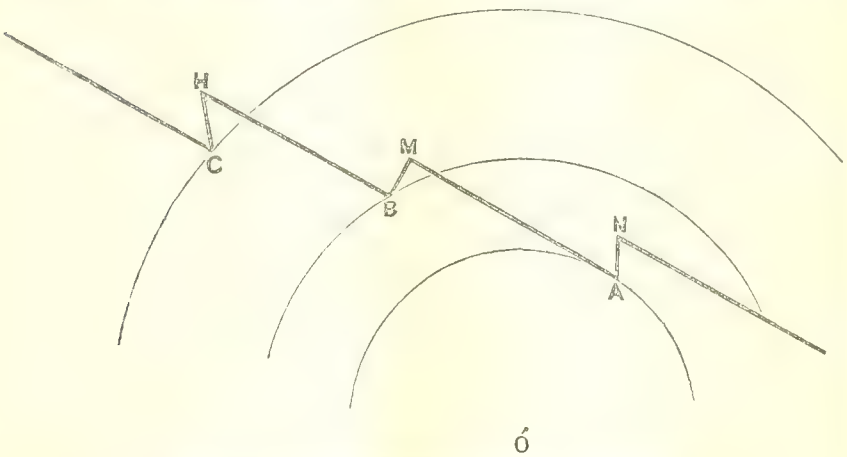


FIG. 5.—ORIGIN OF SUCCESSIVE PEALS OF THUNDER.

of a continuous peal. Meanwhile the sound waves have been travelling from the point B, and in due time will reach the observer at O. Coming as they do in a different direction from the former they will strike the ear as the beginning of a new peal which, in its turn, will be prolonged by the sound waves arriving in successive instants from the successive points along the line B M and B H. A little later, the sound will arrive from the more distant point C, and a third peal will begin. And so, there will be several distinct peals proceeding, so to speak, from several distinct points in the path of the Lightning flash.

A second cause to which the succession of peals may be referred is to be found in the minor electrical discharges, that must often take place within the Thundercloud itself. A Thundercloud is not a continuous mass, like the metal cylinder of this electric machine: it has many outlying fragments, more or less imperfectly connected with the principal body. Moreover, the material of which the cloud is composed is only a very imperfect conductor, as compared with our brass cylinder. For these two reasons it must often happen, about the time a flash of Lightning passes, that different parts of the cloud will be in such different electrical conditions as to give rise to electrical discharges

within the cloud itself. Each of these discharges produces its own peal of Thunder; and thus we may have a number of minor peals, sometimes preceding and sometimes following the great crash which is due to the principal discharge.

Lastly, the influence of echo has often a considerable share in multiplying the number of peals of Thunder. The waves of sound, going forth in all directions, are reflected from the surfaces of mountains, forests, clouds, and buildings, and coming back from different quarters, and with varying intensity, reach the ear like the roar of distant artillery. The striking effect of these reverberations, in a mountain district, has been described by a great poet, in words which, I dare say, are familiar to most of you:

"Far along,
"From peak to peak, the rattling crags among
"Leaps the live thunder! not from one lone cloud
"But every mountain now has found a tongue,
"And Jura answers from her misty shroud,
"Back to the joyous Alps, that call to her aloud!"

From what has been said it is easy to understand how the general roar of Thunder is subject to great changes of intensity, during the time it lasts, according to the number of peals that may be arriving at the ear of an observer, in each particular moment. But every one must have observed that even an individual peal of thunder often undergoes similar changes, swelling out at one moment with great power, and the next moment, rapidly dying away. To account for this phenomenon, I would observe, first, that there is no reason to suppose that the disturbance caused by Lightning is of exactly the same magnitude, at every point of its path. On the contrary, it would seem very probable that the amount of this disturbance is, in some way, dependent on the resistance which the Lightning encounters. Hence the intensity of the sound waves sent forth by a flash of Lightning, is probably very different at different parts of its course; and each individual peal will swell out on the ear, or die away, according to the greater or less intensity of the sound waves that reach the ear in each successive moment of time.

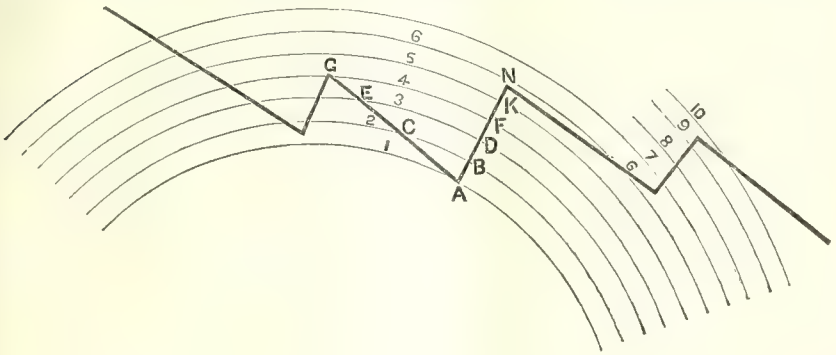
But there is another influence at work which must produce variations in the loudness of a peal of Thunder, even though the sound waves set in motion by the Lightning were everywhere of equal intensity. This influence depends on the position of the observer in relation to the path of the Lightning flash. At one part of its course the Light-

ning may follow a path which remains, for a certain length, at nearly the same distance from the observer; then all the sound produced along this length will reach the observer nearly at the same moment, and will burst upon the ear with great intensity. At another part, the Lightning may, for an equal length, go right away from the observer; and it is evident the sound produced along this length will reach the observer in successive instants, and consequently produce an effect comparatively feeble.

With a view to investigate this interesting question a little more closely, let me suppose the position of the observer taken as a centre, and a number of concentric circles drawn, cutting the path of the Lightning flash, and separated from one another by a distance of 110 feet, measured along the direction of the radius. It is evident that all the sound produced between any two consecutive circles will reach the ear within a period which must be measured by the time that sound takes to travel 110 feet, that is, within the one-tenth of a second. Hence, in order to determine the quantity of sound that reaches the ear in successive periods of one-tenth of a second, we have only to observe how much is produced between each two consecutive circles. But on the supposition that the sound waves, set in motion by the flash of Lightning, are of equal intensity at every point of its path, it is clear that the quantity of sound developed between each two consecutive circles will be simply proportional to the length of the path enclosed between them.

With these principles established, let us now follow the course of a peal of Thunder, in the diagram before us. This broken line, drawn almost at random, represents the path of a flash of Lightning; the observer is supposed to be placed at O, which is the centre of the concentric circles; these circles are separated from one another by a distance of 110 feet, measured in the direction of the radius; and we want to consider how any one peal of Thunder may vary in loudness in the successive periods of one-tenth of a second. Let us take, for example, the peal which begins when the sound waves reach the ear from the point A. In the first unit of time the sound that reaches the ear is the sound produced along the lines A B and A C; in the second unit, the sound produced along the lines B D and C E; in the third unit, the sound produced along D F and E G. So far the peal has been fairly uniform in its intensity; though there has been a slight falling off in the second and third units of time, as compared with the first. But in the fourth

unit, there is a considerable falling away of the sound; for the line F K is only about one-third as long as D F and E G



O.

Fig. 6.—Variations of Intensity in a Peal of Thunder.

taken together: therefore the quantity of sound that reaches the ear in the fourth unit of time is only one-third of that which reaches it in each of the two preceding units; and consequently the sound is only one-third as loud. In the fifth unit, however, the peal must rise to a sudden crash; for the portion of the Lightning path enclosed between the fifth and sixth circles, is about six times as great as that between the fourth and fifth; therefore the intensity of the sound will be suddenly increased about six-fold. After this sudden crash, the sound as suddenly dies away in the sixth unit of time; it continues feeble as the path of the Lightning goes nearly straight away from the observer; it swells again slightly in the ninth unit of time; and then continues without much variation to the end. This is only a single illustration; but it seems quite sufficient to show that the changes of intensity in a peal of Thunder must be largely due to the position of the spectator in relation to the several parts of the Lightning flash.

I need hardly remind you that, by observing the interval that elapses between the flash of Lightning and the peal of Thunder that follows it, we may estimate approximately the distance of the nearest point of the discharge. Light travels with such amazing velocity that we may assume, without any sensible error, that we see the flash of Lightning at the very moment in which the discharge takes place. But sound, as we have seen, takes a sensible time to travel even short distances; and therefore a measurable interval almost always elapses between

the moment in which the flash is seen and the moment in which the peal of Thunder first reaches the ear. And the distance through which sound travels in this interval will be the distance of the nearest point through which the discharge has passed. Now the velocity of sound in air varies slightly with the temperature; but at the ordinary temperature of our climate we shall not be far astray if we allow 1,100 feet for every second, or about one mile for every five seconds.

You will observe also that, by repeating this observation, we can determine whether the Thundercloud is coming towards us, or going away from us. So long as the interval between each successive flash and the corresponding peal of Thunder continues to get shorter and shorter, the Thundercloud is approaching: when the interval begins to increase, the Thundercloud is receding from us, and the danger is passed.

The crash of Thunder is terrific when the Lightning is close at hand; but it is a curious fact that the sound does not seem to travel as far as the report of an ordinary cannon. We have no authentic record of Thunder having been heard at a greater distance than from twelve to fifteen miles: whereas the report of a single cannon has been heard at five times that distance; and the roar of artillery in battle, at a greater distance still. On the occasion of the Queen's visit to Cherbourg, in August, 1858, the salute fired in honour of her arrival was heard at Bonchurch in the Isle of Wight, a distance of sixty miles. It was also heard at Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, which is eighty-five miles from Cherbourg, as the crow flies; and we are told that, not only was it audible in its general effect, but the report of individual guns was distinctly recognised. The artillery of Waterloo is said to have been heard at the town of Creil, in France, 115 miles from the field of battle; and the cannonading at the siege of Valenciennes, in 1793, was heard, from day to day, at Deal, on the coast of England, a distance of 120 miles.[1]

So far I have endeavoured to set forth some general ideas on the nature and origin of Lightning, and of the Thunder that accompanies it. In my next Lecture I propose to give a short account of the destructive effects of Lightning, and to consider how these effects may best be averted by means of Lightning Conductors.

[1] *The Thunderstorm*, Tomlinson, pp. 87–9.

ON CERTAIN ERRORS RELATING TO JUSTIFICATION AND THE MESSIAS, AGAINST WHICH ST. PAUL ARGUED IN HIS EPISTLES.

THE errors relating to Justification were three: the first, that real internal Justification could be obtained through the Old Law, and only through that; the second error was, that by complying with the Law, the Jew merited, in the strict sense of the word, Justification: and the third error was that Justification could be obtained and merited through the Natural Law.

In the present article I will endeavour to show that the above-mentioned errors were those against which St. Paul wrote; next I will point out what was the teaching of St. Paul and that of St. Peter on the subject of those errors, and what has been always that of the church; in the third place I will show what were the errors of the Jews, and the teaching of St. Paul regarding the Messias: and finally I will draw some conclusions from the established premises.

It appears from the Epistle to the Galatians that St. Paul was highly indignant with some disturbers among them (c. 5, v. 12); they will bear judgment, whoever they are (c. 5, v. 10); the Apostle wishes that they would be cut off (c. 5, v. 12); clearly their crime was great. Again the Apostle asks was it from the works of the Law, or from Faith, that they received the Holy Ghost, and that miracles were worked amongst them (c. 3, v. 2, 5); and he tells (*Gal.* c. 5, v. 2) them that Christ will profit them nothing, if they are circumcised: it is plain from these verses, and from c. 4, v. 21, and c. 6, v. 12, 13, that the crime of the disturbers consisted in inducing some Gentile Christians to allow themselves to be circumcised (the Jews were circumcised in infancy), and as a consequence to undertake the observance of the Law (c. 5, v. 3).

Now, what led the disturbers to this perverse conduct? It could be nothing else than this: their belief that the Christian religion was insufficient for Justification, and that Circumcision and the Law were the only adequate means for that end. Moreover, as these disturbers were Christians, and believed that our Lord was the Messias, we infer that the common belief among the Jews (non-Christians) was, that even under the Messias the only means of Justification was through the Law of Moses; for the

disturbers before their conversion must have held their belief regarding the Law in common with their co-religionists.

The above-stated conclusion is confirmed by c. 2, v. 21, *Gal.;* in which the Apostle states, that if Justification is through the Law, Christ died in vain; that is, if Justification is through the Law (and this is what they held) the Messias would have no direct influence on the Justification of the sinner. In c. 3, v. 20 *Romans*, the Apostle proves, and in *Gal.* c. 2, v. 16, he asserts, that no one is justified by the Law: showing that the Jews held the contrary doctrine.

Having now shown that St. Paul in the Epistles to the Galatians, and to the Romans has argued against the false doctrine, that the Jew was justified by the Law and by that only, I now proceed to show that he argued against another error: viz., that the Jew merited, strictly speaking, Justification by compliance with the Law.

The Apostle (*Rom.* c. 3, v. 23, 24) having stated that all have sinned and need the Glory of God;[1] and that we are justified freely by His grace; asks (v. 27), addressing himself to the Jew, Where is then thy boasting? and answers, that it is excluded by the law of faith: that is, by the doctrine of Justification by Faith, which he has laid down: but would not be excluded by the law of facts; that is, by the Jew's view of Justification by the Law. The Jew might boast then, if his view of Justification were correct; and this boasting could be founded only on his belief that he had a law that justified, and that he merited Justification by compliance with the Law: by this compliance, his Justification would be his own work, the result of his own merit and his due. In v. 2, c. 4 *Rom.* the Apostle says that Abraham has glory, if he were justified by works; but what glory could we have, if he did not merit Justification?

Again (in c. 4, v. 2 *Rom.*) it is said, "If Abraham were justified by works he has glory;" and that before God and men; (there is no limitation to his "gloriatio" in c. 3, v. 27, and there is no reason for putting it here); but as a matter of fact, he "has no glory before God" (nor at all), the text states; and the Apostle proves this in v. 3, by showing that Abraham was justified freely; and he proves that he was

[1] Glory of God, that for which God merits praise, free Justification; in opposition to the glory of man, for which man merits praise, and is Justification by works: Abraham's glory would be Justification by works (c. 4, v. 2, *Rom.*)

justified freely, by remarking in v. 4, that a word was used ("reputatum est"), which implied a free gift; whereas a different expression would be used ("secundum debitum") if Abraham had glory, or was justified by his works. Hence I infer, that if Abraham were justified by his works, he would have merited justification; and that in the mind of the Jew, according to the interpretation of it by the Apostle, "Justificatio ex operibus" is synonymous with "Justificatio ex merito," or "Secundum debitum."[1]

From the meaning of "operatur" in v. 4, c. 4, *Rom.*, we can infer the meaning of "opera legis" in the minds of the Jews: "Operatur" expresses the action of the man who works and merits his wages: "Opera legis" must then mean *works*, on account of which wages (Justification) are due.

Bellarmine (De Justif. Lib. 4, c. 18), proves that the Justification of Abraham spoken of here, is the second Justification, or an increase of the first; but this consideration does not affect the argument; the Jews believed that no Justification was given without merit, either through the works of the Law, or through circumcision and sacrifices, before the Law was given; and the Apostle has proved the contrary from the case of Abraham.[2]

Lower down, in c. 4, the Apostle shows that Abraham, far from meriting justification by circumcision, or on account of it, was just before that ceremony took place; and that circumcision was the sign of the friendship already existing between God and himself, and presupposed justification.

In *Rom.* c. 11, v. 6, the Apostle proves that Justification was not by works, that is, by merit; because it was by grace, that is, freely given.

Again, in *Eph.* c. 2, v. 8 & 9, the Apostle states "that

[1] 1. In the interpretation of v. 2, c. 4, I follow Beelen. 2. I think "secundum carnem" in v. 1, c. 4. *Rom.*, should be connected with "Abraham, patrem nostrum;" in c. 9, v. 3, the Apostle says, "Cognati mei secundum carnem," and v. 5, "Christus secundum carnem:" Abraham is the father of all believers, Gentiles even (*Rom.* c. 4, v. 11); it was therefore necessary to add "secundum carnem," in order to indicate the Jews. Besides in the minds of the Jews there was no reason for excluding sacrifices from the sources of Abraham's merit; for these were of Divine institution as well as circumcision, which must be taken as the only source, if "secundum carnem" is referred to "invenisse."

[2] Bellarmine gives a different reason ("Dico igitur, Paulum," &c.) He says that the argument is—that if Abraham when just was not made more just by the works without faith, much less would the impious be made just by the like works.

the Christians (Jew and Gentile) were saved by grace" (not merited by themselves, for it is a gift of God); and not by works, that no man may glory in having merited his own justification by his works.

Moreover, in *Gal.* c. 3, v. 17, the Apostle states, that a testament was confirmed by God, and that, therefore, its promises and provisions should be fulfilled—no one setting aside a merely human testament. Now the object of the promises was blessing, that is, Justification to the Gentiles (c. 3, v. 8); but if Justification is merited by the works of the Law, and by these only, the promise cannot be fulfilled, (*Gal.* c. 3, v. 18), as the promise of a free gift, such as that made to Abraham, cannot be fulfilled by the payment of a debt which is strictly due. There is no room for a free gift of it, if Justification must on every occasion be merited. The above interpretation supposes that the Jews held the doctrine of Justification by merit; but as it fits in well with the scope and argument of the Apostle, I infer that he made a like supposition, and that he was arguing against the doctrine of justification by merit of works of the Law.

[1] As I have come so near to v. 19, c. 3, *Gal.*, I have thought that it would not be out of place to offer an interpretation of that and v. 20, which I think probable, and is certainly intelligible.

I have read somewhere that there have been given two hundred different interpretations of these two verses; whether the one which I offer be of these I cannot say, but it appears to me the most probable of all that I have seen.

I interpret them in "manu mediatoris," in v. 19, in this way: cum potestate mediatoris. "Manus" means power sometimes, according to Weitenauer, in his Biblical Lexicon, who refers to *Job* (c. 8, v. 4); *Kings* (book 1, c. 17, v. 37) *Psalms* (21 v. 21, 48 v. 16, 62 v. 11). And Suarez (book 9, c. 2, n. 10, de Lege, &c.), referring to an interpretation by St. Chrysostom, by some Greeks, and by many Latins—taking "mediatoris" to mean "the Christ," says that in that interpretation "manu" must mean with power or authority. Supposing then this meaning[1] of "manu," the sense of the latter part of v. 19 would be—that the Law was given by Angels with the power of a mediator: Angels were the mediators of the Law; and that they were we may infer also from *Acts* c. 7, v. 53 *Heb.* c. 2, v. 2. Now as the promises were made to one (*Gal.* c. 3, v. 15), and as the blessings to the Gentiles should therefore be given through one, the Law which was given by many (per Angelos) could not be the blessing promised; besides, the Angels, the mediators of the Law, were not of the seed of Abraham, in which *seed*, however, the Gentiles were to be blessed (*Gal.* c. 3, v. 8). The Apostle emphasizes the fact of "semen" being in the singular number, and one would expect that he would found some argument on the fact. NOTE—I give a paraphrase of "unius," not one in number, nor in nature with Abraham. If it be objected that "mediatoris" is singular, though

[1] This I take to be the meaning of "manu" in *Acts* c. 7 v. 35; especially if we adopt the reading preferred by Beelen.

This may be the proper place to consider what part of the Law conferred, in the opinion of the Jews, Justification. St. Paul (*Heb.* c. 9, v. 22) states that "without shedding of blood there is no remission," that is legal remission of sin; or, in other words, remission of the legal punishment due for sin; and, according to what I have proved, the "opera legis" only, in the opinion of the Jews, conferred Justification; every "opus legis" then, that conferred legal justice, must have conferred internal justice also, in their belief. Some "opus legis," must have conferred internal justice, and no "opus legis" can be assigned appropriate except that which conferred external justice on account of the same sin.

But the "opera legis," in which blood was shed, pertained to the ceremonial part of the Law. So I conclude that, in the opinion of the Jews, it was the ceremonial part of the Law that conferred legal and internal justice. This is the opinion of Calmet in his History of the Bible (under the word *œuvres*): *The works of the Law* opposed to the works of justice and of grace, are the ceremonial works of the Law of Moses."

In the next number of the Record, with the Editor's permission, I shall treat of the error of the Gentiles regarding Justification through the natural law and by merit.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY, P.P., *Behegh, Gort.*

"angelos" is plural, I reply that in Psalm 94, v. 10, we have a similar form of expression: "Hi errant corde," in which "corde" is singular, though "Hi" is plural. And St. Paul in *Heb.* c. 3, v. 10, writes: "Semper errant corde." A reason might be given for having "manu" and "mediatoris" in the singular number, viz.: that as the function of the Angels in giving the Law was one, it might be expressed as if discharged by one. I am the more confident that the interpretation here given of the latter part of v. 19, and of the first part of v. 20, 21, is correct, from the consideration that the argument here suggested is given nowhere else by St. Paul; though it is a strong argument against the Jews, who (as appears clearly from the Epistle to the Hebrews) opposed and preferred the Angels and the Law given by them, to the Messiah and His Law; and who believed that the Law given by the Angels was the source of all Justification to themselves and others. In the second clause of v. 20 the Apostle gives another reason ("autem" means moreover) to show that the promised blessing was not to be given through the Law: God he says, is one, that is, there is but one God; He is God of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews; but if Justification were to be through the Law only, He would appear to be the God of the Jews only; as in that case all should become Jews in order to be justified. Hence Justification cannot be through the Law only. The Apostle makes use of this argument in *Rom.* c. 3, v. 29 and 30, and *Rom.* c. 10, v. 12; *Tim.* 1 Ep. c. 2, v. 5.

NORDENSKIÖLD.

PERHAPS it would be more becoming to call our hero by the name by which we knew him, the Professor, or by that title of honour, the Baron, which King Oscar recently gave him; but somehow it accords more with our estimate of the man to speak of him by his name only, and as we say Nelson, Wellington, Helmholtz, and Newman, so we say simply, Nordenskiöld.

Few among our readers will need to ask, as we had to do some three or four years ago, when first meeting him on the Arctic Ocean, who is Nordenskiöld? For now his most daring work is done, which then was only at its commencement, and the *Voyage of the Vega*,[1] of which we then witnessed the start, is now in two goodly and well illustrated volumes in the hands of every body, as deservedly the book of the season. If we seem to think more of the man than of the work that he achieved, and put his name rather than that of the vessel at the head of our short notice, it is because we feel how completely the whole is the outcome of his own mind, the growth of his own ideas, the realization of his own matured designs.

This, we believe, will strike every careful reader of these two interesting volumes, which are themselves the best illustration to which we could point, of the completeness of the design alike in its conception and execution, and of the thoroughness of the man himself, whose spirit lives and breathes throughout their pages. The reader may easily and correctly enough picture to himself the calm, self-possessed, simple, unobtrusive gentleman, who, living in the midst of the "Noah's ark" company of the *Jonas Lie* for several days, played no part therein but that of the tender husband of a delicate wife, and the indulgent father of a fine manly boy. Indeed it was not until he was leaving us that we fully understood his greatness, and when we shook hands at Tromsoe and wished him a successful voyage, that we began to understand the grand design he was quitting us to accomplish.

Yes; there in Lapland—where we had just been wandering among the Laps and their reindeer—there off Tromsoe, beside our *Jonas Lie*, lay the *Vega* and its smaller com-

[1] "The Voyage of the *Vega* round Asia and Europe." By A. E. Nordenskiöld. Translated by A. Leslie. 2 vols. London: MacMillan & Co., 1881.

panion the *Lena;* while away beyond the North Cape were steaming to their appointed place of meeting the *Frazer* and *Express*.

Each vessel had its special destination. The two last mentioned were to carry their cargoes up to Yenisej, the *Lena* to accompany the *Vega* still further, and then to sail up the river of its own name, while the chief vessel was to go on alone, and achieve what vessel had never achieved before, the North East passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean.

We shall, perhaps, better understand what is implied in these several destinations, by accompanying the *Vega* on its voyage, and dropping each companion at its appointed place of separate departure, than by any introductory remarks. So we will carry the reader away from Tromsoe on July 21, 1878, with the *Vega* and *Lena*, round the North Cape into the Archipelago of Maosoe, to post his last letter for home at the most northern post office in the world, for Maosoe is in 71° north latitude, and twenty miles south-west of the North Cape, which is the extreme northern point of Norway. Head winds, rain, fog, and heavy sea combine to keep the two vessels here for four days. (Well do we remember this rough weather which pitched and tossed our own little *Jonas Lie* on its run to the Lofoden Islands.) On they sail along the western coast of Novaya Zemlya towards Yugor Schar, and on the 30th anchor at Chabarova, a small village on the mainland south of that strait. Here acquaintance is made with the Samoyed, who come hither in summer to trade with the Russians, and to pasture their herds of reindeer on Vaygats Island on the opposite side of the Yugor Strait.

Here Nordenskiöld dissertates at length upon these people, and tells us, among other things, that "of the Polar races whose acquaintance I have made, the reindeer Laps undoubtedly stand highest" (a position in which we rejoice, seeing that our old friends near Tromsoe come under this head). "Next to them comes the Eskimo of Danish Greenland—they are both still nomads and hunters, but cannot be called savages. Last of all come the Samoyeds." These people, it seems, are baptized into the orthodox (Russian) faith, but they worship their old idols (*bolvans*) at the same time. There is a dispute as to whether they should be called Samoyed, which means man-eaters, or Samodin, which means, individual, "one who cannot be mistaken for another." Our author inclines to the former,

though there is no proof given that they ever deserved the horrible name.

But we must not expect that these regions are peopled, even with such summer visitors as the Samoyeds: we are told, "except the few Samoyeds, all the lands which in the Old World have formed the field of research of the polar explorers—Spitzbergen, Franz-Josef Land, Novaya Zemlya, Vangat's Island, the Taimur Peninsula, the New Siberian Islands, and perhaps Wrangel's Land—are uninhabited. But, as a kind of compensation, the animal life which is found here in summer, and in summer only, is more vigorous, or is less concealed by vegetation than in the south. Then he enters with his usual fulness and minuteness into an examination and description of them, illustrating his word pictures with excellent drawings.[1] "Long before one enters the regions of the Polar Sea, the vessel is surrounded by flocks of large grey birds (the fulmar), which fly, or rather hover without moving their wings, close to the surface of the sea, rising and sinking with the swelling of the billows. When the navigator has gone a little further north, and come to an ice-bestrewed sea, the swell ceases at once, the wind is hushed, and the sea becomes bright as a mirror, rising and sinking with a slow gentle heaving; flocks of birds swarm in the air, and swim among ice floes." Strange places for birds' nests on the cold cliff and frozen sand, where, "in some parts the under part of the egg during hatching could never be warmed above the freezing point." Then for the reindeer. Its life is best known from Spitzbergen, and here is its annual directory. "During summer it betakes itself to the grassy plains in the ice-free valleys of the island; in late autumn it withdraws to the sea coast, in order to eat the sea-weed that is thrown up on the beach, and in winter it goes back to the lichen-clad mountain heights in the interior of the country, where it appears to thrive exceedingly well, though the cold during winter must be excessively severe, for, when the reindeer return in spring to the coast they are still very fat, but some weeks afterwards, when the snow has frozen on the surface, and a crust of ice makes it difficult for them to get at the mountain sides, they become so poor as to be scarcely eatable. In summer, however, they speedily eat

[1] The best of these are from photographs by the Captain (Palander) of the *Vega*, and from sketches by a young Russian Cavalry Officer, Lieutenant Nordquist, whom we had the pleasure of meeting on the *Jonas Lie*.

themselves fast into condition, and in autumn they are so fat that they would certainly take prizes at an exhibition of fat cattle." And one more word picture of a well-known animal. "The Polar bear is not difficult to kill. When he observes a man, he commonly approaches in hope of prey, with supple movements, and in a hundred zig-zag bends, in order to conceal the direction he intends to take, and thus keep his prey from being frightened. During his approach, he often climbs up on blocks of ice, or raises himself on his hind legs, in order to get a more extensive view, or else stands snuffing up the air with evident care in all directions, in order, by the aid of smell, which he seems to rely upon more than sight, to ascertain the true kind and nature of the surrounding objects. If he thinks he has to do with a seal, he creeps or trails himself forward along the ice, and is said then to conceal with the fore-paws the only part of his body that contrasts with the white colour of the snow—his long black nose. If one keeps quite still, the bear comes in this way so near that one can shoot him at the distance of two gun-lengths; or, what the hunters consider safer, kill him with the lance. If an unarmed man falls in with a Polar bear, some rapid movements and loud cries are generally sufficient to put him to flight, but if the man himself flies, he is certain to have the bear after him at full speed. If the bear is wounded, he always takes to flight. He often lays snow upon the wound with his fore-paws; sometimes in his death struggle, he scrapes with his fore-feet a hole in the snow, in which he buries his head."

So the great explorer beguiles his readers on the Arctic voyage until, on August 1st, the vessels pass through the Yugor Schar into the Kara Sea. The passage was free from ice, so well-timed was the visit; and now the four vessels are in the broad sea, into which the mouth of the Yenisej opens; and that now, the reader will remember, is the destination of the *Frazer* and *Express*. On they all sail and steam, when, on the 6th, land is sighted, and all put into Port Dickson,[1] where the *Vega* coals from the *Express*. On the 9th they part; the *Vega* and *Lena* being

[1] Port Dickson. Very properly named after Dr. Oscar Dickson, the Gothenburg merchant, who contributed to five previous expeditions, and advanced the necessary funds for this exploration, the expenses of which were ultimately shared with him by King Oscar and Mr. Sibiriakoff.

left behind; the other two vessels steaming up the Yenisej to Yenisejsk, where their cargo is lying.

But, says the reader, this looks common-place enough: trading vessels coasting along, and then sailing up the river of their destination. In truth it is almost so; but to whom is all this owing? Only three years previously (in August 1875) Nordenskiöld says, "I succeeded, in a walrus-hunting sloop (the *Proeven*), in sailing through Yugor Straits, and over the nearly-free Kara Sea, as far as the mouth of the Yenisej, and anchored here" at what he now calls Port Dickson. And what does this simple statement mean, which reads so common-place, through the very simplicity of its language? "By this voyage I was the *first* who succeeded in penetrating from the Atlantic Ocean in a vessel to the mouths of the great Siberian Rivers;" for the estuary of the Obi is close beside that of the Yenisej.

On that occasion he left the sloop, and went up the Yenisej in a Nordland boat to Saostrovskog, and on by steamer to Yenisejsk; returning home by land through Moscow and St. Petersburg *en fete*, as the first who had ever made the voyage.

Of course there were plenty of people to depreciate what had been done, and to say that the success of the *Proeven* depended upon an accidental combination of fortunate circumstances, which would not soon occur again; "so in order to show that this was not the case, and that I might myself bring the first goods by sea to Siberia, I undertook my second voyage to the Yenisej in 1876, in which I penetrated with the steamer *Ymer*, not only to the mouth of the river, but also up the river to Yakovieva, in 71° N.L., hence I returned the same year by sea to Europe." He sailed from Norway July 26th, and reached the mouth of the Yenisej August 15th, 1876.

Thus it was that the trade with Siberia was opened up. The *Frazer* made the voyage in the following year, as did the *Louise*, from England, which left Hull on July 18th, and arrived at Tobolsk, on the river Obi, on September 20th.

Perhaps the most plucky voyage made since the original discovery was that of Captain Schwanenberg in the *Dawn*, who sailed with two mates and two sailors in that mere half-decked sloop from Yenisejsk to Europe, "the first and hitherto the only voyage of that kind."

So if, as is now the case, a regular trade is established

by this route with Siberia, it is to Nordenskiöld alone that it is due. He already in 1876 did this work completely: in 1878 he carries still further his explorations, and, while the *Frazer* and *Express* sail up the Yenisej, he proceeds in the *Vega* to open up another great Siberian River, the Lena, to the smaller vessel whose name marks by anticipation its destination.

On August 10th, the *Vega* and *Lena* weigh anchor and continue their voyage. Now all is new to the explorer; for the coast maps are soon found to be valueless. Fogs are their greatest impediment, for of ice there is little or none. On the 12th, he notes through the clear waters "a large number of dead fish lying at the bottom of the sea," and this leads to some remarkable observations.

"They had probably perished from the same cause which often kills fish in the river Obi in so great numbers, that the water is infected; namely, from a large shoal of fish having been inclosed by ice in a small hole, where the water, when its surface has frozen, could no longer by absorption from the air replace the oxygen consumed, and when the fish have thus been literally drowned. I mention this inconsiderable *find* of some *self-dead* fish, because self-dead vertebrate animals, even fish, are found extremely seldom. Such *finds*, therefore, deserve to be noted with much greater care than, for instance, the occurrence of animal species in the neighbourhood of places where they have been seen a thousand times before. During my nine expeditions in the Arctic regions, when animal life during summer is so exceedingly abundant, the case just mentioned has been one of the few in which I have found remains of recent vertebrate animals which could be proved to have died a natural death. Near hunting grounds there are to be seen often enough the remains of reindeer, seals, foxes, or birds, that have died from gunshot wounds, but no self-dead Polar bear, seal, walrus, white whale, fox, goose, auk, lemming or other vertebrate. The Polar bear and the reindeer are found there in hundreds, the seal, walrus and white whale in thousands, and birds in millions. These animals must die a "natural" death in untold numbers. What becomes of their bodies? Of this we have for the present no idea, and yet we have here a problem of immense importance for the answering of a large number of questions concerning the formation of fossiliferous strata. It is strange in any case that on Spitzbergen it is easier to find vertebræ of a gigantic

lizard of the Trias, than bones of a self-dead seal, walrus, or bird, and the same holds good of more southerly inhabited lands."

Again, he makes some suggestive observations on *cosmic dust*, which is best observed in these regions where earth dust there is none: "I estimate the quantity of dust that was found on the ice north of Spitzbergen at from one-tenth to one milligram per square metre. But this amounts to 500,000,000 kilograms (half million tons) per year on the whole earth," which we commend to the consideration of Mr. George Darwin.

The voyage is now N.E. along the coast of the Taimur Peninsula; and on the 19th the dark, ice-free cape peeps out of the mist, and the vessels enter the northern bay, which cuts it into two promontories, west and east. He calls the extreme point Cape Chelyuskin,[1] and "now we had reached a great goal, which for centuries had been the object of unsuccessful struggles. For the first time a vessel lay at anchor off the northernmost cape of the Old World . . . the landscape was the most monotonous and the most desolate I had seen in the High North."

Next the cape is doubled, and ice combines with fog to impede the voyage: "drift ice grows heavier and less broken up;" they sail into a broad field of ice and have to retrace their course. Then they sail towards the low lying shore which stretches from north to south. For two days they sail over what on recent maps is marked as *land*. They pass Preobraschenie Island, and on the night of the 27th, seventeen days after parting with the *Frazer* and *Express*, the *Lena* starts up the Lena River, and the *Vega* sails on alone.

The explorer sums up the work to this point, thus: "From Norway to the Lena we were troubled with fogs: but it was only when we left the navigable water along the coast to the east of Cape Chelyuskin that we fell in with ice in such quantity that it was an obstacle to our voyage. If the coast had been followed the whole time, if the weather had been clear, and the navigable water sufficiently surveyed, so that it had been possible to keep the course of the vessel near the land, the voyage of the *Vega* to the mouth of the Lena *would never have been*

[1] "If railways were introduced and the freight could be made as low as one farthing the kilometre-ton, it would in any case rise, from the grain regions in Siberia to a harbour on the Baltic, to from four to nearly seven pounds sterling per ton."

obstructed by ice. And I am convinced that this will happen year after year during the close of August, at least between the Yenisej and the Lena. For I believe that the place where ice obstacles will perhaps be met with most frequently, will not be the north point of Asia, but the region east of the entrance of the Kara Sea."

We should like to follow the *Lena* on the first voyage which was ever made up the river whose name she bore; but our space will not allow.

It is, perhaps, difficult to realize the fact that the country thus entered for the first time from the sea is in many respects civilized and cultivated. The grand rivers, the Obi, the Yenisej and the Lena, have their internal commerce and partial navigation. While they flow through the south of Siberia, they are of this character, but as they advance to the northern regions, the nature of the land changes, and man almost entirely gives it up to desolation. So when vessels came from the extreme north they seemed as strange as though they had dropped from the clouds, or came like Lohengrin to Elsa of Brabant, from unknown regions. It is indeed a land of greatness, there is a "veritable forest, the greatest the earth has to show, extending with little interruption from the Ural Mountains to the neighbourhood of the Sea of Ochotsk, and from the fifty-eighth or fifty-ninth degree of latitude, to far north of the Arctic Circle: that is to say, about six hundred miles from north to south, and perhaps four times as much from east to west. It is a primeval forest of enormous extent, nearly untouched by the axe of the cultivator, but at many places devastated by extensive forest fires." It has, moreover, "the world's greatest cultivable field, in all probability unequalled in extent and fertility. Without manure and with an exceedingly small amount of labour expended on cultivation, man will year by year draw forth from its black soil the most abundant harvests." This, then, is that Siberia which Nordenskiöld has opened to navigation, and to that commerce which is already taking shape, and promising to supply other lands with corn which no railways can convey at any remunerative cost.[4]

[4] Cape Chelyuskin is situated in 77° 36·8′ latitude, 103° 17·2′ longitude, and so 6° 23′ north of the North Cape, which is the northernmost point of Europe. In 1742 Chelyuskin travelled round it in a sledge journey on land, of which the particulars are only incompletely known, evidently because his statement that he had reached the northernmost point of Asia, was doubted down to the most recent times. Now there can be no doubt.

But we must return to the *Vega*, which on August 28th, renews her voyage companionless for the as-yet-undiscovered Northern Passage, which is to lead through Behring's Straits to the Pacific. Her course is first towards the New Siberian Islands, and the same day they sighted the westernmost of them. Still southwards towards the sound which separates Ljachoff's Island from the mainland, and here Nordenskiöld observes a curious phenomenon. The temperature both of the air and water is more than one degree above freezing point, and yet "ice was seen to form on the calm, mirrorlike surface of the sea," which he considers was "clearly a sort of hoar-frost phenomenon, caused by radiation of heat, perhaps both upwards into the atmosphere, and downwards towards the bottom layer of water, cooled below freezing point."

With September comes a change; the eastern passage begins to be impeded by ice which increases in size. By the 6th the *Vega* has reached Cape Chelagskov, where some Chukches come on board. Theirs are the first habitations seen since Yugor Schar and the Samoyeds were left behind at the end of July. They sail along the coast during the next day, for the ice is pretty open, and land on the 8th, when progress is impossible. For two days all efforts are useless. On the 11th an advance is made, for the ice again is open. On the 12th Cape North (Irkaipij) is passed, but the *Vega* is forced to return and anchor off a spur of the Cape. Here they remain till the 18th waiting for a better state of the ice—and this delay turned out to be the main cause of wintering in these regions, and failing in the attempt of at once reaching the Pacific, which was now seemingly within easy distance. Here the longitude was 180° from Greenwich; but not intending to leave the Old World, they did not alter the ship's reckoning, by dropping a day. On the 19th the *Vega* worked her way through shallow water close to shore, inside the ice, but the next day they were forced to lie to at a broad sheet of ground ice. On the second day the steam launch was sent out to find a channel, through which on the 22nd the *Vega* sailed with only ten inches of water under the keel. By the 26th they passed Cape Onman, and the next day entered Kolyutschin Bay. But, unfortunately, into this bay no large river debouches, and so there is no warmer water to melt the ice. And now comes the last day, September 28th. They sailed past the headland at the east arm of the bay, but the channel in shore now fails them; it is too narrow,

the ice is too close to allow the *Vega* to pass between: so a course is sought between the blocks of ground ice and the fields of drift ice; but it cannot be forced. The frost of the previous night had bound them too firmly together: so they are compelled to lie to at a ground ice, "so much the more certain of getting off with the first shift of the wind, and of being able to traverse the few miles that separated us from the open waters of Behring's Straits, as whalers on several occasions had not left this region until the middle of October." But it was not so to be. "The fragile ice sheet which on the 28th bound together the ground ices and hindered our progress, increased daily in strength under the influence of severer and severer cold—it reached a thickness of upwards of five feet during the winter—until it melted away by the summer heat of the following year, and set the *Vega* free on July 18th, 1879, after a captivity of ten months." What made this sudden arrest in a voyage hitherto so successful, the more trying, was the nearness of the goal to which they were advancing.

"Long after we were beset there was still open water on the coast *three miles* from our winter haven; and after our return home, I was informed that on that day on which we were frozen in, an American whaler was anchored at that place."

The great explorer, looking back upon the whole facts of the case, comes to this conclusion:

"Whether our sailing along the north coast of Asia to Kolyutschin Bay was a fortunate accident or not, the future will show. I, for my part, believe that it was a fortunate accident, which will often happen. Certain it is, in any case, that when we had come so far as to this point, our being frozen in was a quite accidental misfortune, brought about by an unusual state of the ice in the autumn of 1878 in the North Behring Sea."

From September 28th till the 18th of the following July, the *Vega* remained firmly fixed in the ice, and during that time as much was done as possible in studying the habits and characters of the scattered temporary inhabitants of this northern coast of Siberia—a careful chapter records the outcome of this, in the history of the Chukches—and of course the *Flora* and *Fauna*, such as they were, were carefully investigated by the scientific staff on board, as also the natural phenomena, as the following two quotations will show. First about the Aurora:

"We never saw here the magnificent bands or draperies

of rays which we are so accustomed to in Scandinavia, but only halo-like luminous arcs, which hour after hour, day after day, were unaltered in position. When the sky was not clouded over, and the dim light of the Aurora was not dimmed by the rays of the sun or the full moon, these arcs commonly began to show themselves between eight and nine o'clock, P.M., and were then seen without interruption during mid-winter until six, and further on in the year till three o'clock in the morning. It follows from this that the Aurora even during a minimum year" (of minimum sunspots) "is a permanent natural phenomenon. The nearly unalterable position of the arcs has further rendered possible a number of measurements of its height, extent, and position, from which I believe I may draw the following inferences: that our globe, even during a minimum Aurora year, is adorned with an almost constant single, double, or multiple luminous crown, whose inner edge is situated at a height of about 125 miles, or 0·03 radius of the earth above its surface, whose centre, the *Aurora pole*, lies somewhat under the earth's surface, a little north of the magnetic pole, and which, with a diameter of 1,250 miles, or 0·3 radius of the earth, extends in a plane perpendicular to the radius of the earth, which touches the centre of the circle." "The light is never distributed into rays, but resembles the light which passes through obscured glass."

The *frost formation* of Siberia begins a little from the shore of the Polar Sea. "It is a continually frozen layer of earth, which, with certain interruptions, extends far to the south; not only under the treeless *tundra*, but also under splendid forests and cultivated corn fields."

At length the *Vega* suddenly moves, and "decked with flags, was under steam and sail again on the way to her destination." She met no more ice-obstacles on her course to the Pacific: before noon on the 20th—in less than two days—"we were in the middle of the sound which unites the North Polar Sea with the Pacific, and from this point the *Vega* greeted the Old and New Worlds by a display of flags and the firing of a Swedish salute."

Well and honestly might they rejoice, for "thus finally was reached the goal towards which so many nations had struggled, all along from the time when Sir Hugh Willoughby, with the firing of salutes from cannon, and the hurrahs from the festive-clad seamen in the presence of an innumerable crowd of jubilant men certain of

success, ushered in the long series of north-east voyages. But, as I have before related, their hopes were grimly disappointed. Sir Hugh and all his men perished as pioneers of England's navigation and of voyages to the ice-incumbered sea which bounds Europe and Asia to the north. Innumerable other marine expeditions have since then trodden the same path, always without success, and generally with the sacrifice of the vessel, and of the life and health of many brave seamen. Now, for the first time, after the lapse of 336 years, and when most men experienced in sea matters had declared the undertaking impossible, was the North-East Passage at last achieved. This has taken place, thanks to the discipline, zeal and ability of our man-of-war's men and their officers, without the sacrifice of a single human life, without sickness[1] among those who took part in the undertaking, without the slightest damage to the vessel, and under circumstances which show that the same thing may be done again in most, perhaps in all years, in the course of a few weeks. The course along which we sailed is indeed no longer required as a commercial route between Europe and China; but it has been granted to this and the preceding Swedish expeditions, to open a sea to navigation, and to confer on half a continent the possibility of communicating by sea with the oceans of the world." The remainder of the voyage by Japan, Canton, Labuan, Ceylon, and to Europe by the Suez Canal need not detain us. It was the triumphant march of a victor who had overcome an hitherto invincible enemy. The voyage which began on June 22nd, 1878, at Copenhagen, finished there on April, 24th, 1880, after accomplishing a journey of upwards of twenty-two thousand miles. But of this the real Passage of the North-East route from Tromsoe to Behring Straits was made, but for the winter's delay, in ten weeks, and extended over 4,470 miles.

A word in conclusion as to the "historical review of previous journeys along the north coast of the Old World," of which the title page speaks. It was an admirable idea of Nordenskiöld's to analyze and compress the result of his diligent previous studies, and to work them into his own narrative. The reader is not referred to other books or supposed to have a knowledge which he is not likely to

[1] It is worth noting that cloud-berries (*rubus chamæmorus*) in rum was the preventative used, instead of the usual lime juice, with the result "we had not seen a trace of scurvy at the end of the voyage."

possess of previous voyages and explorations. He is told briefly and yet clearly all that has hitherto been done, so that he comes prepared with special advantages to understand and estimate aright the achievements of these last successful navigators. He feels, with Nordenskiöld, what is due to pioneers, and sympathizes with, and honours him the more, when he finds Capes and Bays named after those who strove to reach them and failed through no fault of their own in the attempt. He who thus gives ungrudgingly "honour where honour is due," is sure of receiving his own full share of praise, and great indeed is that which is due to him who has made for the first time the voyage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans through the North Polar Sea.

HENRY BEDFORD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SANATIO IN RADICE.

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Thanking you for your great kindness in affording me space in the pages of the RECORD to complete the explanation of my views on the knotty subject of "*Sanatio in Radice*," I proceed straightforward to the task.

It is by all means important to keep before our minds throughout the case between us. It is this :—

A marriage has been contracted under a diriment impediment unknown, at the time, to the parties, who exchanged their consent in the usual way. Now, after a considerable time, there is question of making good, what is deficient in the marriage on account of the impediment, and a "*Sanatio in Radice*" dispensing with a renewal of consent by the parties is employed for the purpose. Our controversy then asks, *how* precisely the "*Sanatio*" has acted, and *what has been its effect?*—whether it has acted on a marriage null and void *ab initio*, making it now valid, which you assert, and I deny; or if, on the contrary, it has acted on a marriage valid, as I venture to maintain, *ab initio* notwithstanding the impediment.

I defend the position I thus take by explaining, that the impediments of matrimony, such as are of ecclesiastical institution, like the other laws of the Church, admit of exceptions in their operation according to the exigencies of special cases, as they arise, and that the very rare cases, to which the "*Sanatio in Radice*" is applied, are cases of exception from the general impediment

in question, and, therefore, stand from the beginning unaffected by the impediment—as much so, as if no such impediment existed at all; and as a consequence the "*Sanatio in Radice*" has for its object and effect nothing more than judicially to recognize the case submitted to have been exempted from the impediment, and therefore to declare it a good and valid marriage *ab initio* notwithstanding such impediment.

We are now arrived at the point of our disquisition, and I fancy you asking me, how I am authorised to assume, that the Church allows for exceptions such cases as I allege, in the institution of her matrimonial impediments? I answer simply, that I make no claim that the general principles of jurisprudence of every kind do not allow me.

Is it not a principle of ecclesiastical legislation, as well as of secular legislation, that laws bind according to the intention of the legislative authority, to the extent, and subject to the conditions and exceptions, intended by that authority? Nor is it necessary, that these conditions and exceptions be set forth, when by conventional understanding they are provided for. Then afterwards, in the working out of the laws this principle is kept in view, and, as an exceptional case occurs, the Executive is appealed to, the case is recognized after due investigation to be a case of exception, and it is discharged from the application of the law in question.

Not to allow this principle in the application of laws would be to incur for individuals, and for particular cases, the hardship pointed out in the well-known adage, "*summum jus summa injuria.*" In other words to enforce legislation or legislative enactments, "through thick and thin," without exception, whatever the inconvenience or injurious effects entailed on individuals in cases of exceptional hardship, would be a cruelty entirely at variance with the principles of ordinary jurisprudence. Legislation, whilst aiming at the general good, has it in view, that the general good waives its interests in view of great individual detriment; and this paternal concern for individuals is more than shared in by the Church, who in legislating for her children is actuated by the tenderness of a mother.

Nor am I to be told, that the principle I lay down holds good only for directive and prohibitive legislation, but may not be applied to laws of a privative character, such as the impediments of marriage. I utterly deny a "*semper et pro semper*" obligation in human legislation privative or other. The principle is universal, and must not be disallowed, although I am ready to admit it should be more restrained, when there is question of privative, than of other legislation.

But all this time we are indulging in speculation. Have we not practical decisions of Theologians to invoke? I think so. You are of course aware of the remarkable case St. Liguori makes in his treatise "*de matrimonio.*" He supposes all arrangements to

be made for the celebration of a marriage, friends present, "*et omnia parata*," so that very great inconvenience, scandal, and the rest, should happen by putting off the marriage. In the midst of all this a diriment impediment turns up—what is the poor Parish Priest to do? The case is not only possible, but may easily happen. What is the Parish Priest to do? St. Liguori decides, and his decision is before the world, that he can assume in the special circumstances of such a case, that the Church allows a derogation from the ordinary working out of the impediment, and he may proceed with the marriage. The holy Doctor does, indeed, advise, that he would sue out a dispensation afterwards, but he so advises, not to validate the marriage, which he holds to be valid, but to guard against allegations, that might be made against the validity by invoking *the letter* of the law. (*Vide* Vol. ii., *Lib.* vi. 613.)

The maxim of St. Paul which he repeats more than once, furnishes the principle, in saying the power he had from God, and which has descended on the Church, is a power "*in aedificationem, et non in destructionem.*" (2 *Cor.* x. 8, and xiii. 10.)

Now this is all I contend for in my explanation of the effect of the "*Sanatio in Radice*" on the case supposed. The marriage is valid by a derogation from the law—a derogation allowed by the Church herself in the special circumstances, and this "*in aedificationem, et non in destructionem*," and the "*Sanatio*" is an act of jurisdiction exercised by the Church in her investigating the case, in her recognising the case in its special exceptional character, and in pronouncing upon it as a case not comprised in, but excepted from, the impediment, and, therefore, that the marriage is, and has been, *ab initio*, valid, as if no such impediment existed.

But you have a "consensus" of Theologians to overwhelm me. Now, Sir, as you have been kind and flattering enough to say that I am entitled to attention "for the very boldness" of my views on this subject, you will need no apology from me, if I show but little pusillanimity in encountering your alleged "consensus."

And first of all, pardon me, if I ask you is there really a "consensus" against the stand I take? I think I will point out to you several breaches in it, so that your friends are far, indeed, from forming an "*acies bene ordinata*" against me.

As I had occasion to mention already, Carriere states, that but few theologians treat the subject in hand, so as to account for the way in which the "*Sanatio in Radice*" produces its effect in curing what is unsound in the marriage in question without requiring the parties to renew their consent, and they seem generally satisfied with supposing the Supreme Pontiff to have the power necessary for such a result; and I say it with great respect for so distinguished an author, that his own explanation, lucid though he generally is, cannot be accepted as satisfactory by a deep and reflecting reader. Here then is breach No. 1 in your "consensus."

Perrone, as I also observed, states that several authors, unable to understand how the "*Sanatio in Radice*" could have the effect claimed for it, denied the Pope to have the power to grant it, whilst others admitted it only "*nomine tenus*," as he expresses it. This makes breach No. 2.

Again, Perrone speaks of others, who offer explanations of the matter, some by what they would term a "*fictio juris*," and some others pretty much in accordance with the view I take of it; and whilst he himself does not take sides with either, he says, nevertheless, that the latter mode of explanation appeared to him fuller, and perhaps less embarrassed than the former (*Lib.* ii. *cap.* iv. *Art.* i. *De Mat. Christ.*) Here then is breach No. 3.

We have also St. Liguori reasoning at great length, and invoking the authority of several Divines of the highest note, in aid of his reasoning to show, that in special circumstances, when great evils were to be apprehended, a Priest could assume even a diriment impediment to be relaxed, and he should celebrate the marriage irrespective of it (*loco citat. sup.*) This would be breach No. 4.

But you have still in reserve the great Pontiff, Benedict XIV., and the several authors that cluster around him. Yes, indeed, they do cluster around him, as their "*turris fortitudinis*," so that in what we venture to say of him, we shall, at the same time, be disposing of them.

Now what of the great oracle, as everyone regards him, in the Divine sciences? Surely it cannot be necessary to make any profession of respect in approaching so great an authority, the bare mention of whose name inspires reverence, and imposes submission. But you will, I trust, bear with me, if I venture to claim him from you, and if moreover I be bold enough to endeavour to make good the claim. Let us see.

Defining the "*Sanatio in Radice*," he tells us it is "*Legis Ecclesiasticae, quae impedimentum induxit, abrogatio in casu particulari, conjuncta cum irritatione omnium effectuum etiam antea ex lege secutorum* (*De synod. dioeces. Lib.* xiii. *c.* 21, *n.* 7.)

Now let us reason for a moment or two on this definition, keeping in view the case, with which we set out, of a marriage contracted under a diriment impediment unknown, at the time, to the parties, but furnishing reasons for a "*Sanatio in Radice*" in course of time.

The definition puts before us both *the law* and *the fact* in a particular case; the law enacting an impediment and the impediment itself in a particular case; and the "*Sanatio*" abrogates the law in its application to the particular case, and with the law the impediment also in the case, so that the case stands as if there never had been such a law, or such an impediment.

But let us attend to the other words of the definition, namely, "*conjuncta cum irritatione omnium effectuum antea ex lege secutorum.*"

Just so; the effects of the law are swept away with the law itself. Now foremost amongst these legal effects was the legal nullity of the marriage; but the "*Sanatio*" annuls this nullity, so that like two negatives making an affirmation, the two nullities become a validity, and the marriage is, therefore, valid in the particular case, although it should as a rule be invalid.

Nor are we to be told that all this takes place only when the sentence of the "*Sanatio*" is fulminated, as the expression has it, and that the marriage was invalid up to that moment. Why? Because you as well as I assert that the sentence having been fulminated it takes effect not only "*ex nunc*," but "*ex tunc*," and everything is, and has been "*ab initio*" as if there was no law to the contrary, and consequently no impediment in the particular case. "Yes" and "no" cannot be reconciled, and the fact of yesterday cannot be annihilated by any power on earth, so as to make it a nonentity. What was, *was*, and what was not, *was not*; and in the name of common sense how can we say to a man and a woman, "you were not married up to this, your marriage was no marriage on account of an impediment, but now the impediment is removed, and you are to regard the marriage, that was no marriage, to have been a good and valid marriage all the time, and though you were not married up to this, you are to regard yourselves husband and wife all along from the day you first joined hands?"

And, as to the offspring, they are legitimated with the fullest legitimacy (*plenissima legitimatione*), and this not "*ex nunc*" but "*ex tunc*," and how can they be told, "you were illegitimate up to this, but now you are made legitimate?" The Prophet Jeremiah makes the impossible supposition of an Ethiopian changing his skin, and the leopard his spots. The impossibility is still greater of an illegitimate of yesterday having been legitimate yesterday.

And here we must not confound the disabilities for canonical preferments, resulting from illegitimacy, which, indeed, are taken away by the "*Sanatio in Radice*" with illegitimacy itself. These disabilities are not essentially inherent in illegitimacy—the illegitimacy may, or may not be, without them, but illegitimacy itself is bound up with the nullity of the parents' marriage, as heat, or cold, with the material objects that are hot or cold, so that as the parents were married, or were not married validly, the offspring was legitimate or illegitimate of necessity during the time.

But you have, I know, a very serious quotation from Benedict XIV. to bring against me, and on which you rely as overthrowing all this reasoning. It is this:

"Quamvis enim in aliquibus circumstantiis conceduntur quædam dispensationes, quæ dicuntur *in Radice*, matrimonii, per quas renovandi consensus necessitas tollitur . . . certum tamen est hujusmodi dispensationes, quibus matrimonium redditur validum, et proles ex eo genita legitima nuntiatur, absque ulla renovandi

consensus necessitate, concedi quidem aliquando, gravissimis urgentibus causis . . . sed tunc solum cum impedimentum propter quod matrimonium irritum fuit nequaquam ortum habuit a jure Divino vel naturali, sed a lege duntaxat ecclesiastica, quam positivam vocant, et cui Summus Pontifex derogare possit, non sane agendo, ut matrimonium nulliter contractum non ita contractum fuerit, sed *effectus illos de medio tollendo*, qui ob hujusmodi matrimonii nullitatem ante indultam dispensationem, ac in ipso contrahendi matrimonii actu, producti fuerunt."—*De Synodo dioecesana*, 416. xiii. c. 21. n. 7.

Before replying to the objection contained in this explanation of the illustrious Pope, I will take leave to notice for a moment how he gives the name of dispensation also to what he terms elsewhere "*Sanatio in Radice*," in consequence of certain analogies between both, but at the same time he adds some qualifying epithet to prevent one to be confounded with the other, and to maintain the specific character of the latter act of pontifical authority.

With this observation I will proceed to the objection from the Pope's words; and I will not disguise for a moment its gravity. As if obviating the argument "*ex absurdo*," which we have just brought forward, and which is grounded on the impossibility of undoing facts, and making undone that which was done, Benedict XIV. would say, we do not attempt such an absurdity; but what we do is, we come at *the effects* produced on account of the nullity of the marriage, in the very celebration of the marriage and existing up to the time of the dispensation having been granted.

We come, I say, at these effects, and we sweep them completely away. I do not, as you see, translate literally, in order that I may give the objection all its force, and come simply to this, that the marriage is declared invalid up to the time of the dispensation being applied, which is your view, and the great point of difference between us, nay, the very hinge of our controversy.

Now what is my reply? It is very simple, being grounded on the well known distinction of the *forum externum* and the *forum internum*. We know that the impediments of marriage belong to the external government of the Church, whilst they have their authority also from the Divine law, according to the power granted to her by her Divine Founder for the institution of such impediments. On this account an impediment may exist according to the disciplinary laws of the Church, and, at the same time, be of no avail in conscience, and, *vice versa*, an impediment may be of full effect in conscience, and be null and void before the ecclesiastical tribunals, or according to the prescriptions of Canon law. It is in accordance with this distinction I understand Benedict XIV. declaring as invalid marriages, that are, at the same time, valid—invalid as they would be judged by external judicial procedure but valid in the tribunal of conscience.

But shall I be told that this is a gratuitous distinction, that I take shelter in it to escape the difficulties I would rather avoid than encounter. By no means ; I seek no harbonr of refuge · I remain at open sea, sure of my bearings and gliding smoothly along.

We must by all means maintain Benedict XIV. in harmony with himself, and in so doing find a solution of our difficulty. He was no "EST ET NON" man, "sed EST in illo fuit," and it is in the distinction I make we find his consistency. For, if he did not regard the marriages valid in "*foro interno*," which he pronounces to be invalid, he should require the consent of the parties in some way or other, either actual by renewal, or some virtual consent resulting from the consent given at the time of the marriage, and morally persevering at the time there is question of applying the "*Sanatio in Radice*." But he absolutely makes nothing of consent of any kind, and would apply the "*Sanatio*" even in face of a retractation of the consent primarily given. For the life of me I cannot understand this, as I cannot understand the other cases brought forward by Perrone in his "*de Matrimonio Christiano*." (*Lib.* ii., *cap.* iv., *Art.* iii.) consistently with the necessity of mutual consent according to the natural and Divine law in the hypothesis of a marriage being invalid, in order to validate it.

Again, let us consider the matter side by side with the ordinary dispensation needing a renewal of consent. Why I would ask, is consent required to be renewed in this case, and dispensed with in the case of "*Sanatio in Radice*." I know we are not to be too prying as to the motives guiding the action of the Holy See. But we owe it to the Holy See to believe that it is actuated by grave reasons in grave matters. Now, what can be the motive of a different treatment of the two cases, if we are to suppose the marriage in each case invalid ? Is it because there is little or no inconvenience in obtaining a renewal of consent in the case of an ordinary dispensation, and serious difficulty, when a "*Sanatio*" is sued for? Surely this cannot be alleged, for the greater or less difficulty in one case or the other, cannot dispense with the necessity of consent for validating an invalid marriage, and the consent required to be renewed in one of the supposed cases is just as imperiously required as in the other. Consequently we can account for the different line of action taken in the two cases only by supposing the marriage to have been valid, though impeachable on technical grounds, when the "*Sanatio*" is used. I therefore make good my claim to the illustrious Pope, and the Theologians who cluster around him, for whatever side the "*turris fortitudinis*" inclines to, in the same direction the cluster columns incline also.

In bringing my observations to a conclusion, I wish to say that with all the respect I have for the authorities of the contrary leaning, I cannot be satisfied with the terminology in which they

wrap up this grave matter. "Consolidation," "rehabilitation," "retroaction," "redintegration," &c., are sonorous words to be sure, but to my ears they are very much as "*the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal.*" The Apostle asks: "*If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? So likewise you, unless you utter plain speech, how shall it be known what is said?*" (1 *Cor.* xiv. 8, 9). Yes, plain speech for me. I do not like "*sesquepedalia*" in any department of literature, but especially in Theology, unless I have some small change to hand to convert such large coin into homely use, and I think our friends, who employ the above recited words, leave a great void to be filled up in not telling us HOW, for this is the great question—How the effect is realised, which they wish to signify by such a high-sounding vocabulary.

Let me then put forth my ideas in a few words. They are:

1. The Church in the institution of her laws on the impediments of marriage reserves and excepts, according to the ordinary and well recognized principles of general jurisprudence, certain special cases, which would entail great individual hardship, or other grave inconvenience, if subjected to the operation of the law, and therefore the law may be said to be abrogated according to the expression of Benedict XIV. in such rare and special cases.

2. These cases, nevertheless, are *technically* affected by the laws, and the marriage is regarded, therefore, to be *legally* invalid, till the circumstances are examined, and found to be of a nature to exempt it by showing it to be a case of exception.

3. When this is found out, the "*Sanatio in Radice*" is fulminated, and takes effect in a juridical recognition of the marriage, and in a removal of the disabilities, to which it was liable till then.

Let me conclude by apologising for occupying so much of your valuable space. I had no conception, when taking pen in hand, I should be led on to such a length. However, I am glad to take part in the threshing out of so interesting a question, even though I should have only the chaff or straw for my portion. To you be the great merit of promoting in this and other subjects a salutary taste for theological study, by rendering it palatable to your readers in the pages of the RECORD.

With all good and respectful assurance, I beg to remain, very sincerely, yours, &c.

[In the next number of the Record we hope to have an opportunity of replying to our respected correspondent's observations on the important question of "*Sanatio in Radice.*"—ED. I. E. R.]

LITURGY.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

In passing from place to place for some time, I observed much variety in a few practices pertaining to Rubrics.

I send a list of them in the form of queries.

I shall be glad if you refer at your convenience to those on the list which you think useful to bring under the notice of your readers. J. G.

I.

Is the Amict always worn at Benediction?

Should not the Amict be worn when the priest gives Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, vested in cope and surplice?

The "Ritus servandus in Expositione et Benedictione SS. Sacramenti," given as an appendix to the National Synod of Thurles, prescribes the wearing of the amict in this case. This "Ritus" is, however, the only authority, as far as we know, that expressly mentions the amict as part of the celebrant's dress when he gives Benediction, vested in cotta and cope. The "Ritus" refers in the notes to the Caeremoniale Episcoporum as its authority, but we have examined the Caeremoniale and can find no such statement there.

Bauldry[1] describes the vestments of the celebrant at the Exposition thus:—"Sacerdos cotta, aut alba cum stola aut etiam pluviali indutus;" and when explaining the Benediction ceremony after Vespers, the only addition which he requires to be made to the Vesper dress of the celebrant is a stole.[2] Now an amict is not worn under the cope at Vespers. Likewise, Baldeschi,[3] when describing the same ceremony of Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament at Vespers, orders the use of the stole, and makes no reference to the amict. According to De Herdt,[4] the vestments of the celebrant at Benediction are the surplice, stole, and, when it can be had, the cope. "Sacerdos etsi superpelliceo et stola tantum indutus esse debeat, decet tamen, ut etiam pluviali induatur." Neither does Mon. Martinucci mention the amict as one of the Benediction vestments. He describes the ceremony in two parts of his work, and in both he writes: "Praeparabitur in Sacrario pluviale cum stola albi coloris,

[1] De Festo Corp. Christi, Art. ix. n. 1.
[2] *Ibid.* Art. vi. n. 1.
[3] Tom. II., cap. vii., Art. i. 5. Italian Edition. Rome, 1844.
[4] *Sacrae Liturgiae Praxis.* Tom. ii., n. 26.

superpelliceum et biretum pro celebrante."[1] Again, we have the authority of Mon. De Conny, who writes in his *Ceremonial Romain* (cap. xx., n. 3), "pour conclure par la Benediction une exposition du Saint Sacrament, le prêtre doit avoir au moins une êtole sur le surplis; il serait tres convenable qu'il eût une chape et même, s'il devait être assiste par le diacre et le sous-diacre, il se servirait de l'aube."

Finally, the Sacred Congregation, when asked the following question respecting the dress of the celebrant at Benediction, omits in its answer the mention of the amict.

"Num canonicus officium faciens in expositione SS. Sacramenti diebus infra octavam Corporis Christi, et in repositione post completorium in choro, item in expositione in Novemdialibus, et similibus, uti possit amictu, stola, et pluviali supra rochettum, vel potius uti debeat amictu, alba, stola et pluviali?"

S. R. C. resp. "Assumendum esse pluviale vel super rochetto et cotta, vel cum rochetto et alba. 28 Sept. 1852.

De Herdt, noticing the omission of the mention of the stole in this answer of the Congregation, says, "in hoc responso nihil declaratur circa stolam, etiam si expresse petitum fuerit. Celebrans tamen stolam regulariter habere debet, quoties SS. Sacramentum tractare debet;" but he makes no comment whatever on the omission of all reference to the amict as in any way unusual or remarkable.

Relying on the authority of these and other Rubricists, we think that the amict should not be worn when the celebrant gives Benediction, vested in surplice and cope.

II.

Wax Candles required for Benediction..

Is there an obligation, in this country, to have *six wax candles* at Benediction of the B. Sacrament?

We think that Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament should not be celebrated in this country without at least *twelve wax* candles, unless the bishop of the diocese, considering the poverty of the church or other special circumstances, has sanctioned the use of a smaller number.

Our respected correspondent is aware that the Instructio Clementina requires for the Quarante 'Ore at least twenty wax candles by day, and at least ten by night.[3]

[1] *De Expositione et Benedictione cum SS. Sacramento*, Lib. iii., cap. viii., n. 10. *Ibid.* Lib. ii., cap. xi., n. 11.

[2] *Praxis Pontificalis*, Tom. iii., n. 237 (*b*).

[3] Instructio Clementina, n. 6.

This provision as to the number of candles is extended to other solemn expositions in the last paragraph of the Instructio.[1] It is true that this Instructio is of obligation in all its parts only in Rome, but it is at the same time the model which the bishops everywhere are expected to copy, unless peculiar circumstances would render a different arrangement as to details advisable. Hence such questions as this respecting the number of wax candles to be used, depend on the local legislation made in the synods of the country or diocese or by the precept of the bishop. Now the bishops assembled at our National Synod at Thurles direct that Benediction is to be celebrated in accordance with the "Ritus servandus, &c.," which is printed as an Appendix to the Synod. In this Ritus it is expressly enjoined, "in Altari accendantur *ad minus duodecim candelae cereae* vel plures juxta consuetudinem."

Gardellini, in his commentary on the Instructio Clementina, says that a smaller number than twelve wax candles would hardly be consistent with the external respect and honour due to the Blessed Sacrament exposed on the throne. This was the number prescribed by Benedict XIV. for the churches of the city of Bologna, when he was Archbishop of that diocese.

III.

Must all the candles used at Benediction be of wax?

In our church we have rarely fewer than 25 lighted candles at the ordinary Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, and we have a much larger number on the occasion of the Quarante 'Ore. Please, say whether all these candles must be of wax, or is it lawful to use candles made of paraffine or other such material, provided the prescribed number of wax candles be used?

Gardellini states that the Instructio Clementina consulting for the poverty of churches sanctions the use of candles made of oil or tallow during the night hours of the Quarante 'Ore, provided at least ten wax candles be burning on the altar. We give the passage, as it is important:—

"Quoniam vero per horas quadraginta diu noctuque nunquam cessare debet Oratio, ideo jubet insuper haec sanctio (Instructio Clementina) ut etiam nocturno tempore, licet clausis Ecclesiae januis, totidem ac in die colluceant lumina: aliquid tamen de rigore remittens, Ecclesiarum consulit paupertati: quamobrem permittit ut interea adhiberi possint lumina ex alia viliori materia, puta ex oleo aut adipe, dummodo saltem decem ex cera sint."[3]

[1] *Instructio Clementina*, n. 36. [2] § vi. 8. [3] *Comm. in Inst. Clemen.* § vi. n. 2.

De Herdt[1] and Schneider[2] also expressly state that the candles which are in excess of the number required by the Rubrics, may be composed of some other material than wax.

There is, we think, no doubt, that such candles are permitted when used in the sanctuary and round about the altar to add to the solemnity of the occasion. But we hesitate to say that any candles, except those made of pure wax, can be burned on the altar itself, or in immediate connection with it. We are led to hold this view by the following considerations :—

First. The Sacred Congregation ruled, "*Nec lumina nisi cerea, vel supra Mensam altaris, vel eidem quomodocunque imminentia adhibeantur.*"[3]

This is a general prohibition, extending to all candles burned on the altar. Hence, Mons. De Conny writes in his *Ceremonial Romain*:—"Il n'est pas expressement prohibé d'illuminer l'église avec les cierges faits d'autre matière; mais pour l'autel, le gradin de l'autel et les lustres suspendus audessus de l'autel, les cierges de cire sont seuls permis."[4]

Again, we have a formal Ordinance of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, prohibiting the use of any except pure wax candles for any ceremony whatever in the Church. This Ordinance was approved by the Pope, and published at Rome in 1868.[5]

[1] (Candelae) quae in diebus solemnibus ultra determinatum numerum accenduntur ad augendam solemnitatem, convenienter quidem, non tamen necessario, ex cera, sed etiam, ex alia materia decenter composita, esse posse.—De Herdt, tom. i. n. 182.

[2] Candelae ex stearina confectae pro usu sacro prohibentur; numero autem praescripto ex cera confectarum superaddi possunt.—SCHNEIDER, *Manuale Sacerdotum*, p. 657.

[3] S.R.C. 31 Mart. 1821. decretum generale approbatum a Pio VII. Ap. 3, 1821.

[4] Chap. vii. page 32.

[5] As this is an important document, we give it in this place. We quote from the French translation which we have at hand.

"Depuis quelque temps on s'est mis à travailler une sorte de cire qui, soumise à l'analyse, révele une tout autre substance que celle de la cire d'abeilles.

"Un pareil mélange se vend seuvent pour les usages du culte, et cela contre la defense des saints canons et les decrets de la Sacrée Congregation de Rites. Il en resulte un manque de respect pour les choses divines et le symbole qu'elles renferment, ainsi que du dommage pour les objects sacrés, et pour les fidèles present's.

"Nous donc, apres avoir entendu l'Oracle de Notre Tres Saint Père, nous promulguons les dispositions suivantes :—

1. Nous defendons sous des peines dont nous reservons la deter-

Finally, when we place a lighted candle on the altar, it is as an act of worship, and not for the purpose of lighting the sanctuary or altar. Now, in using any other but wax candles, we miss the symbolism which is the chief reason why the Church defines the special material of which altar candles are to be made. The wax extracted from the pure flowers, and elaborated by the bee, typifies the Sacred Body of our Blessed Redeemer, formed from the pure blood of His Virgin Mother. "Nam," writes Rupert, "sicut apis ceram cum melle virginali producit opere, sic Maria Virgo Christum Deum et hominem, salva uteri sui genuit integritate." This symbolism does not apply to candles of any other material.

IV.

The kind of Oil to be used in the Lamp placed before the Blessed Sacrament.

Is there a special kind of Oil to be used in the Blessed Sacrament Lamp?

Yes: you should use for this purpose the Oil of Olives. If, however, there are special difficulties in procuring this Oil of Olives, your bishop, to whom you should explain your case, has power to allow you to use another kind. Vegetable must, however, be preferred to mineral oil.

The Sacred Congregation of Rites has issued the following important instruction on this matter:—

DECRETUM A S. RITUUM CONGREGATIONE DE SPECIE OLEI PRO NUTRIENDA LAMPADE SS. SACRAMENTI.

Nonnulli Reverendissimi Galliarum Antistites, serio perpendentes, in multis suarum Diocesium Ecclesiis, difficile admodum et nonnisi magnis sumptibus comparari posse oleum olivarum ad nutriendum die noctuque saltem unam lampadem ante Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, ab Apostolica Sede declarari petierunt: — Utrum in casu, attentis difficultatibus et Ecclesiarum paupertate, oleo olivarum substitui possint alia olea, quae ex vegetabilibus habentur. ipso non excluso petroleo?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, etsi semper sollicita, ut etiam in hac parte quod usque ab Ecclesiae primordiis circa usum olei ex olivis inductum est, ob mysticas significationes retineatur;

mination, a tous les superieurs des Eglises et des Etablissements pieux de Rome et des alentours, de se procurer et de bruler de la fausse cire pour quelque ceremonie que ce soit.

2. Nous defendons aux marchands de cire, &c., de vendre cette fausse cire pour l'usage des eglises, sous peine de 1 franc d'amende par livre, et d'une amende double en cas de récidive."

attamen silentio praeterire minime censuit rationes ab iisdem Episcopis prolatas; ac proinde exquisito prius voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, subscriptus Cardinalis Praefectus ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis, rem omnem proposuit in ordinariis Comitiis ad Vaticanum hodierna die habitis.

Eminentissimi autem et Reverendissimi Patres sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, omnibus accurate perpensis ac diligentissime examinatis, rescribendum censuerunt: *generatim utendum esse oleo olivarum; ubi vero haberi nequeat, remittendum prudentiae Episcoporum, ut lampades nutriantur ex aliis oleis quantum fieri possit vegetabilibus.* Die 9 Julii, 1864.

Facta postmodum de praemissis Sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio Papae IX. per Secretarium fideli relatione, Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacrae Congregationis ratam habuit, et confirmavit. Die 14, iisdem mense et anno.

R. B.

DOCUMENTS.

[The following Lessons have been substituted, by direction of His Holiness Leo XIII., for the Lessons hitherto read in the Second Nocturn of the office of St. Thomas Aquinas. Ed. I. E. R.]

Die VII Martii in Festo Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Confessoris et Ecclesiae Doctoris.

In II. Nocturno.—Lectio IV.

Praeclarum Christiani orbis decus et Ecclesiae lumen, beatissimus vir Thomas, Landulpho Comite Aquinate et Theodora Neapolitana, nobilibus parentibus natus, futurae in Deiparam devotionis affectum adhuc infantulus ostendit. Nam chartulam ab eo inventam, in qua salutatio Angelica scripta erat, frustra adnitente nutrice, compressa manu valide retinuit, et a matre per vim abreptam, ploratu et gestu repetiit, ac mox redditam deglutivit. Quintum annum agens, monachis sancti Benedicti Cassinatibus custodiendus traditur. Inde Neapolim studiorum causa missus, iam adolescens Fratrum Praedicatorum Ordinem suscepit. Sed matre ac fratribus id indigne ferentibus, Lutetiam Parisiorum mittitur. Quem fratres, in itinere per vim raptum, in arcem castri sancti Ioannis perducunt: ubi varie exagitatus, ut sanctum propositum mutaret, mulierem etiam, quae ad labefactandam eius constantiam introducta fuerat, titione fugavit. Mox beatus iuvenis, flexis genibus ante signum Crucis orans, ibique somno correptus, per quietem sentire visus est sibi ab Angelis constringi lumbos: quo ex tempore omni postea libidinis sensu caruit. Sororibus,

quae, ut eum a pio consilio removerent, in castrum venerant, persuasit, ut, contemptis curis saecularibus, ad exercitationem caelestis vitae se conferrent.

Lectio V.

Emissus e castro per fenestram, Neapolim reducitur: unde Romam, postea Parisium a fratre Ioanne Theutonico, Ordinis Praedicatorum generali Magistro, ductus, Alberto Magno doctore, philosophiae ac theologiae operam dedit. Viginti quinque annos natus, magister est appellatus, publiceque philosophos ac theologos summa cum laude est interpretatus. Nunquam se lectioni aut scriptioni dedit, nisi post orationem. In difficultatibus locorum Sacrae Scripturae, ad orationem ieiunium adhibebat. Quin etiam sodali suo fratri Reginaldo dicere solebat, quidquid sciret non tam studio aut labore suo peperisse, quam divinitus traditum accepisse. Neapoli cum ad imaginem Crucifixi vehementius oraret, hanc vocem audivit: Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma: quam ergo mercedem accipies? Cui ille: Non aliam, Domine, nisi teipsum. Collationes Patrum assidue pervolutabat; et nullum fuit scriptorum genus in quo non esset diligentissime versatus. Scripta eius et multitudine, et varietate, et facilitate explicandi res difficiles adeo excellunt, ut uberrima atque incorrupta illius doctrina, cum revelatis veritatibus mire consentiens, aptissima sit ad omnium temporum errores pervincendos.

Lectio VI.

A Summo Pontifice Urbano Quarto Romam vocatus, eius iussu ecclesiasticum lucubravit officium in Corporis Christi solemnitate celebrandum; oblatos vero honores, et Neapolitanum Archiepiscopatum, etiam deferente Clemente Quarto, recusavit. A praedicatione Divini Verbi non desistebat; quod cum faceret per octavam Paschae in Basilica sancti Petri, mulierem, quae eius fimbriam tetigerat, a fluxu sanguinis liberavit. Missus a beato Gregorio Decimo ad Concilium Lugdunense, in Monasterio Fossae Novae in morbum incidit, ubi aegrotus Cantica Canticorum explanavit. Ibidem obiit quinquagenarius, anno salutis millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, nonis Martii. Miraculis etiam mortuus claruit; quibus probatis, a Ioanne Vigesimo secundo in Sanctorum numerum relatus est, anno millesimo tercentesimo vigesimo tertio; translato postea eius corpore Tolosam, ex mandato beati Urbani Quinti. Cum sanctis angelicis spiritibus non minus innocentia quam ingenio comparatus, doctoris Angelici nomen iure est adeptus, eidem auctoritate sancti Pii Quinti confirmatum. Leo autem Decimus tertius, libentissime excipiens postulationes et vota omnium pene Sacrorum Antistitum Orbis Catholici, ad tot praecipue philosophicorum systematum a veritate aberrantium luem propulsandam, incrementa scientiarum, et communem humani generis utilitatem, Eum, ex Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consulto, per Apostolicas litteras caelestem Patronum Scholarum omnium Catholicarum declaravit et instituit.

ADDENDA AD MARTYROLOGIUM ROMANUM NONIS MARTII. IN ELOGIO S. THOMAE AQUINATIS POST VERBA *scientiae illustris*, ADDANTUR SEQUENTIA: QUEM LEO DECIMUS TERTIUS SCHOLARUM OMNIUM CATHOLICARUM COELESTEM PATRONUM DECLARAVIT.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

Superiore anno Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. per Apostolicas Literas in forma Brevis sub die 4 Augusti datas, quamplurium Dioecesium sacrorum Antistitum aliorumque virorum scientia, pietate atque ecclesiastica dignitate eminentium votis obsecundans, ex Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consulto Angelicum Doctorem sanctum Thomam Aquinatem cunctis Catholicis Universitatibus studiorum, Academiis, Lyceis et Scholis peculiarem apud Deum dedit patronum. Quo autem huiusmodi solemnis actus in sacra quoque liturgia perennis extaret memoria, Sanctissimus ideo Dominus Noster voluit ut tam in Lectionibus historicis Breviarii quam in Martyrologio mentio de hoc fieret: quod Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi exequendum commisit. Hinc ad mentem Sanctitatis Suae novae Lectiones historicae necnon addenda ad elogium in Martyrologia elucubrata sunt, quae a me infrascripto Cardinale Sacrae eidem Rituum Congregationi Praefecto subsignata die exhibita, prouti huic praeiacent Decreto, idem Sanctissimus Dominus suprema auctoritate sua approbavit, mandavitque ut ea ab universae Ecclesiae Clero tum Saeculari tum Regulari, haud excluso Praedicatorum Ordine, in posterum recitari debeant, suppressis omnino Lectionibus secundi Nocturni in Officio praefati Sancti Doctoris hucusque adhibitis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 14 Octobris 1881.

L. ✠ S. D. CARD. BARTOLINIUS, S. R. C. Praefectus.
PBO R. P. D. PLACIDO RALLI, Secretario.
IOANNES, Can. Ponzi Substitutus.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Cardinal Newman: the Story of his Life. By HENRY J. JENNINGS. Birmingham and London, 1882.

The following is the author's "Prefatory Note" to this little volume:—"The fact that I am not a Roman Catholic does not, I hope, disqualify me for attempting to sketch, however imperfectly, the career of a great dignitary of the Roman Church. I have endeavoured to write Cardinal Newman's life without, on the one hand, concealing my own views, or, on the other, expressing them so as

to give offence to those Catholics into whose hands the book may fall."

Notwithstanding this declaration, and giving the writer full credit for perfect honesty of purpose, we had grave misgivings whether, with his avowed Protestant ideas and feelings, he *could* give a just delineation of a character and a career so jarring to those ideas and feelings. Our misgivings did not spring so much from any antecedent persuasion of the impossibility or difficulty of such a writer doing justice to such a subject. They had come from a long experience of the failures of Protestants in their accounts of the lives and writings of Catholics, distinguished as the ornaments or defenders of the Church. On reading, however, the very first paragraph our hopes for a happier issue were not a little raised:—

"John Henry Newman is one of the most remarkable men of the present century. He is remarkable both on account of his great intellectual gifts, and on account of the vicissitudes of his long and eventful career. During the best part of threescore years he has been at all times a notable factor in the history of the religious movements of the age. Mr. Austin, an acute critic, has accurately described him as 'the man in the working of whose individual mind the intelligent portion of the English public is more interested than in that of any other living person.' Whether as Oxford preacher, or Anglican reformer, or Tractarian disputant, or Catholic controversialist, or Roman cardinal, he has continually filled a large place in popular interest. Whatever people may have thought of his creed, they have never had two opinions about his vast mental endowments. In him intellectual subtlety is combined with a rare profundity of learning. As theologian, dialectician, philosopher, historian, critic, poet, and preacher, he has made a great and enduring mark. Skilful in controversy, earnest in all matters of belief, pure and high-minded in every action of his life, sincere when the world, with all the captiousness of the *odium theologicum*, deemed him insincere, he has filled with a noble record the long chapter of his fourscore years. . . . . They [most Englishmen] will recall, too, how the sense of bitterness caused by his secession—the sense of betrayal, so to speak—long since gave way to a feeling of respectful confidence, when his true character was laid bare, and the world came to recognise that every action of his life had been inspired by the deepest and holiest convictions of conscience. It is not necessary that one should be a communicant in the Church of Rome to cherish an admiration bordering on reverence for the eminent Oratorian. No man in this world—not even the self-mortifying saints of the Roman hagiology—ever led a holier life, in the sense of purity, and piety, and devotional earnestness, and conscientious zeal."

The same generous, kindly, and even reverential spirit which animates these lines pervades the rest of the book to the very end.

The whole "story" is written in a style graceful and attractive, not unworthy to come from the pen of the illustrious subject himself. In the way of criticism we need say no more. The following account of the Cardinal's life, as a simple Oratorian, at one particular period, not long after his conversion, will interest our readers, and perhaps induce some of them to get the volume for themselves and read it through:

"Father Newman, as he had now come to be commonly called, by the general public, as well as by his own people, had entered upon his new life with a humility which probably astonished some of those who knew him only as a warlike champion of whatever cause he espoused. He toiled at the mission work as the humblest Friar would have toiled. Into the dens and stews of the great town of Birmingham, he and his co-workers plunged with a fearless courage and unquenchable zeal. In 1849, when the cholera was raging at Bilston, the local Catholic priest was prostrated by his incessant labours, day and night, and it became necessary to find a temporary substitute. Dr. Ullathorne, the Bishop of the Diocese, had no other priest to send to take his place in the perilous and urgent work of attending the sick. On hearing of this state of things, Dr. Newman himself, with Father Ambrose and another of the priests of the Oratory, volunteered to take the place of danger, and left the duties of his comparatively quiet home in the Alcester-street Mission House, in order to submit to the discomforts of a hastily improvised accommodation at the priest's house at Bilston. All the rest of the time during which the pestilence was raging, these devoted men were to be seen in the filthiest hovels, amidst the most sordid and sickening surroundings, exposed to the poisonous breath of infection, nobly carrying the message of mercy to the victims of the dread epidemic. Nor were they by any means singular examples of self-devotion. Wherever the cholera broke out, there the Catholic priests were at work, doing their duty fearlessly and in accordance with the sacrificing spirit of their religion. One may dissent altogether from the principles of their faith—one may even hold that faith to be superstition and an error—but one cannot refuse a warm tribute of admiration to the sublime heroism of these pious men. It is a noteworthy episode in the life of Dr. Newman, that when there was danger to be faced, instead of deputing to another, he bravely undertook the perilous duty himself. There are many incidents in his long life which challenge applause, but none which command it more fully than this. It was a splendid illustration of the doctrine of works,—a noble example of that spirit of self-regardlessness which is one of the characteristics of the Roman Catholic clergy all the world over." (p. 66, &c.)

Excellent, however, as are the spirit and tone of this little volume, there are one or two blots on it. We entirely agree with the *Dublin Review* that, on the grave and delicate theological

question raised by Canon Kingsley, Mr. Jennings should not have lugged in the silly remark of that gentleman's "inconsolable widow," still less the off-hand pronouncement of that very amiable gentleman, but very shallow and flippant rationalist, the late Dean Stanley (91–2). With regard to the "Copy of scurrilous verses," (p. 59–61), on reading them we took for granted that Mr. Jennings intended them as a *specimen* of several other scurrilities —the only shafts in those days levelled at Dr. Newman from the deserted camp. But, whatever may have been Mr. Jenning's intention in reproducing the verses, most assuredly they will to all intelligent persons read as they have read to us. A stanza or two would however have sufficed as specimens; why smear upwards of two pages with them?—P. Murray.

I.—*Praelectiones Theologicae De Deo Uno.* Stenturp, S.J., Oenepente. 1879.

II.—*Institutiones Theologicae De Ipso Deo.* Kleuken, S.J. Ratisbonae: Pustet. 1881.

There is no Order in the Church has done so much for Catholic Literature, and especially for Philosophy and Theology, as the illustrious sons of Saint Ignatius. In every generation they held the foremost rank amongst the expounders and defenders of Catholic doctrine; yet we doubt if the great Order ever exhibited more intellectual energy in the schools of Catholic Theology than it has done during the present century. The names of Gury, Perrone, Patrizi, Ballerini, Franzelin, Mazzella, and many others, will occur to the reader, while in Philosophy we had Dmowski, Liberatore, Tongiorgi, and now we have two new Theologians of the Order, who publish the first volumes of what seems to be intended as a full course of Dogmatic Theology.

Father Stentrup, Professor of Theology in the Innspruck University, published in 1879 his "Praelectiones de Deo Uno." He justly observes in his preface that the knowledge of God excels all other branches of knowledge in dignity, utility, and necessity, and that this knowledge was never so necessary as at the present time, for pantheism or materialism are the scourges of society in these latter days. As might be expected, his treatment of the subject is exhaustive and solid, and we are confident this treatise will be eagerly welcomed in the schools of Catholic Theology.

Father Kleuken's Book, "De Ipso Deo," treats of the Unity and Trinity of God. He is not so full on the absolute Divine Attributes as the Innspruck Professor, but the style is clear and concise, and thus contains much matter in a small compass. He professes to follow St. Thomas throughout, observing, however, we think with justice, that on many questions St. Thomas can be usefully expanded, especially in reference to the new forms of error which have arisen since his time, and which he refuted in *virtute*, indeed,

but not formally. In many other questions where the Angelical combats the transitory errors of his own time, or diverges too far into scholastic subtleties we agree with our author in thinking that he may be profitably condensed. With these two new books, and Father Mazzella's treatise, "De Deo Creante," theological students can make no complaint of a want of treatises suited to the needs of the time in this most important branch of Theology.

J. H.

Hibernia. A Monthly Popular Review.

This is a new venture in Irish Periodical Literature, and promises well for its future. The contents of the first number are of a varied and attractive character, and although politics are eschewed the articles are thoroughly Irish in their complexion and tendency. Dr. Joyce writes a neat little sketch of the man-wolves in Ossory, referring amongst other authorities to a quite appropriate one on such a subject, the veracious Geraldus Cambrensis. We have an elaborate article on Dublin Music, on the Irish Exhibition of 1882, on College Green and various other interesting subjects. We wish the new comer hearty welcome, long life, and prosperity in spite of stormy days.—J. H.

The Dublin Review: January 1882. London: Burns & Oates.

A bare enumeration of the Articles, and of the writers as far as we know them, in the current number of the DUBLIN REVIEW, will be quite sufficient inducement to our readers to procure the volume and to read it carefully. The first Article gives an interesting account of the Jesuit *Mission of the Zambesi*, in which many of the English Fathers, including Fr. Law, the first part of whose life we briefly notice, in the true spirit of the "chivalry of charity," have already laid down their lives. Then follows a very readable Article by John Charles Earle, B.A. Oxon, on "*English Men of Letters*," in the course of which, we are glad to find, that he refers to a paper on Shakespere written by Mr. Bedford, of All Hallow's College, and published in the last April number of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

Next we have one of Dr. Ward's ever able and earnest Articles on the "*Philosophy of the Theistic Controversy*,"

The fourth Article is entitled "*St. Francis De Sales, Doctor of the Church*," and it well repays perusal.

The fifth Article is a continuation of the Essay of Professor Thigm, which appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW in July, 1881, on "*Recent Works on the state of Germany*."

The sixth Article will have a peculiar interest for Irish readers, both on account of the subject and of the writer. It is on "*The Condition of the Catholics of Ireland One Hundred Years Ago*," by the learned and indefatigable Bishop of Ossory, Dr. Moran.

The remaining Articles are on "*Simoniacal Casuistry in the Established Church*," "*The Canonization of the Eighth of December*," "*The Land League and the Land Act.*"

The remaining part of this number is occupied with very instructive Notices of *Italian*, *French*, and *German Periodicals*, as well as with Notices of Books which have recently been published.

Amongst the latter, the most interesting are the Notices of Jenning's "*Life of Cardinal Newman*," Standish O'Grady's "*History of Ireland: Critical and Philosophical*," Fr. Hogan's "*Life, Letters and Diary of Father Henry Fitzsimons*," Mossman's Translation of "*The Great Commentary of Cornelius a Lapide*," Jungmann's "*Dissertationes Selectae in Historiam Ecclesiasticam*," Fr. Schneemann's "*Controversiarum de Divinae Gratiae Liberique Arbitrii Concordia Initia et Progressus*," Fr. Bagshawe's "*Catholic Sermons*," "*The Speaker's Commentary, New Testament, Vol. III., Romans to Philemon*," "*Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy, Vol. I., Ireland*," and Monsignor Gaume's "*Catechism of Perseverance, Vol. III., Translated from the French.*"—Ed.

Homer: Odyssey, Book IX. With Introduction and Notes for Schools. By Malcolm Montgomrey, M.A. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1882.

The List of Books published by Messrs. Browne & Nolan, for the benefit of boys preparing for the different grades of the Intermediate Examinations, is becoming quite a large one, and already includes various Greek, Latin, French, Italian and English books. The latest published is The Odyssey, Book IX., edited by Malcolm Montgomrey, M.A. It consists of an Introduction of twenty pages on the personality, poems, dialect, language, and metre of Homer. The text occupies about the same space—twenty pages clearly and accurately printed.

The *Notes* occupy sixty pages. They seem to be judiciously written, and they contain frequent reference to Prof. Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, and to Curtius's *Principles of Greek Etymology*, *Elucidations of the Greek Grammar and Greek Verbs.*—Ed.

The Maynooth College Calendar for 1882.

It is to students principally that the College Calendar appeals for its chief interest. To all Irish Priests, however, it will be gratifying to learn that the number of students on the College Rolls during the present academic year is larger than it had been in any previous year, even during the continuance of the large Parliamentary grant from 1845 to 1871. The "Calendar" contains copious and well arranged information on every subject connected with the College, which comes within its province.—Ed.

The Angel of Mercy: A panegyric of Mother M. Catherine McAuley, preached in Holy Cross Convent, Killarney, by Rev. William Hutch, D.D., President, St. Colman's College, Fermoy.

The Nuns of Holy Cross Convent showed a wise discrimination in selecting as preacher for their Golden Jubilee one who is so widely and so favourably known as the biographer of the foundress of the Presentation Order, and of the foundress of the Sisters of Loretto. What Dr. Hutch had previously done on an extended scale in regard to Nano Nagle, and Frances Ball, he has here done in miniature form for Catherine McAuley. He has given us an exquisite picture of the highest type of womanly character. It strikes us that there is a remarkable analogy between the word picture, which Dr. Hutch draws and the fascinating portrait which is found prefixed to the American edition of Catherine McAuley's Life. There is a combined solidity and sweetness about each of the pictures which makes us imagine the one to be the exact expression in words of the other.

We most heartily join in the earnest and eloquent prayer with which Dr. Hutch's Panegyric concludes :—

"May the name of the glorious woman who called this Order into existence, remain ever bright and fresh in the memory of the Church's children. May the spirit, which has guided her daughters during the fifty years which have gone, continue to animate them through all future time. May their numbers multiply, until there remains not one spot in all the world unblessed by their priceless labours. And when life's brief course is run, may they, one and all, be summoned to join their Sainted Foundress, before Mercy's Eternal Throne in Heaven."—Ed.

Stories of the Christian Schools. By Elizabeth Cath. M. Stewart. London: Burns & Oates.

This book is another contribution by a gifted lady to a Catholic library for the young. In the Preface she alludes to the stream of wicked novels constantly issuing from the Press, and she hopes that her stories will be acceptable to the Catholic public, and particularly to the teachers and pupils of the Christian Schools. Nothing is wanted so much as good books for young people—in fact, for old and young. We do not mean that boys and girls should be preached at in every page. When the author paints vice properly, he need not add an admonition, and the best way to excite people to virtue is the very description of the beauty it confers. The characters in our stories should speak for themselves. Where is the use in having good books if they are not read? And where is the use in expecting young people to read them if there is a lecture in every page? We think these Stories of the Christian Schools would be improved if there was less moralising; nevertheless, we are sure they will have a wide circle of readers.—Mc.

A Memoir of the Life and Death of the Rev. Father Augustus Henry Law, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.

This is Part I. of what promises to be a most beautiful and instructive memoir. It consists mainly of a number of letters, edited by the Father of the Holy Missionary, and telling the story of a generous young life down to the age of fifteen. There is very little narrative—only a short introduction, and a few lines here and there to explain allusions. Among the letters are some addressed to young Law by his father and other friends; but the boy's own productions will be found of most interest. How vividly they remind us of the dear ones to whom we all sent little notes in our early days! Many a father, on reading these pages, will remember with tenderness the letters of his own boys, now separated from him in life's struggle, or in heaven, perhaps, with Father Law. Many a son will learn in what manner he should write to his friends at home. The Editor needs not the apology in the Introduction for any errors of publication; there is not one letter we should wish to see suppressed. We hope Mr. Law may be long spared to complete the Memoir of one of the most saintly men of recent times.—Mc.

The Catholic Literary Circular; A Monthly Guide for Catholic Readers. London: Burns & Oates.

The Circular supplies a want long felt by Catholics. Each month the leading publications are discussed in short articles, so that many, who have no time or taste for the long essays in reviews, can get from this periodical a fair knowledge of what is taking place in the literary world. We are introduced to the literature of England, France, Italy, Spain, and Germany. There are notices of the principal magazines, and music gets its share of attention. The Circular does for Catholics, at a very moderate price, what the *Athenæum* has long done for others: we wish the publishers the success they deserve.—Mc.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1882.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH.

ON the 29th of August, 1070, Lanfranc, the first theologian of his age, was consecrated with great solemnity Archbishop of Canterbury. Towards the close of the same year, the monk Thomas of Caen, Archbishop elect of York, came to Canterbury to be consecrated. Lanfranc required him to take an oath of obedience to himself and his successors, as primate of all England. This, Thomas of York refused to do, on the plea that his See was independent of Canterbury, and thereupon Lanfranc refused him consecration. Thomas appealed to the king, William the Conqueror, who, although at first displeased with Lanfranc, afterwards induced Thomas to promise absolute obedience to Lanfranc, and conditional obedience to his successors, if, on inquiry, Lanfranc's claim to the primacy should prove to be well-founded. Thomas promised, and was then consecrated by Lanfranc.

Next year both prelates went to Rome, and Lanfranc especially was received with great honour by the Pope, Alexander III., who had been one of his pupils at Bec, in Normandy. At the audience, however, Thomas made complaint to the Pope of Lanfranc's attempt to usurp a primatial jurisdiction over York and its suffragan sees. Lanfranc defended himself as best he could; but the Pope declared that the question should be settled at a full council of the English prelates, and that a Papal Legate would attend. This council was summoned for the next year, and was held at Winchester in presence of the king and the legate, as well as of the nobles and the prelates of the kingdom. Both Thomas and Lanfranc were

able canonists, and each had a large party of zealous supporters; the question at issue was fully discussed, and was decided in favour of Lanfranc.

It was at this council, held in 1072, that the Archbishop of Canterbury for the first time *claimed* a primacy over the churches of Ireland. William of Malmesbury gives a very full account of the transactions of the council, and the final decree as contained in Lanfranc's own letter to the Pope. "The ecclesiastical history," says Lanfranc, "of the English nation was produced, which was written by Bede, a priest of the Church of York itself, and a doctor of the English people. In this work Bede expressly declares that Lanfranc's predecessors exercised primatial rights, and the pastoral charge over the Church of York, as well as over all Britain, *and also over Ireland.*"[1]

It is particularly noteworthy, that although Lanfranc represents Bede as stating that this primatial right over Ireland was exercised by his predecessors, yet the council itself, in its solemn decree, makes no mention of Lanfranc's primacy over Ireland. The assembled prelates, with the Papal Legate, Hubert, at their head, admit his primacy over the provinces of Canterbury and York, *etiam ad extremos Scottiae fines*, but there is not a single word about Ireland, and the context plainly shows that "Scotia" here means Scotland, and Ireland, in Lanfranc's own letter, is called Hibernia.[2]

Now, as to Bede himself, there are only two passages which have any reference to this claim to a primacy over Ireland. In one passage—Book 2, c. 4 of Bede's History—Archbishop Laurence, the immediate successor of St. Augustine, is said to have extended his pastoral solicitude even to the Scots who dwelt in Ireland;[3] but the only reason assigned by Bede is that Laurence and his chorepiscopi, Mellitus and Justus, addressed a letter to the Irish

[1] Antecessores meos super Eboracensem ecclesiam totamque insulam, quam Brittaniam vocant, necnon et Hiberniam, primatum gessisse curamque pastoralem omnibus impendisse."—*De Gestis Pontificum.*

[2] "Et tandem aliquando diversis diversarum auctoritatibus probatum atque ostensum est quod Eboracensis Ecclesia Cantuariensi debeat subjacere, ejusque archiepiscopi, ut primatis totius *Brittaniae*, dispositionibus, in his quae ad religionem pertinent, in omnibus obedire." De Gestis Pontificum.

[3] "Denique," says Bede, "non solum novae quae de Anglis erat collecta, ecclesiae curam gerebat, sed et veterum Brittaniae incolarum necnon et Scottarum qui Hiberniam insulam Brittaniae proximam incolunt, populis pastoralem impendisse sollicitudinem curabat."

bishops and abbots, in which they beg the prelates to reform certain abuses, of which the principal, and the only one mentioned, was the celebration of Easter at a different time from their own. We have only the beginning of the letter[1] given in Bede; but it certainly furnishes no argument for claiming a primacy over Ireland, for it is not at all an authoritative appeal, but a request to conform their discipline on this point to the continental practice, for the sake of peace and unity.

The second passage from Bede to which Lanfanc might possibly refer is contained in the First Book, c. 27, *Interrogatio* 7. In answer to Augustine's question—"Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum Brittaniarumque episcopis agere"—the Pope, St. Gregory, replies:—"In Galliarum episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus . . . *Brittaniarum* vero omnes episcopos tuae fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur." There can be no doubt that there is here question of some kind of jurisdiction, and it is granted to Augustine and to his successors over the British Isles, and therefore over Ireland. So say Hanmer and Campion, and many others of the same school. Dr. Lanigan refutes this notion with his usual learning and skill. British Isles, indeed! If *Galliæ* because it contained several divisions, was the common word for Gaul, why not *Brittaniae* for the same reason simply mean Britain? As a fact we know the Romans divided the country into *Brittania Prima*, *Secunda*, and so on; and Roman writers frequently used the word in this sense to include all the parts. It means therefore not the *British Isles;* but the *Britains*, that is all the divisions of Britain.

Neither Lanfranc, therefore, nor those who came after him, do justice to Bede when they represent the Saint as an authority for this exercise of primatial jurisdiction by the Archbishop of Canterbury over the ancient Church of Ireland.

Dr. Milner, indeed, following Cressy, takes a somewhat different view of the matter. It was not, he says, a primatial, but a legatine jurisdiction, that was exercised by

[1] He addresses them—"Dominis carissimis fratribus episcopis vel abbatibus per universam Scottiam Laurentius, Mellitus, et Justus, servi servorum Dei."

[2] Book v. c. 24. Bede himself applies the term *Brittanias* to Great Britain—"Clandius Brittanias adiens plurimam *insulæ* partem in deditionem recepit."

the Archbishops of Canterbury over this country. The words of the Pope to Augustine prove this much at any rate. By no means: they only prove in that case a legatine jurisdiction over *Britain;* and if it were merely legatine, then, as Thomas of York observed in the council of Winchester, the jurisdiction being given to the man, and not to the See, would not descend to the successors of St. Augustine in the See of Canterbury. We think this a good argument if the grant is not expressly made to the See; but Lanfranc did not think so, for he argued that as the primacy of Peter, though expressly given only to Peter himself, yet passed to his successors, so the jurisdiction given to St. Augustine—Super omnes Brittaniarum episcopos—passed to his successors although no mention is made of them in express terms. It is certain, however, that the words in Bede contain no grant either of primatial or legatine jurisdiction over the Irish prelates, and if the Council of Winchester thought they did, they certainly in defining Lanfranc's jurisdiction would not have omitted all reference to Ireland. There seems little doubt, however, both from the tone of Lanfranc's letter to the Pope, as well as from expressions which he and Anselm used in their letters to certain of the Irish prelates, that they would not be unwilling to assert their claim to a primacy over Ireland, if they thought it likely to be acquiesced in by the Pope and by the Irish prelates. And those who maintain the ancient Primacy of Canterbury over our National Church, do not fail to use this argument. The prelates of Canterbury, they say, especially Lanfranc and Anselm, *exercised* primatial jurisdiction over the Irish prelates of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century; and the Irish Bishops submitted without protest or complaint, even sometimes of their own motion they invoked this exercise of authority.

This is an interesting question, to determine exactly the nature of the relations that existed between the Archbishops of Canterbury and some of the Irish prelates during the period that intervened between the Norman Conquest of England and of Ireland. Almost the only authentic evidence on the subject is to be found in the letters of these prelates themselves, especially of Lanfranc and Anselm.[1] Their letters are to be found in Usher's Sylloge, and in D'Achery's edition of the works of these Fathers, first published at

[1] And also in a few paragraphs of the Monk Eadmer's "Vita S. Anselmi."

Paris in 1648. Our references are to this edition as published by Migne.

It is well known that the Ostmen—Danes and Norwegians—first attacked the coasts of Ireland in the closing years of the eighth century. In 836 a large Danish fleet sailed up the estuary of the Liffey, where they established themselves under Turgesius, in a fortified camp near the spot where Dublin Castle now stands. He was slain or drowned about 845, for the dates differ, and the Ostmen of Dublin were severely handled by King Malachy; but a few years later in 853, three Norwegian princes, Aulif, Sitric, and Ivar, who were brothers, landed in Ireland, and became respectively kings of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. From that period until the advent of the Anglo-Normans, these three cities remained in the hands of the Danes. They were the strongholds of the invaders, whence they sallied out to burn, plunder, slay and be slain. During the 370 years of the Danish occupation of the Irish lakes and seaports, it is said that more than 500,000 men perished in mutual slaughter. Yet the "Foreigners" kept their ground; and although their power was on the wane, especially after the victory of Clontarf, still they were allowed to hold the seaports named above as their own cities, subject at times to the authority of the Irish Princes, but frequently throwing off the yoke.

In the year 948 the Ostmen of Dublin, or at least the greater portion, became Christians in the reign of Godfrey III., who founded St. Mary's Abbey for Benedictine Monks, on the northern bank of the Liffey. But Christians or not, they never spared church, priest, or monk of the Irish race, as the Annals of the Four Masters clearly prove. And yet they were pious after a fashion of their own. Aulif V., brother of that same Godfrey III., died a great penitent at Columba's shrine in Iona in 981; his son Sitric III. died as a pilgrim on his way to Rome in 1028; this Sitric's son again was slain by the Saxons when going on the same pilgrimage to Rome in 1034: and it was Sitric IV., son of the last mentioned, and grandson of Sitric III., who in 1038 founded the Cathedral of Christ Church. The Black Book of Christ's Church, an ancient and authentic record, tells us that Sitric, in conjunction with Donatus, or Dunan, Bishop of Dublin, founded the Cathedral in 1038, on the spot where a stone-roofed oratory had been previously built.[1] Unfor-

[1] Such is the explanation usually given of the "Stone Vaults," the phrase used in the *Liber Niger*.

tunately we know nothing else of this Donatus, whether he was of Irish or Danish extraction, where, or when, or by whom he was consecrated, or whether he was the first Bishop or not of Danish Dublin. His death is said to have taken place in 1074, and this date brings us to Lanfranc and his connection with the Irish Church.

We find an exceedingly interesting letter of Lanfranc, it is No. 33 in D'Achery, addressed—Venerando Hiberniae episcopo Domnaldo, et iis qui sibi litteras transmiserunt salutem et benedictionem. Who was this Domnaldus, Bishop of Ireland? D'Alton says absurdly enough that he was Donatus, the Dane, and that he is expressly called Bishop of Dublin in the letter. There is not a word in the letter either about Dublin, or Donatus, which shows that D'Alton had never read it. D'Achery is inclined to think he was Bishop of Armagh or Dublin: but Domnald of Armagh did not become Bishop until 1092, when Lanfranc was dead; so we think Lanigan is right in regarding the letter as addressed to Domhnall or Domnaldus, Archbishop of Cashel, who as the Four Masters tell us, died in 1099 full of years, and honours, and good works.

We cannot find the date of his consecration, but as he was seventy when he died, in all probability he had been bishop for many years. He was of the Dalcassian race, probably of the Royal family of the O'Briens, and, as we shall see, the O'Briens at this time seem to have had intimate relations with the Normans of England and the Danes of Ireland. There is certainly no other Domnaldus to whom, with any show of probability, this letter could have been addressed. It seems Domnaldus and some others had addressed a letter to Lanfranc, in which they put several questions to him, the most eminent churchman of the age, regarding (*a*) the necessity of the Eucharist for infants, (*b*) the baptism of children by laymen in case of necessity; as well as several questions on secular matters.

Lanfranc, in this letter, apologises for being so brief in his reply, as he was away from home, and the messenger would not consent to remain even a few days for a fuller answer. He declares, however, that the Eucharist is not necessary for the salvation of baptised infants, and that on this point they were misinformed concerning the discipline of the English and Continental churches. Neither is the text in *John* vi. 54 to be understood in the sense of what is necessary *necessitate medii;* it only means that those who have arrived at the years of discretion—quisque divini

mysterii per intelligentiam capax—should, as we would say, receive it *aut in re aut in voto.* Baptism, too, may be lawfully conferred by a layman in case of necessity; and even some of the holy martyrs, he adds, were saved by their sufferings and death for Christ's sake even before they had received baptism.

As regards the secular questions put to him he declines to answer them; heretofore he spent much time in these studies, but since he became a bishop he has renounced them. This letter was written about 1081,[1] and goes to show that some of our Irish prelates at the time were inclined to follow the ancient practice of administering the Eucharist to children, and interpreted too strictly the words of our Lord both regarding baptism and the Eucharist. The letter of Lanfranc was then of great theological value, but surely contains nothing which can be construed into an assumption of primacy over the bishops of Ireland.

The next letter in the Benedictine edition, but the first in order of time, was sent to Lanfranc by the clergy and people of Dublin—Venerando Sanctae Cantuariensis ecclesiae metropolitano Lanfranco, clerus et populus ecclesiae Dubliniensis, debitam subjectionem.

In this letter they state, that as Lanfranc himself knew, Dublin, *which is the metropolitan church of Ireland*, has been widowed by the death of its pastor; that they have elected for their bishop a man called Patrick, well known to them, and in every way qualified for the pastoral charge, and they request Lanfranc to consecrate him to be their bishop.

This letter must have been written shortly after the death of Donatus, and contains the first indication of the supremacy of Canterbury having been recognised by any Irish Church. But the clergy and people of Dublin were Ostmen; the Normans, who had conquered England, were of the same race. Lanfranc, too, was the first ecclesiastic of his time in point of fame and learning, if we except the Pope just then elected, Gregory VII.; and so Dublin being a new church of converted Northmen, confined to the walls of their own city, and holding frequent intercourse with England by Sea, naturally turned for protection and guidance to the head of the Norman Church in England,

[1] According to Usher, who says it was written in the 11th year of Lanfranc's episcopacy, and quotes the Annals of Canterbury to that effect. He thought, however, that it was addressed Domnald of Armagh.

rather than to the prelates of Ireland, whose most sacred shrines they had so often profaned. There can be no question, therefore, that the Ostmen of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, recognised the primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury over these three Sees from the Conquest of England in 1066, to the Invasion of Ireland in 1170, or at least until the Irish prelates of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam received their palliums in 1152. In one point, however, the letter is inaccurate. Dublin was not in 1074 the Metropolitan Church of Ireland, nor, indeed, a Metropolitan Church at all until 1152, when Gregory became an Archbishop with jurisdiction over its present suffragan sees. Lanigan thinks the words were interpolated, especially as the statement is not repeated in subsequent letters. In any case it is without foundation; Dublin was the Metropolis of Danish Ireland, but not at all the Metropolitan Church of Ireland. The words are: "Ecclesia Dublinensis, quae Hiberniae insulae Metropolis est."

Lanfranc at once complied with the request of the good citizens of Dublin. He examined Patrick, and finding him sufficiently expert in human and divine knowledge, gave him episcopal consecration in St. Paul's Church, about the end of the year 1074. On that occasion Patrick made the following profession of obedience. After a preamble on the excellence of obedience, he adds, "I, Patrick, the prelate elected to govern Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, do, Reverend Father Lanfranc, Primate of the *Britains*, and Archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, offer to thee this charter of my profession, and I promise to obey thee and thy successors in all things appertaining to the Christian religion." Lanfranc was fresh from his contention with Thomas of York for the primacy, and evidently had these words, "Primate of the Britains," specially inserted from Bede. He may have been Primate of the *Britains*, but he was never Primate of *Ireland*, except in so far as the Danish churches already mentioned voluntarily submitted to his authority. As Dr. Lanigan remarks, the formal preamble shows such a profession was a novelty in Irish History. Whether this Patrick was a Dane or native Irishman cannot be ascertained. The name is Irish; but it might be assumed by a Dane entering into religion, or even at his baptism, as happened on other occasions.

Lanfranc sent Patrick back to Dublin, after his consecration, with letters testimonial, highly complimentary to the bearer. The letter was addressed to Gothric, "the

glorious King of Ireland," a large hyperbole, for this Gothric, successor to Godred Crovan, King of Dublin and Mann, was the vassal of Turlough O'Brien, who allowed him to rule the citizens of Dublin as their immediate prince or earl. The letter is remarkable for some charges which the writer brings against the Irish people—at least against the Danes of Dublin. But inasmuch as Lanfranc makes the same complaints in a letter to Turlough O'Brien, sent, apparently by the same bearer, we must take him to mean that they were general. His informant must have been the Bishop Patrick himself; and hence we fear there was some ground for complaining of the prevalence of these abuses at that time in the Irish Church:—(1) In Gothric's Kingdom of Dublin—in regno vestro—some persons took wives from their own kindred, or from the kindred of their deceased wives; (2) others desert their lawful wives when they think fit; and (3) some go so far as to exchange their wives in an infamous commerce—nonnulli suas aliis dare et aliarum infanda commutatione recipere. Lanfranc justly deplores these enormities, and beseeches the king to aid the Bishop Patrick in eradicating them from his dominions.[1]

Lanfranc sent by Patrick another letter to Turlough O'Brien, a grandson of Brian Boru, who at this time was the most powerful prince in the kingdom, and supreme monarch over all the Danish cities. Hence the Archbishop of Canterbury calls him "the magnificent King of Ireland," that is, the supreme ruler of the country. After extolling the princely virtues of the monarch he complains of the same abuses of which he had spoken in his letter to Gothric, with the further addition that (*a*) bishops were consecrated only by one bishop, (*b*) that more than one were ordained in many villages and towns, and (*c*) that infants were baptised without the chrism.

These last charges may be dismissed as of minor importance, and were probably quite true; for in many things the ancient discipline still continued in the Church of Ireland, and chorepiscopi were frequently consecrated by only one bishop, and of that class there were still many prelates in Ireland who had frequently very small Sees, and were sometimes without any fixed See. Neither was it customary to use the chrism, where the bishop administered baptism, because the baptised were confirmed immediately

[1] Pope Gregory VII. also addressed a letter to the king concerning similar abuses in Ireland, but he is not specific in his charges.

after. It was only when priests begun to baptise solemnly that the chrism came to be generally used.

The charges regarding the violation of the marriage laws are more serious, and we fear, to some extent, well founded. Dr. Lanigan thinks these crimes were confined chiefly to the Danes, and certainly in his letter to Turlough, Lanfranc does not make the charge of openly interchanging wives. But Anselm, as we shall see, does make the same charge, when addressing some of the Irish Bishops. In truth, discipline and morality at the time were greatly relaxed in Ireland, and the wonder is, not that things were so bad, but that they were not still worse. For 300 years a pagan foe lived in incessant warfare with the people; there was no supreme authority, lay or ecclesiastical; the chair of St. Patrick had for a century been in the hands of lay usurpers, until it became to be regarded as an hereditary dignity. What wonder if in these circumstances the bonds of morality were loosened, and abuses multiplied. And it was well that the prelates of Canterbury called attention to these excesses, although they were powerless to apply an effective remedy. That work was reserved for the great St. Malachy. We know from his life, written by St. Bernard, that at least the diocese of Down and Connor was then in a deplorable state, and that it was by his apostolic labours, and by the labours of the men whom he trained, that these grave abuses were corrected and strict discipline enforced.

Lanfranc died in 1189, but for four years the King kept the revenues of the See of Canterbury in his own hands, until at length Anselm with great reluctance was obliged to accept the primacy. Shortly after, in 1095, died the Bishop of Dublin, Donatus O'Haingly, who had succeeded Patrick (drowned in 1084), and was succeeded by his nephew Samuel O'Haingley. Lanfranc had consecrated Donatus in 1084, and given him on that occasion valuable gifts of books and vestments for the use of his Cathedral Church; so now also the new prelate elect is sent to Saint Anselm to receive episcopal consecration. This Samuel had been a monk of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Alban's, and we know from Eadmer's "Vita Sancti Anselmi," that "he was elected by Muredach, King of Ireland (Murtogh O'Brien, successor of Torlough), and also by the clergy *and the people*—another remnant of a more ancient discipline." He adds, moreover, that "according to ancient custom, *juxta morem antiquum*, Samuel was sent

by common accord, *cum communi decreto*, to be consecrated by Anselm. The ancient custom does not appear to have existed before the time of Lanfranc; so the phrase was probably somewhat of flourish of Eadmer's, to enhance the dignity of the See of Canterbury, and his beloved friend and master, St. Anselm. This consecration of Samuel took place on the 20th of April, 1096, and, like his two predecessors, he made a profession of obedience to St. Anselm and to his successors.

We have a letter from Anselm, written shortly after, and sent through Malchus of Waterford to this Samuel, in which the saint sharply reprehends him for alienating the books and vestments which Lanfranc had given to his uncle, the late Bishop. He commands him to make prompt restitution, as these gifts were given for the use of the Church; and he furthermore charges him with ejecting the monks from their monastery, and having the assurance to have the Cross carried before him—a privilege, he says, reserved for Archbishops who had received the pallium. Clearly, Anselm was determined to exercise his jurisdiction over the Danish Bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick.[1]

Towards the end of 1096, a letter was sent to Anselm by several Irish princes and prelates, requesting him to consecrate as prelate one Malchus, whom they had chosen for the Danish city of Waterford. This document clearly proves that the primacy of Canterbury over the Danish cities was generally recognised. The address was—"Anselmo. . . . clerus et populus oppidi Waterfordiae cum rege Murchertacho, et episcopo Dofnaldo salutem in Domino," and the letter was signed after this fashion :—

Ego Murchertachus rex Hiberniae Subscripsi.
Ego Dermuth dux frater regis, S.S.
Ego Dofnaldus (*i.e.* Domnaldus), S.S.
Ego Idunan episcopus Midiae, S.S.
Ego Samuel Dublinensis (not Dunelmensis), S.S.
Ego Ferdumnachus Lageniensium epis., S.S.

Many other signatures followed. Malchus was accordingly consecrated by Anselm in January, 1097. There can be little doubt that 'Dofnaldus," here mentioned, is the same name and the same person as "Domnaldus," to

[1] We do not know who consecrated Gillebert, first Bishop of the Ostmen of Limerick; but Patrick, his successor, was certainly consecrated in 1140 by Ralph of Canterbury.

whom Lanfranc had written years before, and who was now an old man in his 68th year.

When Malchus of Waterford was returning from England, he seems to have carried letters from Anselm to Mortogh O'Brien, the "glorious King" of Ireland, in which he duly lauds his kingly virtues, and then implores him to correct the abuses prevalent in his dominions. He repeats the charges already made by Lanfranc: dicitur enim quod viri ita libere et publice uxores suas uxoribus aliorum commutant sicut quilibet equum equo, aut pro libitu et sine ratione relinquunt. He also repeats the charge of bishops having been ordained like simple priests, by only one prelate, and some of them having no fixed dioceses. An attempt was made in 1111, and again in 1118, to remedy this abuse, by fixing and limiting the various dioceses in the several provinces. Anselm, later on, addressed another letter to the king on the same subject, referring to these same abuses, and earnestly beseeching him to endeavour to provide a remedy. Malchus, Bishop of Waterford, who in his youth had been a monk of Winchester, and whom the saint addressed as his friend and fellow-bishop, seems to have been his principal informant in reference to the contents of the above letters. Mortogh O'Brien also, then the most powerful prince in Ireland, seems to have secured the esteem of St. Anselm. The saint is evidently sincere in the laudations which he bestows upon him, and seems to have befriended him on several occasions. There is a short letter in the series addressed by Mortogh to the saint, in which he thanks Anselm for the many kindnesses he had done to his son-in-law, Arnulf or Ernulphus Montgomer; and the king also thanks him for his prayers, and declares his readiness to serve Anselm by every means in his power, as in duty bound to do. The king was, indeed, very intimately connected with the Northmen in Ireland, England, and Norway. He was three times proclaimed King of Dublin; one of his daughters was married to the eldest son of Magnus, King of Norway; another to that Arnulph already mentioned, the eldest son of the Count of Surrey and Arundel, one of the first of the Norman nobles.

This connection will serve to explain the frequent and cordial intercourse between Anselm and Mortogh O'Brien, which is highly creditable to both parties. And as the Dalcassian Princes were, at least nominally, the supreme rulers during this period of the three Danish cities, it will

serve to explain how it came to pass that they and the prelates under their influence readily consented to permit the people and clergy of these cities to send their prelates elect to Canterbury for consecration. But there is no evidence that the Archbishops of Canterbury ever exercised, or indeed ever claimed to exercise, either primatial or legatine jurisdiction over any single one of the episcopal sees of Celtic Ireland. And even before the advent of the Normans, their claim to primacy over the Danish cities was practically extinguished by the grant of the four Palliums, at the Synod of Kells, in 1152, to the four Metropolitan Sees of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam.

J. Healy.

SCIENTIFIC NOTICES.

The Tidal Theory of Evolution.

SINCE we noticed in a recent number (p. 1.) the investigations of Mr. George Darwin respecting the history of the Earth and Moon, two more papers have been submitted by him to the Royal Society, abstracts of which now lie before us, and to these we desire to direct the attention of our readers. The full papers have not yet appeared in the volumes of the Transactions, but, as usual, a sufficient outline of what they contain is here given to enable us to judge at least of their value and importance in the development and application of this tidal theory, which has made no small stir in scientific circles.

The popular lecture of the Astronomer Royal of Ireland, Dr. Ball, has indeed carried the subject into a much larger sphere than it could otherwise have reached; whence daily and weekly newspapers have spread the interest far and wide, and made the outcome at least of the profound investigation one of the wonders of the day.

But, altogether apart from this passing notice, the subject is one of no small moment, whether considered in itself, or in its relation to solar physics, in which we believe it is destined to play a very important, if not a chief part. We therefore feel that our readers will be glad to hear what is the present condition of the investigation, what new light its application to other branches of the subject

has thrown upon momentous questions, and how its wider use tends to confirm its truth, by accounting for well-known phenomena, and reconciling with one another facts which hitherto it has appeared to be hard, if not impossible, to bring into mutual accord.

The first of these papers (No. 209, 1881: Proceedings of the Royal Society) is "On the Tidal Friction of a Planet, attended by several Satellites, and on the Evolution of the Solar System," by G. H. Darwin, F.R.S.

The second paper (No. 214, 1881) is "On the Stresses caused in the Interior of the Earth by the Weight of Continents and Mountains."

These, as we have said, are only abstracts, the papers themselves, although read, have yet to appear in the Transactions.

Our space will not allow us to do more than briefly notice the former abstract, the latter we must defer to a future, and we hope, early occasion.

The first paper itself treats of two subjects, and, as will at once be seen, continues and carries out still further the previous investigations respecting the Earth and Moon. Then the tidal action was between one planet and its single satellite; here it takes the case which is common to several planets, where each is a centre to two or more satellites. Of course the interaction is here more complicated, but yields to the analytical skill of Mr. Darwin, and brings out important conclusions. But beyond this, the result enables him, in the latter part of the paper, to investigate, with these additional *data*, the Evolution of the Solar System; or, as he phrases it, "it contains a discussion of the part played by tidal friction in the Evolution of the Solar System."

Now then, the Sun itself comes into play, and works its tidal friction upon the planets and their satellites; while these again re-act upon the Sun with what power they may: but, as we should expect, this latter force is but small in comparison. Indeed, we are told, "the *whole* tidal friction can scarcely sensibly have enlarged the planetary orbits since the planets had a separate existence."

Here we have the mutual action of the Sun and planets upon one another, and it is proved, "that the rate of expansion of the planetary orbits, which arises from the friction of the tides raised by the planets in the Sun, must be exceedingly small compared with that which arises from the friction of the tides raised by the Sun in the planets."

And this appears to be true, though the argument has much less force with respect to the orbits of the satellites round their planets. Thus it appears that what was previously found to be the case with respect to the Earth and the Moon does not hold good for Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. It seems "nearly certain" (to use Mr. Darwin's cautious language) that their satellites cannot be traced back to a state in which they were almost in contact with the primaries. So Mars and his two satellites, Jupiter and his four, Saturn and his eight, unlike the Earth and its Moon, have revolved much at the same relative distances from one another, since their satellites had separate existences.

These conclusions are drawn from numerical values which "exhibit a very striking difference between the condition of the Earth and Moon and that of these other planets, and it may therefore be admitted that their modes of evolution have also differed considerably."

At first sight there seems a disappointing want of uniformity in this view of the Solar System; but in truth it is not so. The same law prevails throughout, the tidal friction operates, only its effects are different under different circumstances. We shall see this clearly enough as we follow the outline of Mr. Darwin's investigations; for "the part played by tidal friction in the evolution of planetary masses is next discussed."

In the former paper we saw the action of the Earth's tidal friction upon the Moon, and that of the Moon upon the Earth; and under the guidance of Mr. Darwin we marked how each retarded the revolution of the other upon its axis, and how that slackening of its motion brought about an increase in the distance between the two bodies; the Moon receding into a larger orbit as the whirl was gradually checked, until the two, Earth and Moon, once united and then torn apart, attained ultimately the position they now hold, and the velocities with which they move, both in their yearly revolutions in their respective orbits, and in their daily (which in the Moon means monthly) turnings on their respective axes.

But now we have to consider the tidal friction of the Sun upon the planets in reducing in the same manner the "rotational momentum, and the rotation of the several planets;" and herein a numerical comparison shows that the "efficiency, as regards the rotation, is nearly the same on Mars and on the Earth, notwithstanding the greater distance of the former planet from the Sun." Here at once

is cleared up a difficulty which has been felt respecting the rapid revolution of the inner of the two satellites of Mars; which every body knows were discovered a few years ago.

As we should expect, these numerical calculations show that "the relative efficiency of solar tidal friction is very much smaller for the more distant planets than for the nearer ones." But this does not show that the *total* amount of retardation of the revolution of these more distant planets is less, because it may be presumed that these have existed longer than the nearer ones; yet so great is the disproportion between these numbers, that even with this allowance, "it must be held that the influence of solar tidal friction on Jupiter and Saturn has been considerably less than on the nearer planets."

Next is considered "the manner in which tidal friction and the contraction of the planetary mass could work together;" and it is found to be "probable that while the masses were less condensed, the tidal friction was a more important cause of change than it is at present."

This leads our investigator "to assign a cause for the observed distribution of satellites in the Solar System," and so to answer the question, why have the nearer planets Mercury and Venus no satellites; and why has the Earth one, Mars two, Jupiter four, and Saturn eight?

According to the received nebular hypothesis, "satellites are formed where instability is produced by the acceleration of rotation accompanying contraction;" that is to say, when the velocity of rotation on its axis of a planet is so great that it cannot hold itself together, it throws off a portion of itself—as a grindstone will do when spun round with great rapidity—and thus a satellite is formed: and whenever this occurs again a like result will follow, and more satellites will be the result, the planet in the meanwhile condensing and also contracting.

What is to check this rapidity of revolution? Obviously solar tidal friction will do it; and that to a greater extent the nearer the planet is to the Sun. So we can easily conceive that the two nearer planets will have been altogether preserved from this "epoch of instability," while the others will have reached it more rarely the nearer they are to the Sun. The Earth once, Mars twice, Jupiter four times, and so on. The Paper treats of other interesting matters: among which is the explanation, by this same view, of the natural question which hence arises, "how the the Earth and Moon come to differ from the other planets

in such a manner as to permit tidal friction to be the principal feature in their evolution, while its effects are less striking in the other planets." But having only the Abstract and not the Paper itself before us, we cannot give the explanation. It ends "with a review of the Solar System, in which it is shown that the tidal hypothesis is a means of co-ordinating many apparently disconnected phenomena, besides giving a history of the Earth and Moon since the origin of the latter."

We must, however, allow Mr. Darwin to speak entirely for himself, without any interposing words of our own, in the concluding paragraph:—

"These investigations afford no grounds for the rejection of the nebular hypothesis; but while they present evidence in favour of the main outlines of that theory, they introduce modifications of considerable importance. Tidal friction is a cause of change of which Laplace's theory took no account; and although the activity of that cause is to be regarded as mainly belonging to a later period than the events described in the nebular hypothesis, yet its influence has been of great, and in one case of even paramount importance, in determining the present condition of the planets and of their satellites."

HENRY BEDFORD.

ON CERTAIN ERRORS RELATING TO JUSTIFICATION AND THE MESSIAS, AGAINST WHICH ST. PAUL ARGUED IN HIS EPISTLES.

ERRORS OF THE GENTILES.

ST. PAUL in his Epistle to Titus (c. iii. v. 5), who was a Gentile (*Gal.* ii. 3), writes: "not by the works of justice which we did, but according to His mercy[1] He has saved us."

Now there is a certain parallelism between this passage

[1] The Justification of the Gentiles is attributed to God's mercy (*Rom.* xv. 9), and before that in Psalm cxvi. 11: "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, laudate eum omnes populi; quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus, et veritas Domini manet in aeternum:" here misericordia refers to the "gentes," and veritas to the "populi" (*Rom.* xv. 8 & 9): Bellarmine in his Commentary gives this explanation of the Psalm.

and one in *Galatians* (ii. 16): "knowing that man is not justified by the works of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ."

And as we infer from this latter passage that the Jews claimed Justification by the works of the Law, we may infer equally from the former that some Gentiles claimed Justification by "the works of Justice." Now these works of justice were the observance of the moral precepts of the Law, as we may infer from *Romans* ii. 26. "If therefore the Gentiles (praeputium) keep the moral precepts of the Law (justitias legis)," they seemed to keep the only precepts of the Law they were bound to keep.

Moreover, if some such claim as that stated above had not been made on the part of the Gentiles, St. Paul would scarcely have gone so fully to prove that the Gentiles were all sinners. It was unnecessary to prove that to the Jews who believe that the Gentiles, not having the Law, and therefore having no means of Justification, were all sinners, (ex Gentibus peccatores, *Gal.* ii. 5).

The Apostle, in *Romans* (iii. 9), states that he has proved, that all the Greeks (Gentiles) are under sin; the elaborate statement then in the latter part of chap. i. is the proof referred to, for there is no other. And the proof appears to consist in this: the Greeks seek after wisdom, as the Jews require miracles (1 *Cor.* i. 22); wisdom and miracles were the tests of superior sanctity and Divine Mission. (Gospel of *St. John*, ix. 31, 33). Philosophers were the saints of the Greeks; and if their saints were sinners, as the apostle states them to have been (*Rom.* i.), all the other Gentiles must have been still greater sinners. We may assume that the Gentiles who had controversy with the Jews on the subject of Justification, held that the natural Law was as efficacious for them with regard to Justification, as the ceremonial part of the Old Law was for the Jews, and as the latter held Justification by right or merit, so did the former.

I now proceed, according to my plan, to show what was the teaching of the Apostles, and what has been always that of the Church on the subject of Justification.

Justification is to be obtained through Christ and Him only, so St. Peter taught (*Acts* iv. 12; x. 43). St. Paul announced remission of sins through Him, from which they could not be justified by the Law of Moses, and that every one who believes in Him is justified (*Acts* xiii.

38, 39), the justice of God is from Faith and unto Faith *Rom.* i. 17).[1]

In *Ephes.* (c. 2., v. 8-9,) it is stated that we are saved through faith, freely and not by merit of works. Under the Old Law there were holy persons, and Justification was conferred: but this was not through the Old, but through the New Law. In contrasting the Old with the New Law, the Apostle in his argument could fairly exclude every benefit derived to the former from the latter, and consider the Old Law independently of the New; as the Jews, against whom he was arguing, would wish to have it considered. Taken in this view, neither the Old Law, nor circumcision before it, ever really Justified; and the words quoted by the Apostle (*Rom.* iii. 10, &c.) when first written, and when he wrote them, were strictly true; "there were none just, &c.;" that is, so far as the Old Law was concerned. Of course the Apostle did not quote v. 10, and the following verses, as proofs of the position he had taken: the spiritual condition of men in David's time would afford no warrant for judging of that of men in the Apostle's day; but the words were written; they were true; they suited his purpose; and he adopted them; "sicut scriptum est."

[1] Commentators differ in the explanation of "ex fide in fidem" in this verse, the clause is clearly parallel to the latter part (v. 30, c. iii. *Rom.*) "qui justificat circumcisionem ex fide, et praeputium per fidem:" The Apostle here using the abstract for the concrete, and referring "ex fide" to the Jews, and "per fidem" to the Gentiles. We may therefore assume that he refers "ex fide" (in i. 17), to the Jews, and that "in fidem" must be referred to the Gentiles, as if the Apostle wished to say: ex fide, et non ex operibus; in fidem, et non in sapientiam. (1 *Cor.* i. 22.) Beelen writes that v. 17, c. i. is parallel to v. 22, c. iii, and leaves the matter so. In the latter verse we have "Justitia Dei per fidem . . . in omnes et super omnes, non enim est distinctio;" this latter clause "non est distinctio" might refer to "omnes," that is, Justification is offered to all (omnes) Jews and Gentiles; but I would prefer taking "in omnes" to refer to the Jews, and "super omnes" to the Gentiles [otherwise there would be tautology]; and "non est distinctio" to refer to both, and for this reason in v. 18, c. i., the Apostle states that "revelatur ira Dei *super* omnem injustitiam hominum eorum." (Gentiles clearly.) Now in speaking of the Justification of the same race it would be natural that he would use the same form of expression, and that he would say "manifestata Justitia Dei *super* omnes." Besides I have already mentioned, when referring to the 116th Psalm, that "super nos" in that Psalm refers to the Gentiles. With regard to "in omnes," the Apostle (*Rom.* ii. 2.) writes that "Judicium Dei in eos qui talia agunt:" and "eos" means Jews: now as he says "*in* eos" when speaking of their condemnation, it is natural that he would write "in eos" or "in omnes" when speaking of their justification.

In speaking of Justification from Faith or through Faith, the Apostle must mean Justification through the whole Christian Law or religion. The dispute that called forth the Epistle to the Galatians arose from the fact, that the non-Christian Jews and some Christians tainted with their errors ("falsi fratres, qui subintroiverunt explorare libertatem nostram,") held that the Gentile converts even after Baptism were not Justified, and that circumcision was needed: hence arose the controversy regarding the source of Justification, and the relative merits of the Old and New Law; the Law of facts, and the Law of Faith, as the Apostle calls them (*Rom.* iii. 27).

It was not necessary for the argument of the Apostle that he should give details of the Christian religion; it was sufficient for him to mention Faith, which is the foundation of it, and gives it character, and if I may use the expression, individuality.

Whoever believed in our Lord's Divinity, death, and resurrection, must have been ready to believe in every other Dogma revealed by Him, and to obey His commands. And that Faith was not the only requisite for Justification, nor the only essential parts of the Christian religion, is manifest from many parts of the Sacred Scripture. St. Peter (*Acts* ii. 38) states that Penance and Baptism are necessary for the remission of sins. Penance, conversion, and prayer are necessary for the destruction of sins (*Acts* iii. 19; viii. 22). St. Paul places Penance before Faith in enumerating the dispositions necessary for Baptism. (*Heb.* vi. 1). And our Lord Himself tells the Apostles to teach all nations, to baptize them, and to teach them to *observe* all His commands (*Matt.* c. 28, v. 20). Clearly there must have been other commands besides that relating to Faith.

No proof could be taken from the Epistles to the Roman and Galatians against the merit of good works taken in the Catholic sense: the works against which St. Paul wrote, and the inutility of which for Justification he established, were of the ceremonial part of the Old Law, and of the Moral Law, but performed without any aid from the Christian religion. But no Catholic has ever held that he could merit by such works. The justification here spoken of is the first Justification, or that which takes place in Baptism. The whole controversy was regarding the Justification of the Gentile by Baptism. Besides St. Paul considered a relapse into sin after Baptism as monstrous, and scarcely contemplated the possibility of such an occurrence. Addressing the Christians

(*Rom.* vi. 2) he asks, "we who are dead to sin, how will we live any longer in it?" it was not, therefore, likely that he would write of the means for recovering grace after a relapse. The Justification treated of is internal Justification: the Apostle (*Rom.* vi. 11) says that by Baptism we are made "to die to sin, and to live in Christ;" and as Christ's life is absolutely free from sin, so must ours after Baptism. This text marks the distinction between remission of sin, and Justification or life in Christ.

The doctrine of Justification, which I have stated, has been always that of the Church: Justification through the merits of Christ applied to us through Faith and other conditions, by which, however, we do not merit the first Justification; for it is freely given. This doctrine is clearly laid down in chapters 1 and 8, and Canon 1st, of the Sixth Session of the Council of Trent: and here there is a question of the first Justification, for it is only in chapter 14, that the Council speaks of the fallen (*lapsis*).

In looking into a copy of the "Council of Trent," of an edition published in Louvain, in 1741, I found the words of Canon 1st were: "quae vel per humanae naturae vel per legis doctrinam fiant;" and thought there was some omission, and that the words did not convey the doctrine of chapters 1 and 8, on which Canon 1st is founded, with the clearness and discrimination usual with the Council. Happening to have a copy of another edition, published in Antwerp, in 1694, and looking into it, I found the words to be: "vel per humanae naturae *vires* vel per legis doctrinam." The words of the Canon, as given by Carranza, in his "Summa Om. Concil." are the same as these last. But, strange to say, in the "Exposition and Defence of Faith," &c., by St. Alphonsus Liguori, and translated by a Catholic Priest, the word *vires* is omitted (page 79, No. 10); and though the translator gives a list of errors, this error is not mentioned. Moreover, the Rev. J. Waterworth in his translation of the "Canons and Decrees," must have used a defective copy, for he translates: "whether done through the teaching of human nature," &c., making "humanae naturae" depend on "doctrinam"—a circumstance that shows that he had not *vires* in his copy.

From what has been written it is, I think, clear that the doctrine held by the Jews, against which St. Paul wrote, was Justification through the Old Law, and by merit and independently of the New Law. This was the

doctrine of the non-Christian Jews, as is plain from *Rom.* x. 3, and *Philipp.* iii. 9; and it was heretical, (*Gal.* v. 12). The same must be said of the doctrine of Justification through the Natural Law, held by the non-Christian Gentiles; that is, that it was heretical.

It is difficult, therefore, to conceive that Roman Christians, whose faith was spoken of *per orbem* (*Rom.* i. 8), whether of Jewish or Gentile origin, would hold either doctrine; and much more difficult to conceive how either party would claim a right to the Faith, either from their own merits or those of their ancestors. I think it is calculated to confuse and mislead a student to say, that the scope of the Apostle was to correct the Romans on errors which they did not hold regarding their vocation to the Faith. The scope of the Apostle in the "Romans" appears to be, to point out the real source of Justification, the errors regarding it, to give a wider knowledge of revelation, to confirm them in the Faith, and warn them against the errors and importunities of the unbelieving Jews. In the Galatians, he had further to correct some ignorant Gentiles, who had yielded to these importunities, and to point out the magnitude of their guilt.

I now come to the third point; regarding the error of the Jews concerning the Messias and the Law. The Jews believed that the Law was to be perpetual: it appears from *Acts* xi. 3; xv.; and xxi. 20, that the Jewish Christians believed that the Law existed even years after our Lord's Ascension, though they believed that he was the Messias. But if the advent of the Messias were not to terminate the Law, there was no reason for its cessation. And certainly St. Paul did not wish to teach the Romans that the Law had absolutely ceased (*Rom.* iii. 31). Suarez (*lib.* 9, c. 10, No. 1) says that the Jews believed that the Law was to continue always; that it was given as such by God; and that it could not be changed by Him, who is immutable; nor by others, as He is irresistible.

The Jews believed that the Messias was to remain always on earth (*John*, xii. 34): and we may assume that, after our Lord's death, the unbelievers alleged the fact as an argument against His identity with the Messias; and we assume also, that it was in order to meet this objection, that the Apostle insists so strongly on the reasonableness and congruity of our Lord's death (*Heb.* ii. 10, 18), (and ix. 12, 16, 27, 28.) They believed that the

Messias was to be holy, but that his superior holiness was to be derived from a more strict observance of the Law, from which all holiness and justification came. They believed that he was to be inferior to the angels, and even to Moses; and that consequently his legislation was to be subordinate to theirs. It is to meet this error that, I conjecture, St. Paul goes so fully to prove, that the Messias was superior to the angels and to Moses. He is the son of God (*Heb.* i. 2), heir of all (v. 2), and the creator of the world; in nature He is the splendour of God's glory, and the figure of his substance; He cleanses sin, and sits at the right hand of majesty. On the other hand no angel is ever called the Son of God (v. 5); the angels are commanded to adore the Messias (v. 6); these are called the messengers of God, and are sent to the heirs of the Messias.

The Apostle proves his superiority to Moses in the first six verses of *Hebrews* iii.

In the minds of Jews, the mission of the Messias was to be: to extend the temporal empire of the Jews, to convert the Gentiles, and thus to make them sharers in the blessings promised to them through Abraham's seed.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY, P.P., *Behagh, Gort.*

GERALD BARRY AND HIS LATE EDITORS.—VI.

THE PROCEEDINGS BEFORE INNOCENT III.: "JUDICES" AS THEY APPEAR IN BARRY'S NARRATIVE, AND IN THEINER.

WE have promised to examine what the full nature of the Commission was, which was granted at Gerald's request in the suit for the general independence claimed for the See of St. David's, or Menevia, with regard to all jurisdiction of the Canterbury primate. The matter in itself is plain enough, yet in consequence of the strange way in which Mr. Brewer has explained it, and in which indeed, as will be noticed further on, Wharton, too, seems to have understood it, we fear we shall have to enter into details that will try a reader's patience.

In the first place, however, it is some comfort to know that there were not two sets of Commissioners appointed on Gerald's making his famous discovery with the Camerlengo's cleric sitting by. What was done was simply

this,—the Commissioners appointed for the case of the election received powers at the same time for the case of the claim of independence, or as Gerald calls it, the case of the "Status" of the diocese. One warrant did for all. It is clear enough that Gerald was satisfied with the Commissioners named. He writes of Pope Innocent, *547 :—

"Tunc optatam et expetitam archidiacono super causa status commissionem concessit, et Hugolino cardinali faciendam ibidem continenter injunxit; literas scilicet easdem super electione simul et statu continentes. Erant autem literae tales.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Lincolniensi, Dunelmensi et Eliensi episcopis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem, etc."

Gerald's tone is here evidently that of triumph. His success on the question of the independence commission consoled him for his disappointment in the election case at not being directly nominated bishop by the Pope. He was now well satisfied to be made administrator of the diocese pending the election suit; this important post had been already offered to him by the Pope along with the commission, but he had declined everything as long as the commission in the independence suit remained ungranted.[1] *Now* he even applied for the office himself, and pressed for it till it was given to him. He was manifestly well pleased on the whole at the turn that things were taking, and was proud of the hard-won commission as it stood.

The warrant to the Commissioners is unfortunately not given, beyond its introductory clause, in the treatise "De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ," but we are there told that it is to be found at full length in the work, "De Invectionibus," a motley collection of arguments, letters, reported visions, etc., connected with Gerald's great and double case. Unluckily this information, instead of being useful, is only tantalizing to those who would study the nature and powers of the commission. In the "De Invectionibus," as the work stands now, the warrant is not found at all. We

[1] After the passage quoted in the early part of our last article, viz.:

"Commissioni super electione sua sibi oblatae commissionem quoque super causa status ecclesiae suae, etc. Papa . . . dari non posse respondit," there follows immediately:—

"Verum ut Giraldum quasi post offensam quoquo modo placaret administrationem Menevensis ecclesiae tam in temporalibus quam spiritualibus ei, quamdiu sedes illa vacaverit, liberaliter indulsit. Archidiaconus autem de tali responso non exhilaratus, immo verius valde contristatus, constanter respondit; quod si commissionem super statu ecclesiae Menevensis obtinere non posset, de alia revera non curarat." *546.

have, however, enough in the "De Jure" to show us what the nature of the commission must have been to satisfy us that it was essentially one to gather evidence.

We learn, from the course of the narrative which Giraldus has left us, that after the commission was issued the archdeacon went to South Britain to work up his case, but returned to Rome to hear sentence pronounced. After his arrival, however, for this purpose, the archbishop's representative applied for more time, "ad testes producendos in patria."

We find that the time at any rate was granted, but a day fixed for the archbishop to appear by himself or a representative in court at Rome. Evidently Rome was to judge. We see later on that Innocent actually did so, but it is plain that this was the understanding from the first. The Pope appears throughout as judge; not merely as brought in by an appeal from what has taken place in South Britain, but on the contrary, insisting on regular appearance to be made by both sides before him at certain definite periods, before which he allows the work in South Britain to be carried on. Not only do we see him finally pronouncing sentence solemnly himself, but we find him at the end of this first double commission, this commission of the very first year, condemning the Archbishop of Canterbury in half costs, on finding that his Grace's representative at Rome had instructions only for the election case, and not for the suit for independence.[1]

[1] Once, however, only was the English primate thus condemned, and *not*, as Mr. Brewer says, *twice*. The one occasion on which this happened was when appearance had to be put in at Rome after the year of the first Commission had expired. *Then* the English primate had himself represented in the election-case but not in the case of the independence claimed for St. David's, and was accordingly obliged to pay half costs. This is mentioned in the Pope's warrant to the Commissioners of the Second Year, whose appointment will be later discussed, and Mr. Brewer finding in the "De Jure" that warrant, or at least a portion of it, containing the decision about half costs, writes in the margin "The archbishop is condemned in a moiety of the costs." (page 190.)

A little farther on Gerald is done quoting documents, and then he begins telling, at length, his own way, the history of the appearance put in at Rome on the occasion on which the warrant was granted. In the course of the narrative, he, of course, tells how the Archbishop was made pay half costs. Mr. Brewer has to write a marginal note on this, he sees there is question of condemning the poor Archbishop in half costs, he clearly remembers he has already noted that down once, so he writes that "The Pope again condemns the Archbishop in the expenses of the suit" (page 194).

Mr. Brewer forgot that a thing may be mentioned twice without having actually occurred a second time.

It surely appears manifest from this that the work even of the first year in South Britain was intended only to prepare the way for the decision to be pronounced in Rome. Our archdeacon formally describes his journey back to the Eternal City, at the end of the year's work at home, as one to the Roman court and for the fourth Sunday in Lent, *the day fixed beforehand* for the parties to the suit: "iter versus curiam et ad diem Dominicam scilicet qua cantatur 'Lætare Jerusalem' partibus præfixam acceleravit." *550.

It is manifest, moreover, with regard to the decision to be pronounced in Rome, that it was not a mere solemn sentence to be formally passed in accordance with a verdict found already in South Britain. Innocent was not acting the part of a cipher judge, leaving the whole trial of the case on its merits to his Commissioners as a kind of jury beyond the Alps. In point of fact, the whole case cannot be held to have come before the South British Commissioners. Giraldus expressly tells us, that before the decree was pronounced at the close of the first year, some witnesses were examined on his side in Rome itself. He writes, *552 :—

Testes igitur ad fundandam intentionem suam et electionem comprobandam produxit archidiaconus presbyteros tres et clericos duos. Et cum multi peregrini de Wallia per turbas varias tunc forte Romam confluerent, omnes sponte coram auditoribus comparentes testimonium electionis archidiaconi primae et praecipue de auditu et fama patriae publica perhibuerunt; qui non minus quam illi de visu, suscepti, jurati et examinati fuerunt. Multum enim validae praesumptiones juvare solent probationes.

It certainly would be absurd to think that the Pope was necessarily to pass sentence in accordance with a judgment already come to in South Britain, and nevertheless had evidence received regularly in Rome itself on the main point in dispute, "ad . . . . electionem comprobandam."

Even so far our proof appears to us complete, but there is no doubt that what we have maintained is interestingly corroborated by Giraldus's account of the proceedings of the second year, the year of delay applied for by the English primate. In this new narrative of our author we find him more explicit about the object of a South British Commission, and about the nature of the pleadings at Rome which ensued when it was closed.

A little beyond the passage last quoted from him, Giraldus mentions what we have already alluded to about the Archbishop's being fined in costs, and about a new day

being fixed for the appearance at Rome of the parties to the suit. His exact words are—we quote still, *552 :—

His itaque completis XV diebus post Pentecosten, super causa status Menevensis ecclesiae papa sententiam dedit, archiepiscopum, quoniam indefensus extiterat quoad hanc causam, in expensas archidiacono condemnando ; iterumque diem peremptorium, scilicet festum Omnium Sanctorum anni secundi, coram ipso partibus assignando.

Ad instantiam quoque archidiaconi magnam, *ad recipiendum testes senes et valetudinarios* super jure ecclesiae suae metropolitico, ne tractu temporis pro defectu testium jus idem deperire posset, judices in Anglia dedit.

These "judices" were a new set of commissioners, those of course whose court we find Gerald later on attending in South Britain to push forward the extraordinary claim he had so much at heart, though indeed some of them sat only through their delegates. They were not the Bishops of Lincoln, Durham and Ely, as in the first commission, but the Bishop of Ely, the Dean of London, and the Archdeacon of Buckingham. But though clearly a different commission from the first, this new one serves as an illustration of what such a commission might be appointed for ; *we see that it is expressly stated it was nominated in order to secure a peculiar kind of evidence, and that peculiar kind is precisely the testimony of persons who could not be expected to proceed to Rome, "senes et valetudinarios."*

Again a reference of Giraldus to the proceedings at Rome after the sittings of this commission were closed, illustrates for us strikingly the mere evidence-collecting powers of such a committee of "judices." The commission had done its great work at St. Albans. Gerald tells us, *575, that at Rome

"Judicum relatio in medium, totam negotii seriem continens, producta utrinque et in publica audientia lecta fuit. Quae quoniam cum commissione inserta longa nimis est et prolixa, hic ipsam apponere superfluum duxi."

Now comes what is really important—

"Qualiter autem super attestationibus S. Albani in proximo consistorio utrinque datis, necnon et novorum testium ibi productorum dictis, fuerit disputatum, et criminalibus etiam objectionibus tam vivis rationibus quam legibus etiam et canonibus obviatum, liber *De Gestis Giraldi* totum enarrat."

These passages are but passing references, but they contain enough to show that the proceedings in South

Britain were reported at great length to Rome: "relatio . . . totam negotii seriem continens . . . lecta;" that evidence received by the British "judices" was discussed at Rome, "super attestationibus S. Albani in proximo consistorio utrinque datis . . . disputatum," and that new witnesses were listened to in the Roman consistory, "necnon et novorum testium ibi productorum." After reading all this it certainly should seem that one ought to have no doubt that the South British Commissions were issued to assist in the collection of evidence but not to decide, not even to fully try the cases which Gerald Barry had submitted to the judgment of the Holy See.

Yet, strange as it may appear, the contrary was boldly maintained by Mr. Brewer, and we certainly think believed by Wharton. Mr. Brewer tells us in his first great preface (p. 76), that we may read in Giraldus's own narrative, "how the Pope betrayed him and left his cause to be settled in England." The general course of the Archdeacon's own narrative is, as we have seen, decidedly against this view. We believe it supplies nothing whatever to favour it beyond the usage of two words, which the reader may have already remarked, and which certainly are liable to be misunderstood by persons who are no proficients in ecclesiastical history or canon law. Cambrensis regularly calls the South British Commissioners "judices," while he gives the name of "auditores" to those before whom his witnesses were heard at Rome. Others, we fear, besides Wharton and Mr. Brewer, may be moved by this to look on the South British Commissioners as the real judges in the case.

Our learned readers, we are well aware, may indeed only smile at the idea of such an objection, and desire that we should pass on. Unfortunately we feel it our duty to meet very fully the difficulty others may find in the two words mentioned, and to set down in these pages a very tedious amount of what our principal readers must regard as very elementary information. The truth is, that Giraldus Cambrensis has ceased to be a merely antiquarian subject; Gerald Barry, or du Barri, as people love to call him now, is becoming quite a popular character in English history; and we grieve to say there is a considerable resemblance between the false views about his lawsuits maintained by Mr. Brewer, and those put forward in less formidable and more widely consulted works. It may, indeed, seem in general no wonder that since the general

edition of the famous Archdeacon's works has been ushered in to a public little acquainted with mediæval things by Mr. Brewer and Mr. Brewer's remarks, Mr. Brewer's views should have begun to spread. Yet we fancy most of our readers must feel suprrised when they observe how far such views as Mr. Brewer's have already penetrated. When Hurter wrote his celebrated Life of Innocent III., Cambrensis appears to have been unknown to the erudite German scholar. Now-a-days, not only in important works, but in class-books for schools, we are confronted with the history of Gerald, and Pope Innocent III.'s reputation has to bear, when that history turns up, imputations resembling, if not exactly founded on, those suggested in Mr. Brewer's pages. In a brilliant work like Mr. Green's "History of the English people" we find the subject treated with all that well-known writer's characteristic talent and minute inaccuracy. Mr. Green has, of course, looked himself into Giraldus, and the consequence is, that with his candour, his vigour, and his bold discernment, he has given us a marvellously excellent description of Giraldus as a literary man. We cannot refrain from giving it in a note.[1] It is long but

[1] Gerald is the father of our popular literature as he is the originator of the political and ecclesiastical pamphlet. Welsh blood (as his usual name of Giraldus Cambrensis implies) mixed with Norman in his veins, and something of the restless Celtic fire runs alike through his writings and his life. A busy scholar at Paris, a reforming archdeacon in Wales, the wittiest of court chaplains, the most troublesome of bishops, Gerald became the gayest and most amusing of all the authors of his time. In his hands the stately Latin tongue took the vivacity and picturesqueness of the Jongleur's verse. Reared as he had been in classic studies, he threw pedantry completely aside; "it is better to be dumb than not to be understood," is his characteristic apology for the novelty of his style, "new times require new fashions, and so I have thrown utterly aside the old and dry method of some authors and aimed at adopting the fashion of speech which is actually in vogue to-day." His tract on the conquest of Ireland, and his account of Wales, which are in fact reports of the two journeys undertaken in those countries with John and Archbishop Baldwin, illustrate his rapid faculty of careless observation, his audacity, and his good sense. They are just the sort of lively dashing letters that we find in the correspondence of a modern journal. There is the same modern tone in his political pamphlets; his profusion of jests, his fund of anecdote, the aptness of his quotations, his natural shrewdness and critical acumen, the clearness and vivacity of his style, are backed by a fearlessness and impetuosity that made him a dangerous assailant even to such a ruler as Henry the Second. The invectives in which Gerald pointed out his resentment against the Angevins are the cause of half the scandal about Henry and his sons which has found its way into history. His life was wasted in an ineffectual attempt to secure the See of St. David's."

admirable throughout; its least merit is the beauty of its language, and the point of the criticism is fully equalled by its truth, at least so far as Gerald is viewed apart from his contemporaries. But at the end of this fine passage Mr. Green assures us, that Gerald's "life was wasted in an ineffectual struggle to secure the See of St. David's." We know the life-long struggle lasted for just four years; but we feel as we read this odd statement that Mr. Green thinks, like Mr. Brewer, that "the genius of Innocent III." did not reform the law's delay; and we fear that many of Mr. Green's readers will be tempted, like him, to think so too.

If Mr. Brewer's ideas about "every phase of legal chicanery such as the Roman court could alone exhibit in the thirteenth century," are thus suggested to accomplished readers in a book like Mr. Green's, the same notions are more roughly forced upon young students in Mr. Henry Morley's *First Sketch of English Literature*. There the author, professor of English Literature at University College, London, as Mr. Brewer was at King's, does not hesitate to write at page 70, concerning our archdeacon (we quote from the third edition) as follows:—

> "Gerald struggled against the archbishop's decision, travelled alone to the Pope through a country made dangerous by war which had broken out between Philip Augustus and the Earl of Flanders, and reached Rome in November, 1199. Innocent III. there trifled with his suit; his zeal for the honour and independence of St. David's became a pontifical joke." . . . . . .

Mr. Brewer's view of Innocent as misbehaving in poor Gerald's lawsuit is certainly likely to spread far if it be left without a refutation. Gerald is evidently becoming a rather popular figure in English history, and he is set off to some extent with Pope Innocent as a foil. We shall soon see our Irish boys and girls expected by the Intermediate Commissioners to make themselves up on the subject of Barry's hard treatment by the Pope, unless we can succeed in making pretty generally known the fact that there was no hard treatment in the case to be told of, that Innocent was all along just and honest, generous and kind. The work is indeed not easy. There is an immense amount of unintentional misrepresentation on the part of Mr. Brewer to be swept away. Yet we do not despair. The pages of the RECORD will be open to us for the purpose

we have in view, and we feel assured that its learned readers will have patience with us if, under all the circumstances, we now insist long on points that must be elementary for men of ecclesiastical erudition.

This question of the South British "judices" is indeed one that must be sifted thoroughly if we would claim to be able to present to the public any correct opinion on the trial of Barry's suits. Against us we have the authority of editors. We can appeal against them to one authority only, that of Barry himself, and we must satisfy readers without mediæval erudition, at the outset, that Barry himself is not against us, that there can be nothing in his usage of the words "judices" and "auditores" to make one think that the South British *judices* any more than the Roman *auditores* were necessarily in the strict sense of the word true judges in his case. Under the circumstances the matter must not be speedily dismissed.

Were there indeed no counter theory to ours already pompously set up, the business need not detain us long. We think we see what an easy course we might follow then. After having shown, as we have already done, that the thread of the narrative clearly supposes the Pope to be all along the only real judge, we would inform the reader that the word *judices* is freely applied to ecclesiastical courts of Commissioners for hearing evidence, whether the Commissioners are supposed to have power to decide a case or no. To confirm our assertion we think we should not need to do more than cite one work, a book particularly interesting to ourselves, the Monumenta Historica Hibernorum et Scotorum of the learned and well known Theiner. There indeed we find only epitomes of letters of Innocent III. But we find at full length a large number of epistles of Innocent's successor, Honorius III., the Camerarius or Camerlengo in the days of Gerald's pleadings. There we find Honorius in his turn appointing Commissions of three to hear disputed cases, like Innocent in the suit of Gerald. There we have Honorius's warrants given at great length, and we read plainly that some Commissions were to proceed to sentence, and others were not to do so.

In Nos. 6, 9, and 22, we find the Commissions are told to examine cases, to send an exact report to Rome, and to appoint a time for appearance to be put in at Rome, where the cases are to be further dealt with.

On the other hand, in No. 10, No. 32, and No. 39, the Commissioners are directed to hear cases and to proceed to sentence.

We set down here in parallel columns the clauses in the various Bulls that show these opposite methods of proceeding.

VI.

Honorius Episcopus, etc. Venerabili fratri . . . Epo et dilectis filiis Magistro I. de Heduno et S. de Lindesia canonicis Dunkeldensibus, salutem, etc. . . . . discretioni vestrae per apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus, quatenus ad prefatam ecclesiam accedentes, et habentes pre oculis solum Deum, gratia, odio et timore postpositis, audiatis et inquiratis, appellatione postposita, super hiis et aliis, que proposita fuerint contra eum et que ipse ad excusationem suam duxerit proponenda, et que inveneritis, fideliter redigentes sub sigillis vestris ad nostram presentiam remittatis, assignantes eidem terminum competentem, quo per se vel responsalem idoneum *nostro se conspectui representet, ut per vestram relationem instructi*, eo presente, prout procedendum fuerit in ipso negotio, auctore domino *procedamus.*

X.

Honorius Episcopus, etc. Venerabilibus fratribus . . . Archiepiscopo Tuamensi et Cluanfertensi et Enechdunensi Epis, salutem, etc. . . . . discretioni vestrae per apostolica scripta mandantes, quatenus vocatis, qui fuerint evocandi, et auditis que hinc inde duxerint proponenda, si vobis constiterit de premissis, humano amore et mundano timore postpositis, praefatum intrusum ab ipsa ecclesia penitus amoventes, examinetis electionem factam de archidiacono memorato, et si eam inveneritis de persona idonea canonice celebratam, *illam auctoritate nostra*, sublato cujuslibet contractus et appellationis obstaculo, *confirmetis* . . . . . .

IX.

Honorius Episcopus, etc. Venerabili fratri . . . Episcopo Clocorensi, et dilectis filiis . . . Abbati sancte Marie de Kaenenos Midensis diocesis et . . . Archidiacono Ardochadensi, salutem, etc. . . . . discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus vocatis predicto Tuamensi et

XXXII.

Honorius Episcopus, etc. Dilectis filiis . . . Sancti Andree et . . . Dunkeldensi Archidiaconis, et Magistro Johanni canonico Dunkeldensi, salutem, etc. . . . . discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus si vobis constiterit . . . . . audiatis causam, et appellatione

aliis qui fuerint evocandi, audiatis diligenter quicquid hinc inde fuerit propositum coram vobis, que inveneritis, fideliter in autentica scripta redacta sub vestris inclusa sigillis ad sedem apostolicam remittentes, prefixo partibus termino competenti, quo per se vel procuratores idoneos super hiis *nostro se conspectui representent, quod canonicum fuerit,* auctore domino *recepture.*

XXII.

Honorius Episcopus, etc. Dilectis filiis . . . de Cupre . . . de Scone et . . . de Dumfermelin Abbatibus S. Andree diocesis, salutem etc. . . . . discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus si famam prefati episcopi super predictis inveneritis êsse lêsam, inquiratis super hiis sollicite veritatem, et tam ea que inveneritis quam que idem opus ad sui excusationem proponet nobis sub vestris sigillis inclusa fideliter transmittatis, prefigentes ipsi episcopo terminum competentem quo *se nostro conspectui representet pro meritis recepturus.*

remota, *fine debito terminetis, facientes quod decreveritis inviolabiliter observari.*

XXXIX.

Honorius Episcopus, etc. Venerabili fratri . . . Dunkeldensi Episcopo, et dilectis filiis Magistro Jacobo Capellano et Penitentiario nostro, apostolice sedis legato, et . . . Abbati de Dumfermelin S. Andree diocesis, salutem etc. . . . . discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus, si est ita, dictas sententias nullas esse penitus nuntiantes, audiatis causam, et appellatione remota *fine debito terminetis, facientes quod decreveritis,* per censuram ecclesiasticam *firmiter observari.*

We would moreover call attention to the last letter of Honorius but one in Theiner's collection. It is addressed to the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishops of Limerick and Cloyne, and is peculiarly interesting as instituting a commission in their persons, which is, at their own choice, either to decide a case or to forward a report to Rome for further action. There are in fact in this warrant clauses suitable respectively to our two columns in turn. We extract what appears to us important here.

"Honorius Episcopus, etc. Venerabilibus fratribus . . . Archiepiscopo Cassellensi, et . . . Limiricensi et . . . Clonensi Episcopis, salutem, etc. . . . . fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus . . . . . deinde ipso ad vestram presentiam convocato, *si comparuerit*

audiatis negotium et si commode fieri poterit, appellatione postposita fine canonico terminetis, facientes etc processuri nihilominus contra eumdem presbiterum, quantum de jure poteritis si se contumaciter absentarit, et *si comparuerit, dummodo posse per vos terminari negotium nimis difficile videatur, remissuri ad nos illud sufficienter instructum*, prefigendo partibus terminum competentem, quo sacerdos ipse per se, ac capitulum per procuratorem idoneum compareant coram nobis, justam, dante domino, sententiam recepture."

Now, what we would remark after quoting all these extracts is simply this, that in every case, whether the Apostolic letter appointed a commission to decide, or a commission to report, or a commission to do either at will, the learned Theiner, the editor so deeply versed in mediæval lore, regularly prefixed to every one of the letters quoted the heading *To Judges*, "Judicibus." He explained to some extent what the "Judices" were to do. He tells us in the heading to Letter IX., that the Judices were to inquire about the decree of independence, the rank (Gerald Barry's question of "Status") of the church of Mayo and to report; he tells in the heading to Letter X., that the Judices were to inquire into the election of the Archdeacon of Killaloe as bishop, and themselves confirm it if canonical; but whether the Commissioners are set down to report on inquiry or to decide on inquiry they are always set down by him as Judices. His headings are: "IX. Judicibus ut de statu ecclesiæ Maionensis inquirant et referant;" "X. Judicibus ut de causa archidiaconi Laoniensis ad eamdem ecclesiam electi inquirant, electionem si ea canonice facta fuerit confirment, ejecto intruso;" and so on; once there is a court of inquiry established whether the powers of its commissioned members are to decide or to report, those Commissioners are regularly called by Theiner "Judices."

We believe that nothing more than this would be required by an unprejudiced public to make it acknowledge that the words *Judices* and *Auditores* used by Gerald cannot militate against the Commissions granted to him being Commissions *to report*. An unprejudiced public would be satisfied to see Innocent's Commissions illustrated by those of his successor Honorius, and the language of the mediæval churchman Giraldus illustrated by that of a celebrated mediæval scholar and ecclesiastic of our own days. An unprejudiced public would have no difficulty in believing that Giraldus might use the word *Judices* in exactly the

same way as the later student of his time ; and on finding that such an interpretation would bring Giraldus's expressions into complete harmony with the plain facts which Giraldus recounts, an unprejudiced public would not only accept but maintain that interpretation. The word *Auditores* would then cause no trouble. If the *Judices* had only to report, the *Auditores* would naturally have to do no more. Yet even the Letters quoted would illustrate this term too. In Letter XXXII. Honorius begins by applying the word, exactly as Gerald does, to a Cardinal hearing a case that had been brought before the Apostolic See. "Nicolao militi ac fratri E. monacho monasterii sancte Marie de Dumdraman, Cisterciensis ordinis, diocesis Candide Case, *apud sedem apostolicam constitutis*, dilectum filium nostrum S. sancti Adriani diaconum cardinalem concessimus auditorem, in cujus presentia miles proposuit nominatus quod cum . . . . . ." Then follows the charge make by the knight.

We should have no further trouble about "Judices" and "Auditores" if the public were unprejudiced. But unfortunately we have not to do now with a wholly unprejudiced public, and in spite of the displeasure of our really erudite readers we must bring forward proofs of a severer and more tedious nature.

J. J. O'Carroll.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

Sanatio in Radice.

IN the last number of the Record we promised to reply to an exposition of this particular form of Matrimonial Dispensation which has been put forward with much ingenuity by a learned and revered correspondent. We now undertake to redeem that promise. In the absence of a previous engagement we would much prefer to postpone the reply until our correspondent shall have fully recovered from the effects of a recent serious indisposition. His illness, which is to us, as to so many other friends, a source of deep regret, will have the effect of rendering our treatment of the question as little controversial as possible.

For those who have not followed the controversy closely so far, it will be useful to repeat the exact point at

issue in our friendly discussion. To prevent the possible risk of misunderstanding or misrepresentation we will adopt our correspondent's own words in stating the precise case on which we differ. This is his statement of the case:—

"A marriage has been contracted under a diriment impediment unknown, at the time, to the parties who exchanged their consent in the usual way. Now, after a considerable time, there is question of making good what is deficient in the marriage on account of the impediment, and a "*Sanatio in radice*" dispensing with a renewal of consent by the parties is employed for the purpose. Our controversy then asks *how* precisely the "*Sanatio*" has acted, *and what has been its effect?* whether it has acted on a marriage null and void *ab initio*, making it now valid, which you assert, and I deny; or if, on the contrary, it has acted on a marriage valid, as I venture to maintain, *ab initio*, notwithstanding the impediment."

From this statement it will be seen that the whole question resolves itself into an inquiry regarding the validity or invalidity of the marriage *ab initio*. To prove the invalidity of the marriage previous to the application of the *Sanatio*, we had advanced two arguments—one derived from the very nature of the case—the other from the authority of theologians, strengthened by their unanimous consent.

The argument from reason was to this effect. In case of an invalid marriage it is often very much a matter of chance, or of choice, whether the party who becomes conscious of the ecclesiastical impediment will obtain a *simple* Dispensation, or seek for a Dispensation *in radice*. But this chance and this choice presuppose the previous invalidity of the marriage. Therefore, we concluded, when a Dispensation *in radice* is granted, it is given to render valid a marriage that had been previously invalid.

As this argument, in its condensed form, failed to convince our correspondent, we may be permitted to develop it somewhat, and to illustrate it by a practical application.

Let us suppose then that Titius and Bertha have contracted marriage with an occult diriment impediment. After the lapse of a year Titius discovers the existence of the impediment. He applies to his confessor for advice. The confessor undertakes to procure an ordinary Dispensation which requires the renewal of the consent of both parties. As Titius and Bertha are still strongly attached to each other, there arises no difficulty in inducing Bertha to renew her consent. Both parties accordingly appear

before the confessor and renew their consent. The Dispensation is fulminated[1] and the marriage is rendered valid. In such circumstances our correspondent will have no difficulty in admitting that this marriage was invalid *ab initio*.

But let us now alter the accidental circumstances of this same case. Let us suppose that the impediment was not discovered till after the lapse of ten years, and not till some bitter animosity has arisen in the mind of Bertha towards her putative husband. Titius applies as before to his confessor for advice. The confessor seeing, on the one hand, the difficulty or the impossibility of getting Bertha to renew her consent if she became aware of the invalidity of the marriage, and, on the other hand, knowing the grave evils which would arise both to their offspring, and to the parties themselves, from a separation, advises Titius to apply for a Dispensation *in radice*. Titius does so. As this is one of the recognised cases of necessity, the Dispensation is granted, and applied without the knowledge of Bertha. The marriage is rendered valid, and the issue of their union legitimate. Are we to hold that this marriage was valid *ab initio* because the impediment was not discovered till after the lapse of ten years, while it would have been invalid *ab initio* if the impediment happened to be discovered after the lapse of one year? If not, we must admit that a Dispensation *in radice*, equally as an *ordinary* Dispensation, may be applied to a marriage which was invalid *ab initio*.

Let us now take a case in which the particular form of Dispensation depends not on chance, but on the deliberate choice of one of the parties concerned. Let us suppose that Titius discovers the impediment at such a time, and in such circumstances, as would justify the grant of a Dispensation *in radice* if the application were made at once. But Titius prefers to wait till the circumstances will have so changed that an ordinary Dispensation may be applied without inconvenience. According to our correspondent's view, if Titius determines to apply at once, and obtains a Dispensation *in radice*, his marriage was valid *ab initio*. If, on the other hand, he prefers to wait—as he may be justified in doing—and obtains an ordinary Dispensation, his marriage was invalid *ab initio*. Unless we suppose the Church

[1] "Dispensatio hodie a Sede Apostolica concedi non solet nisi in forma commissoria, ideoque tunc tantum completur seu actu conceditur, quando ab eo, cui in rescripto committitur, fit rescripti executio *seu fulminatio*." Feije (De Imped. et Dispens. Matr. cxxxiv. n. 731.)

in making her laws to be guided by some sort of *scientia media*—a gift which she has never claimed—the antecedent exceptions to these laws on which our correspondent's view depends, are entirely unintelligible. For there is not an unalterable class of cases for which a Dispensation *in radice* is the proper remedy, and another class to which an ordinary Dispensation only can be applied. But the self-same case, according to its varying circumstances, may become subject to one or other form of Dispensation. Hence, in a particular case, according to our correspondent's theory, the same marriage would be at once valid and invalid, *ab initio.*

But let us pass from the argument derived from reason, to the argument derived from authority, on which, after all, in matters of this sort, we must chiefly depend. In our previous observations we stated that, "passing from reason to authority, the evidence is overwhelming against our correspondent's view." We added, after quoting some theologians and canonists, "it is needless to multiply authorities when there is such a consensus of testimony." We had at the time before our mind the expression of Caillaud, in his very valuable work *Manuel des Dispenses* (tom. ii. Art. 2, n. 346.)

On définit la dispense *in radice*, "legis ecclesiasticae quae impedimentum induxit abrogatio in casu particulari, conjuncta cum irritatione omnium effectuum etiam antea ex lege secutorum," (Carrière Prael. Theol, n, 1322). Benoit xiv. la definit á peu pres dans les mémes termes. La dispense *in radice* ne fait pas que le mariage qui a été contracté avec une nullite, n'ait pas éte contracté avec cette nullité, mais elle détruit tous les effects de l'empéchement, non seulement pour le présent, mais pour le passé. *Non sane agendo*, dit Benoit xiv., *ut matrimonium nulliter contractum, non ita contractum fuerit, sed illius effectus de medio tollendo.* L'émpêchement invalide le consentement et le rend inefficace a produire le lien du mariage, comme la loi civile invalide le consentement d'un mineur qui vend son bien ou celui d'un beau-frère qui, sans dispense du gouvernement, épouse sa belle-sœur devant un officier civil ignorant, comme j'en ai vu plusieurs exemples. Une dispense ordinaire enléve l'impêchement, a condition qu'il sera donné un nouveau consentement; la dispense *in radice* l'énlève sans emposer cette condition; en sorte que le premier consentement qui etait naturellement bon, et qui n'etait invalidé que par la loi, suffit pour la rehabilitation du mariage, pourvu qu'il persévêrè . . . *jusqu' ici tout le monde est d'accord.*

Now, let us see how our correspondent undertakes to deal with this mass of adverse testimony. The natural

course in such circumstances would be to bring forward some theologian or canonist of recognised authority who held the opposite view. We may take it for granted that the theological opinion in favour of which the clear and distinct testimony of at least one theologian cannot be cited, is so "poor" that few "will do it reverence." And yet our correspondent has failed to find even one undisputed authority to support his cause.

But, if he is weak in defence of his own position, he is at the same time very ingenious in attacking that of others. To the host of authorities that have been, or may be cited, against him, he replies:—

First, that some of them, like Carriere, speak obscurely, inasmuch as they give no satisfactory reasons for the opinion they adopt. This he puts down as breach No. 1 in the opposing breastworks. But he will allow us to remind him that the question between us is not whether the explanation given by these theologians, as to the manner in which the Dispensation *in radice* operates without requiring a renewal of the consent, is satisfactory or not, but whether these theologians held, as a matter of fact, that the marriage was valid or invalid before the Dispensation was applied.

Now nothing can be clearer than that Carriere and those who follow him held that the marriage was invalid *ab initio*.

Secondly, he says that Perrone (*De Mat. Christ.*) observes that several authors, unable to understand the *modus operandi*, denied to the Pope the power of granting a *Sanatio in radice*, while others admitted it only *nomine tenus*, and that Perrone himself seems to incline to our correspondent's view. And this is put down as breach No. 2.

But surely Perrone makes no breach in the ranks of the theologians quoted by us, or in the universal consent of all the theologians who have discussed this question.

Neither can Perrone himself be claimed as an advocate of our correspondent's view, notwithstanding the confusion of the passage to which we are referred, as is evident from those passages in which Perrone states his own opinion.[1]

[1] "Jam vero quid aliud facit Romanus Pontifex, dum sanat matrimonium *in radice?* impedimentum tollit, adeoque irritat *effectus* ex eo impedimento tum *secuturos*, tum prius *secutos*. Effectus porro ejus impedimenti erant inhabilitas conjugum ad contrahendum, *adeoque invaliditas conjugii* prolesque illegitima."

(De Mat. Christ. t. ii., p. 159.) See also the Note (22) which he subjoins to this passage (ibid.)

Thirdly, he urges that St. Alphonsus holds, in cases of urgent necessity, when an impediment is suddenly discovered after all the preparations have been made for a marriage, and a Dispensation cannot be obtained in time to obviate the inconvenience of a postponement, that the ecclesiastical impediment ceases to exist. From this he deduces, or at least suggests, an *a pari* argument in favour of the non-existence of the impediment *ab initio* in all cases in which a *Sanatio* is applied. But even though we were unreservedly to admit that St. Alphonsus holds *as his own opinion*[1] that the ecclesiastical impediment ceases in the circumstances stated, still our correspondent would have to prove further (1) that the two cases are parallel, and (2) that we can always argue *a pari* when there is question of positive ecclesiastical law. Nor would his difficulties end here. For he should also show on what principle he maintained the *non-existence* of the impediment *ab initio* where a "*Sanatio*" happens to be subsequently applied, and the *existence* of the impediment *ab initio* where an ordinary Dispensation is subsequently granted. If the parallelism holds at all, it would seem to hold in the latter as well as in the former case.

Finally, our correspondent questions the value of the testimony of Benedict XIV. in our favour, and he questions it on three grounds.

1. Because the definition of *Sanatio in radice* given by Benedict XIV. is in accordance with his, rather than with our view.

2. Because Benedict XIV. does not require any renewal of consent, as he should do if he believed the marriage to be invalid *ab initio.*

3. Because Benedict XIV. maintains that even after the consent of one of the parties has been formally withdrawn, the *Sanatio in radice* may still be granted. Now, our correspondent urges, this appears necessarily to suppose that as the marriage is valid after the *Sanatio* is applied, it must have been valid *ab initio.* As the consent is not then renewed, and does not even virtually persevere, the validity of the marriage must come solely from the original consent, and must consequently date back to that consent. "For," says our correspondent, "if he [Benedict XIV.] did not regard the marriage valid *in foro interno*, which he pronounces to be invalid, he should

[1] On this question see the RECORD, September, 1881, pp. 544–50.

require the consent of the parties in some way or other, either actual by renewal, or some virtual consent resulting from the consent given at the time of the marriage, and morally persevering at the time there is question of applying the *Sanatio in Radice.* But he absolutely makes nothing of consent of any kind, and would apply the "*Sanatio*" even in face of a retractation of the consent originally given. For the life of me I cannot understand this, as I cannot understand the other cases brought forward by Perrone in his "de Matrimonio Christiano," (tom. ii., cap. iv., Art. iii.) consistently with the necessity, of mutual consent according to the Natural and Divine Law in the hypothesis of a marriage being invalid, in order to validate it."

We have transcribed these words because we are convinced that they express the real difficulty which drove our correspondent to adopt an opinion which is certainly novel, and which, while it seeks to evade one difficulty, seems to us to be involved in various perplexities far graver than the one it tries to escape.

We reply, therefore, to these observations, (*a*) that as far as the definition given by Benedict XIV. is concerned, it is in substance precisely the same as the definition of *Sanatio in radice* given by those theologians and canonists who admittedly hold the invalidity of the marriage *ab initio.*

We have sufficient evidence of this fact in the extract already given from the valuable work of Caillaud. (p. 166.)

(*b*) In reply to the second statement of our correspondent —namely, that Benedict XIV. does not require any renewal of consent in granting the "Sanatio"—all we need say is, that, as we have maintained throughout, this is the principal point of difference between the *ordinary* Dispensation and the Dispensation *in radice.* No wonder therefore that Benedict XIV. does not require that which would to a great extent destroy the distinctive features of the Dispensation *in radice.* But this manifestly leaves the question regarding the previous validity or invalidity of the marriage untouched.

(*c*) This brings us to our correspondent's great difficulty against our view, and the point which he regards as most strongly sustaining his own. Benedict XIV. not only requires no renewal of consent, but "he would apply the "Sanatio" even in face of a retractation of the consent originally given."

We must say at once we cannot accept this statement. We do not believe it can be shown that Benedict XIV., or any other Pope, ever granted a "Sanatio" where the withdrawal of the original consent was certainly established. Our correspondent refers us to Perrone (loco cit.) in proof of his statement, and no doubt Perrone was of this opinion. "Quinimo," he says, "Benedictus XIV. non solum inter conditiones ad dandam ejusmodi sanationem nunquam recenset hanc perseverantiam moralem in dato consensu, verum etiam excludit satis aperte, dum concessit dispensationem in radice matrimonii, dum alter conjugum in tribunalibus sollicitaverat solutionem, adeoque quantum in se erat suum consensum retractaverat. . . . Itaque tantum abest ut renovatio consensus necessaria sit, ut per se ne requiratur quidem moralis consensus perduratio, imo neque quandoque obsit consensus retractatio."

But we feel that we are justified in stating that neither in the Constitution *Etsi Matrimonialis* of Benedict XIV., nor in the decision given by Pius VI., at the suggestion of Bolgenius,[1] on which Perrone relies, nor indeed in any other authority, is there satisfactory proof that any Pontiff ever granted a "*Sanatio*" after the consent of either of the parties had been positively and certainly withdrawn.

[1] The following extract from the Acta S. Sedis puts the matter in a clear light . . . "Animadvertimus tamen non videri sufficiens ad questionem dirimendam factam illud peculiare quod a Bolgenio refertur. Ipse enim enarrat quamdam mulierem accitam ab Episcopo Falchi, Scipionis Ricci successore . . . atque admonita de nullitate sui Conjugii . . . ipsa renuit consensum renovare. Institit Episcopus . . . ast perperam. Eam exterruit comminatione poenarum ecclesiasticarum, sed frustra. Cumque Episcopus confugisset pro remedio ad R. P. Pius VI. enarrat Bolgenius se dedisse consilium R. Pontifici ut illud in radice sanaret, ac refert juxta suum consilium sanatum fuisse. Hujusmodi casus, caeteris omissis, non est pluris faciendus quam ipsius Bolgeni auctoritas. Non enim dignoscuntur omnia individua adjuncta hujus facti. Una enim vel altera circumstantia quae praetermittitur, interdum efficit ut casus novam induat speciem quam ex sese non habet. Et in re praesenti, neque is auctor est Bolgenius qui tum circa factum enarratum, quod publici juris ipse non fecit, sed in suis manuscriptis absconditum mansit, tum etiam circa doctrinam, plenam fidem in omnibus mereatur."

From the same source (p. 183 and note 1) we learn that when a Dispensation *in radice* was sought for after one of the parties had withdrawn the original consent, and when the authority of Perrone was alleged in favour of the power of the Supreme Pontiff to grant a Dispensation in such circumstances, the Sacred Congregation replied, on the 5th December, 1863 :—"Quoad memoriale *lectum*." The word "*lectum*" is used by the Sacred Congregation when the petition addressed to it is not deemed worthy of consideration. "Hac [clausula *lectum*] enim significatur libellum supplicem lectum quidem fuisse, nullaque tamen responsione dignum fuisse repertum." (Acta S. Sedis. loc. cit.)

The circumstances of both cases are carefully considered in the first volume of the *Acta S. Sedis* (p. 188), and the learned editor concludes that no sufficient evidence is afforded by either of them, in favour of the opinion of those who held that the Pope did, or could, grant a *Sanatio*, when the consent of either party was withdrawn. In order that a marriage may revive by the application of a *Sanatio*, he says, all that the Natural Law requires for its revival must be present. "Ejusmodi autem requisita juris naturae," he proceeds, "sunt, primum, ut matrimonium sit per mutuum consensum contractum . . . alterum (saltem juxta praesentem modum concipiendi hanc dispensationem), ut status matrimonialis inductus vi prioris consensus perseverat . . . Ex his pariter intelliges cur S. Sedes non dispenset quando unus conjux dispensationi obnitatur suam quaerens libertatem. Ex hac enim consensus revocatione cessat matrimonialis status ex vi prioris consensus inductus; proindeque deest secunda conditio," p. 190.

It is unnecessary to say more for the present on this aspect of the case. We shall therefore conclude our remarks by the following extract from Benedict XIV. (Quaestiones Canonicae Q. dxxvii. *In Causa Florent.* seu *Lucana.*) which shows with great clearness what he held regarding the invalidity of the marriage before the application of the Dispensation *in Radice.*

Et in eo quidem quod attinet ad Summi Pontificis potestatem nefas est de eo dubitare, quando etenim proles nata est non ex copula manifeste fornicaria, sed ex copula *putative matrimoniali*, et matrimonium non fuit *nullum* propter impedimentum Juris Divini, aut Naturalis, sed propter impedimentum Juris Ecclesiastici, Summus Pontifex aliquando in casu particulari legem ecclesiasticam quae impedimentum induxit, nedum potest eam irritare et revocare quoad effectus in posterum secuturos, sed etiam quoad effectus antea secutos juxta *Textum in Clementina*, *Quoniam de Immunitate Ecclesiarum.* Die, 28 Sept., 1726.

Although it is proverbially easier to pull down than to build up, still we purpose in a future number to give our own views regarding the origin, nature, and effects of a Dispensation *in radice.* If we cannot agree with our esteemed correspondent, we are not the less thankful to him for the zeal and the learning he has manifested in his valuable papers. THE EDITOR.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND SACRED HISTORY SCHOLARSHIPS.

WE regard it as a privilege to be permitted to publish the following authentic details of the Scholarships which have been established, and of the examinations which have been recently held in St. Peter's College, Wexford. There is no longer question of what may be done for religious instruction in connection with Intermediate Education, but of what has been done, and done very successfully, as we are informed on the highest authority. At the recent examinations in Christian Doctrine, and Sacred History, the answering was most satisfactory. We observe with pleasure, that these examinations were held at a time when they could not possibly interfere with the preparation for the examinations in secular subjects, which will take place next June or July. To every Catholic College in Ireland in which students are preparing for the Intermediate Examinations, St. Peter's College, without intending it, says, *Vade et tu fac similiter.*—ED. I.E.R.

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, WEXFORD.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND SACRED HISTORY SCHOLARSHIPS.

Founded by the Most Rev. Dr. Warren, November 13th, 1880.

The following Prizes are offered by the Most Rev. Dr. Warren, Lord Bishop of Ferns, to the Students of St. Peter's College, who will prove themselves the most proficient at the Examination in Christian Doctrine and Sacred History:—

PRIZES.

	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	FOURTH
JUNIOR GRADE ...	£2 5*s.*	£1 10*s.*	£1 5*s.*	£1
MIDDLE GRADE ...	£3	£2	£1	—
SENIOR GRADE ...	£4	£3	£2	—

SUBJECTS FOR EXAMINATION.

JUNIOR GRADE.

Christian Doctrine—Schouppe's "Religious Instruction," from page 273-349.

Bible History—The Old Testament to Death of Solomon.

MIDDLE GRADE.

Christian Doctrine—Schouppe's "Religious Instruction," page 174–273.

Bible History—The Old Testament.

SENIOR GRADE.

Christian Doctrine—Schouppe's "Religious Instruction," page 1–174.

Bible History—The New Testament.

N.B.—In all the Grades an accurate knowledge of Devereux's Catechism will be required.

REGULATIONS.

All the Students of the College in the three Intermediate Grades will be expected to present themselves at these Examinations and to compete for the Prizes or other rewards. Age no disqualification for the present.

The Examinations for the Academic Year 1881–1882 will be held on Monday, January 30th, 1882, and will be conducted in the same manner as the Examinations held by the Intermediate Education Board.

The Examination Papers will be set, and the Answers examined by certain Clergymen, entirely disconnected with the College, and receiving their appointment from the Bishop of the Diocese.

The Maximum of Marks to be assigned to Christian Doctrine will be 1,200, and to Bible History 800.

In order to pass in either subject it will be necessary and sufficient to obtain 25 per cent. of the maximum of marks assigned to the subject. And to pass with merit it will be necessary and sufficient to obtain 40 per cent. of the maximum.

Previous to the Examination a number will be assigned to each Candidate, by which alone he will be known to the Examiners.

The Prizes will be awarded according to the gross total of marks obtained in the two subjects. But in the case of a Candidate, who has previously won a prize in the grade in which he now presents himself, the marks he obtains in each subject will be diminished by 5 per cent. of the maximum assigned to the subject; the remainder will be added together, and will constitute his gross total.

The Prizes will be publicly distributed by the Bishop, and lists of the successful Candidates duly published.

September 8th, 1881.

A.M.D.G.

EXAMINATION PAPERS IN CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND BIBLE HISTORY. EXAMINATIONS AT ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, WEXFORD.

Examiners { REV. JOHN L. FURLONG, P.P.
REV. JAMES BROWNE, P.P.

January 30th, 1882.

SENIOR GRADE —9½ to 12 o'clock.

1ST SUBJECT—CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

Answers to be given, at least in substance, from Devereux's Catechism.

1. Explain the conditions which justify the taking of an oath.

2. Describe the qualities of *a glorified* body.

3. What is *sanctifying grace*, and what are its *effects* in the soul?

4. State what constitutes an Ecumenical Council? Give the number of such Councils, with the names and dates of the most celebrated.

5. What is the strict and true sense of the proposition—*Out of the Church there is no salvation?*

*6. Define the terms—*Religion* and *Revelation*, and mark the distinction between *natural* and *supernatural* Religion.

*7. Explain the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church, and prove it from Holy Scripture.

SENIOR GRADE.—1 to 3 o'clock.

2ND SUBJECT—BIBLE HISTORY.

1. Who were the *Magi?* State why they went to Bethlehem, and what incidents marked their journey thither.

2. Give the seven last words of the Redeemer on the Cross, and explain *why* they were uttered.

3. Narrate from the 6th chapter of St. John in what way Our Lord made the promise of the Holy Eucharist, and how this promise was received by those who heard it.

*4. Give an account of the different times on which Our Lord declared St. Peter the Head and Supreme Pastor of the Church, quoting the words he made use of on each occasion.

*5. Describe the choice of the Twelve Apostles; Name them, and mention some leading event in the history of the best known of them.

MIDDLE GRADE.—9½ to 12 o'clock.

1ST SUBJECT—CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

Answers to be given, at least in substance, from Devereux's Catechism.

1. What are the Sacraments of the living, and of the dead, and why are they so called?

2. Why is the use of images lawful and commendable in Catholic worship?

3. What is the essential difference between *Faith* and *Science?*

4. Give the *definition* of a Sacrament, and explain the meaning of the terms employed in it.

5. Describe how our Lord instituted the Blessed Eucharist.

*6. Determine the notions of *virtue* and *vice*. Explain the nature of the chief divisions by which *the virtues* are distinguished.

*7. What does faith make known to us about the Hell of the damned, and of the nature of its punishments?

MIDDLE GRADE.—1 to 3 o'clock.

2ND SUBJECT—BIBLE HISTORY.

1. Give a short account of the sons of Isaac.

2. Describe the division of the Jewish nation after the death of Solomon, and mention the ultimate fate of the kingdoms into which it was divided.

3. How did Joseph become the favourite of King Pharoah?

*4. Name the most remarkable of the Judges who ruled the Hebrews between Moses and Saul, and tell a few of the chief acts performed by them.

*5. Give the names and a brief history of the four greater Prophets, stating in what times they lived; and what in particular they respectively prophesied.

JUNIOR GRADE.—9½ to 12 o'clock

1ST SUBJECT—CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

Answers to be given, at least in substance, from Devereux's Catechism.

1. What are the Angels?

2. What harm does Venial Sin do the Sinner?

3. What is Scandal? How many kinds of Scandal are there? Give examples of persons who are guilty of giving Scandal.

4. What is a Vow? How does a Vow differ from a *good resolution?* Explain the difference between a *solemn* and a *simple* Vow.

5. What is Prayer? Explain the necessity of Prayer. When are we obliged to pray?

6. How is *Moral Law* defined, and what are the essential properties of a true law? Enumerate and explain them.

JUNIOR GRADE.—1 to 3 o'clock.

2ND SUBJECT—BIBLE HISTORY.

1. What was the Paschal Lamb? Relate all you remember about it.

2. Describe the death of Aaron. Where did he die? What was his age? What ceremony was gone through at his death?

3. Under what circumstances did Moses set up the Brazen Serpent in the desert? For what purpose was it erected, and what did it prefigure?

4. Relate the history of Balaam. What does the Holy Scripture tell us of him?

5. Relate King Pharaoh's dreams. What was Joseph's interpretation of them? How did Joseph exercise the power conferred on him by the King?

LITURGY.

Rev. Sir—You were so kind on a former occasion that I am encouraged to presume again on your good-will for direction in another difficulty.

I.

Ought the blessing with the Ciborium to be given in the Church after Communicating the Sick?

When Communion is administered to a sick nun in her room, ought the blessing with the Ciborium be given in the convent chapel, before restoring it to the tabernacle? This blessing is not mentioned in the edition of the Ritual published by Coyne (12th edition), and commonly used by the priests in Ireland; but it is prescribed in the full Roman ritual.

Yes; it should be given. The blessing to which you refer is ordered to be given to the people who accompany the Blessed Sacrament from the house of the sick, or who assemble in the church where the Blessed Sacrament is to be replaced in the tabernacle on the return of the procession. As some of the nuns always accompany the Blessed Sacrament in the case contemplated, and as the others generally await the return in the chapel, the blessing with the Ciborium should be given as prescribed in the Roman Ritual.

The omission of this rubric in the compendious edition of the ritual published in Dublin is explained by the fact that the missionary priest in this country either returns from the sick call with his pyxis purified in compliance with the rubric (*De Communione Infirmorum*), or else is rarely, if ever, accompanied by any one when he is restoring his pyxis containing the Blessed Sacrament to the tabernacle. It was the object of the publisher, I dare say, to produce a small pocket edition of the ritual, and accordingly he omitted all that is not usually required by the missionary priest.

II.

What, if solemn Benediction follows immediately?

If this blessing ought to be given as a general rule, may it be omitted in case Solemn Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament is to be given immediately, even though the celebrant has to retire to the sacristy for the cope?

We are of opinion that in this case the blessing with the ciborium may be omitted. For, the nuns who are present

intend to remain for the Benediction, and, accordingly, none will be deprived of the blessing of the Most Holy Sacrament, which is the object intended. We should be inclined to give a different decision if many people, seeing the return of the procession, came into the church to receive the usual blessing with the ciborium who could not or would not wait for the longer ceremony of solemn Benediction.

III.

The Indulgences attached to accompanying the Blessed Sacraments. Conditions required.

What conditions are necessary in order to gain the indulgences granted to those who accompany the Blessed Sacrament to the sick? What kind of accompanying is understood?

One is said to accompany the Blessed Sacrament who joins in the procession from the church to the house of the sick, or *vice versa.*

There are three classes of indulgences for accompanying the Blessed Sacrament. First, there are indulgences for merely joining in the procession; secondly, there are additional indulgences for those who join in the procession, holding a lighted taper in their hand; and thirdly, there are special indulgences for members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament who perform this act of worship.

The following is a fairly complete list of the grants made:

1. An indulgence of *two hundred days* to whomsoever shall accompany the Blessed Sacrament, when it is carried in solemn procession to the sick. This is a grant of Martin V. (May 26, 1429).

2. An indulgence of *one hundred days* for devoutly joining in the procession, granted by Eugene IV. (May 26, 1433).

3. An indulgence of *five years* and *five quarantines* to those who accompany it without a light, granted by Paul V. (3 Nov., 1606).

4. An indulgence of *one hundred days* to those who, being unable *ex causa justa* to join in the procession, shall say one *Our Father* and one *Hail Mary* for the intention of the Sovereign Pontiff. This was also granted by Paul V. and confirmed by Clement X. (April 23, 1676).

5. An indulgence of *seven years* and *seven quarantines* to those who shall accompany it with a lighted taper or any

other light, and shall pray for peace and union among Christian princes, for the extirpation of heresy, and for the triumph of holy Church.

6. An indulgence of *three years* and *three quarantines* to to those who, being unable to go themselves, shall send some one in their stead to carry a light in the procession.

The members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament are constituted to attend as a guard of honour on the Blessed Sacrament on various occasions and in various ways. One of the occasions is when it is borne in procession to the sick. Special privileges have been granted to this association by Paul III., Paul V., Benedict XIV., and Pius IX., for which consult a manual on Pious Associations or Bouvier's Treatise on Indulgences.

The bishop is generally authorized to allow the formation of this association in each parish and may alter the statutes and observances according to the wants of the place.

Rev. Sir—May I trouble you to answer the following questions in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record:—

IV.

When may a Priest celebrate the Mass of the Feast in discharge of a Honorarium offered for a Mass for the Dead?

When a High Mass for the Dead is asked for, without requesting it to be *in black*, and that this Mass is not on or for the day of death, burial, third, seventh, thirtieth or anniversary day, should the High Mass be said *in black?*

Before answering directly the inquiry of our respected correspondent, we think that we ought, for the sake of clearness and direction, to give a summary of what we understand to be the teaching on the general question: when it is lawful for a priest, who has received a *honorarium* for a Mass for the dead, to offer for this intention the Mass of the feast.

The general principle is, that when the person who gives the *honorarium* expressly and reasonably asks for a Mass *de requie*, the priest who accepts the offering on this understanding is bound to say the *Missa defunctorum*. There is here a contract not only about the *application*, but also about the *quality* of the Mass. And the quality of the Mass is a matter of importance, inasmuch as the prayers in the *Missa de requie* are specially directed by

the Church to the relief of the dead. This principle has been affirmed by the Sacred Congregation in the following reply to a question on this matter:—

"Diebus, quibus dici possunt Missae votivae privatae, vel defunctorum, sacerdos ad illas obligatus ratione fundationis, vel accepti manualis stipendii, propriae obligationi non satisfacit, dicendo Missam de die occurrente : *expressa enim voluntas testatorum vel postulantium, dummodo sit rationabilis, debet adimpleri.*"—3 Mar. 1761. (4,299).

There are, then, two conditions required for this contract on the part of the person giving the *honorarium*, namely, (1) an express and (2) a reasonable request for the Mass *de requie*. The first condition requires that it should be certain that the *quality* of the Mass entered into the contract. No one, for example, could call in question what was meant, if a person instructed in the ritual ceremonial were to ask for a Mass *de requie* for his deceased friend, or if one of the faithful were to covenant for a Mass *in black*, or a Mass with the *Dies Irae*. Such are instances of an express request. On the other hand this condition is wanting in respect to private or low Masses, when a priest is asked merely to offer Mass for a deceased parent or friend, or to say a Mass for the dead according to the intention of the donor. It is generally understood that in these and all similar cases, the request is for the application only, and not for the quality of the Mass. Hence, even on semidoubles the priest is not obliged in such cases to say a low Mass in black. This was decided in a case submitted by the Bishop of Bruges.[1]

The second condition—a reasonable request—comes in to limit the first. The request is deemed to be unreasonable

[1] Quaeritur: "In variis diocesibus Belgii juxta doctrinam in Seminariis traditam usus invaluit ut his diebus, quibus per rubricas licet Missas *de Requie*, et votivas celebrare, sacerdotes Missas privatas oblato manuali stipendio pro uno vel pluribus defunctis, vel votivam in honorem alicujus mysterii vel sancti habentes, celebrent conformes officio quod illa die recitarunt ad satisfaciendum susceptae obligationi; dummodo fideles expresse non rogaverint dici Missas *de Requie*, vel votivas. Usus iste nititur in primis Rubrica Missalis, Art. iv. *de Missis Votivis*, n. 3, quae praescribit, ut quoad fieri potest Missa cum officio conveniat; deinde auctoritate S. Alphonsi de Ligorio qui in Theologia Morali (lib. vi. tract. 3, n. 422), dicit communissimam et probabilem esse hanc sententiam.

Petitur ergo an praefati sacerdotes satisfaciunt suae obligationi ?"

S. R. C. resp.: "Affirmative quod Missas *pro Defunctis*, juxta Generale Decretum diei 5 Aug. 1662. In reliquis negative."—12th Sept., 1840 (4,897.)

which would involve the violation of the regulations made by the Church for the celebration of Mass *de requie:* for instance, if one had engaged a private Mass in black for a particular day which happens to be a double feast. In this case the priest is not obliged to defer the celebration of the Mass to a day when it may be said in black; because Alexander VII. considering the unreasonable inconvenience that would follow from sanctioning this principle in consequence of the vast number of foundation and other obligatory Masses for the dead, and also the loss to the deceased by thus considerably delaying the celebration of the Mass, decided by a general decree that the obligation to say private Masses *de requie*, whether these be foundation Masses, or Missae manuales, is discharged on double feasts by applying the Mass of the feast for the relief of the dead; and that the priest is not to wait for a day when he may say a Mass *de requie.* "Quod si ex benefactorum praescripto Missae hujusmodi (Missae privatae de requie) celebrandae incidant in festum duplex; tunc minime transferantur in aliam diem non impeditam, ne delatio animabus suffragia expectantibus detrimento sit: sed dicantur de festo currente, cum applicatione Sacrificii juxta mentem eorum benefactorum."[1]

This decree removes any difficulty that might arise in connection with private Masses *de requie.* But we must remember that this decree regards private Masses only, and does not apply to the solemn Mass. What then must be said of the solemn or high Mass *de requie.*

As a general rule, when one asks for a High Mass for the dead, it is understood that a Mass *de requie* is meant. This is the common interpretation, and so is taken to be equivalent to an express request for a High Mass *de requie.*

Moreover, this is deemed, as a general rule, to be in all cases a reasonable request, and so the obligation can be discharged only by a High Mass in black. That such is the view of the Church is shown by her legislation. Thus, when a High Mass *de requie* cannot be celebrated on the 3rd, 7th, 30th, or anniversary day, because it happens to be a feast of too exalted a rite, she does not say "let the Mass of the feast be applied to the dead;" but she extends the privileges of these days to the first suitable day before or after the *dies impedita.* Again, the Sacred Congregation

[1] 8 Aug 1662 (2178). The S. Congregation decided (6th April, 1680, 2919), that "testators" were included in the description, "benefactorum."

has formally decided that the obligation of an anniversary High Mass for the Dead cannot be discharged by singing the Mass of the feast for this intention ;[1] and, secondly, that when the founders of solemn Masses *de requie* have not fixed any particular day for them, the Masses must be chanted on days on which Mass *de requie* is allowed by the rubrics.[2]

Hence we conclude (and this is the common teaching of rubricists) that whenever a *honorarium*, whether in the form of a foundation or only for a single occasion, is given for a High Mass for the dead, this obligation is discharged only by a solemn Mass *de requie*, unless the intention that such is not required is made manifest by the donor.

Our reply then to the particular case submitted to us is plain. We think you are bound to say the Missa *de requie*, inasmuch as the donor did not state or make it manifest by other means that this was not required.

This Mass enjoys no privilege, and consequently cannot be celebrated on a double feast or other excepted day.

V.

Must Regulars in this country say the De Profundis after Low Mass.

Are all priests habitually living in Ireland bound to say the *De Profundis* after Low Mass? I allude specially to Regulars who have a special liturgy for their Order, and whose brethren in France and elsewhere never say the *De Profundis* after Mass.

Yes; the priests whom you mention are bound in the same way as secular priests. It is a fixed principle that, when the bishop commands a prayer to be said in the Mass or other public function, provided this order is not contrary to any rubric, the priests, regular and secular, officiating in his diocese are obliged to obey him. He has this power over the direction of the public worship in his diocese.

[1] "An, die obitus impedito, possit pro defunctorum anniversario cantari Missa de currente festo, vel feria privilegiata per applicationem."

S. R. C. resp.: "Negative."—22 Decem. 1753 (4237).

[2] Quaeretur: "An diebus non festivis de praecepto in quibus tamen recitatur officium duplex secundae classis, et diebus festivis infra octavas privilegiatas, celebrari possit officium mortuorum cum Missa festi currentis, ad implenda legata quae non anniversaria, quaeque a Testatoribus relicta sunt sine praefixione dierum."

S. R. C. resp.: "Negative: sed Missae cantatae de requiem a defunctis relictae sine praefixione dierum debent celebrari diebus a rubrica permissis."—23 Aug. 1766 (4,336).

The Sacred Congregation by a general decree, 31st March, 1821, ruled that even exempt Regulars are bound to say the Collects ordered by the bishop of the place; and later, on 16th February, 1856, in a case referring to the Franciscans and Capuchins, it decided that they were obliged to recite in their churches the *Orationes* and *Preces ab Episcopo imperatae.*

Now, the bishops of Ireland assembled in National Synod, say: "Consuetudines pias quae adeo invaluerunt in Hibernia, psalmum *De Profundis* post singulas Missas recitandi, &c., omni cura servandas et promovendas esse existimamus."

As to the statement that their brethren in other countries do not recite this psalm after Mass, there is no force in it. Neither do secular priests who live abroad. The custom is an Irish one, sanctioned and recommended by our bishops.

Certain Indulgences published in the Latin Ordo and the Conditions for gaining them.

We sent on these questions to the Very Rev. Compiler of the Ordo, and he has kindly consented to print among the Documents (pp. 183–5), extracts from the original grants detailing the requisite conditions.

R. Browne.

[We have received several questions relating to the Ceremonies of Holy Week, and notably of Holy Saturday. We shall answer them in the April number in time for the occasion to which they refer.—R. B.]

DOCUMENTS.

To the Editor of the Irish Ecclesiastical Record.

Dear Rev. Sir,—As a Subscriber, may I ask you to answer the following questions:—

1st. To gain the Plenary Indulgence attached to the feasts mentioned at page xii. of the Latin Ordo, are the two conditions there mentioned sufficient, viz., Confession and Communion, or is there also required a visit to some church?

2nd. In the case of the first Sunday of the month, a distinction is made with regard to Dublin, where a visit to some of the parochial churches is required, and prayers for the Propagation of the

Faith. Is this necessary, not only in Dublin, but throughout the rest of Ireland?

By replying to these questions in the next number of the RECORD, you will much oblige yours, J. McD.

DEAR REV. SIR,—In compliance with your request of the 17th February, I hasten to answer as briefly and as well as I can, the questions put by your correspondent to the Editor of the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, and that the answers may be satisfactory, I think it well to reprint the following indulgences:—

INDULGENTIAE TOTI HIBERNIAE CONCESSAE.

Indulgentia Plen. in perpetuum omnibus Christi-fidelibus conceditur in solemnitate SS. Apost. Petri et Pauli, 29 Junii, vel aliquo die infra Octavam, si vere poenitentes, Confessi, ac Sacra Communione refecti, Deum sincero corde oraverint pro Infidelium et Haereticorum conversione, sanctaeque Fidei propagatione; quae Indulg. per modum Suffragii Defunctis applicari potest.—Ex Aud. Clem. XIV., 19 Apr. 1772.

Alia Plenaria in perpetuum Concessa omnibus vere Poenitentibus, confessis et Sacra Communione refectis, qui in die festo S. Patritii, Hiberniae Patroni, vel aliquo die inf. octavam, per aliquod temporis spatium in Ecclesiis sive Oratoriis, vel etiam in privatis domibus, pias ad Deum dirigant preces pro Infidelium conversione et Haereticorum, et sanctae Fidei libera propagatione. Haec Indulgentia in suffragium ad animas defunctas extenditur — Clem. XIV., 19 Apr. 1772, et 14 Feb. 1773.

Aliam Plenariam Fideles lucrari possunt in festo SS. Patronorum seu Titularium Ecclesiarum sive Oratoriorum Hiberniae, dummodo confessi ac sacra Communione refecti, easdem Ecclesias sive Oratoria devote visitaverint, aut legitime impediti in privatis domibus ad Deum preces pro sanctae Fidei propagatione effuderint; est etiam animabus in Purgatorio detentis applicabilis.—Ex Aud. Pii VI., 12 Jan. 1783.

QUAEDAM INDULGENTIAE PROVINCIAE DUBLINIENSI OLIM PECULIARES, EX INDULTO AUTEM, DIEI 18 MARTII, 1832, (INFRA. CIT.) AD OMNES ET SINGULAS DIOECESES EXTENSAE.

Indulgentia plenaria in perpetuum Christi-fidelib. utriusque sexus conceditur, qui vere poenitentes, confessi ac sacra Communione refecti aliquam ex Ecclesiis Parochialibus Civitatis Dubliniensis devote visitaverint, in sequentibus Solemnit. sc. Nativitatis Domini, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis, Pentecostis, et Corporis Christi; ac insuper in quinque principalioribus festis B. Virginis, necnon in festo Omnium Sanctorum.—Ex Aud. Clementis XIV. 4 Aug. 1771.

Alia Plenaria Fidelibus hujus Provinciae conceditur Dubliniensis in quinque principalioribus Festis B. Virg. Mariae, nempe in festo ejus Annunciationis et Assumptionis, ac in tribus festis minus solemnibus nec obligatoriis, Conceptionis, scilicet, Nativitatis et Purificationis, vel in Dominica immediate subsequente, omnibus Christi fidelibus qui vere Poenitentes confessi Sacraque Communione refecti aliquam Ecclesiam Parochialem visitaverint. Haec in suffragium pro defunctis est applicabilis.—Ex Aud. Pii VI., 11 Jun. 1780.

In prima Dominica cujuslibet Mensis, Indulgentia Plen. Fidelibus impertitur, qui vere poenitentes et Sacramentis refecti unam ex Ecclesiis Parochialibus Civitatis Dublinii devote visitaverint, ibique per aliquod temporis spatium pias ad Deum preces effuderint pro sanctae Fidei propagatione; haec autem Indulgentia per modum suffragii ad defunctos extenditur.—Pius VI., 12 Jan. 1783.

Ex Audientia Ssmi Habita Die 18 Martii, 1832.

Ad humillimas preces RR. PP. DD. Archiepiscoporum Armacanus, Casseliensis, et Tuamensis, Metropolitarum, necnon omnium Episcoporum, Ssmus. Dominus noster Gregorius, Divina Provid. PP. XVI., referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congreg. de Propaganda Fide Secretario, extendit ad omnes et singulas Dioeceses in memoratis Archiepiscopatibus existentes, omnes et singulas Indulgentias tam plenarias quam partiales et jam alias a Sancta Sede concessas provinciae Dubliniensi, dummodo ea serventur quae pro lucrandis eisdem Indulgentiis ab eadem Sancta Sede praescripta sunt, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Ædibus dictae S. Congregationis, die et anno, quibus supra.

Loco ✠ sigilli. Castrutius Castracane, *Secr.*

Concordat cum Originali, Thomas Kelly,
Archiep. Armacan.

Considering, then, the terms in which the above-mentioned Indulgences were granted, it appears that something besides Confession and Communion set down in the contracted form of the Ordo (p. xii.) is necessary to gain them; but the requirements vary. It appears (1st) that no visit is necessary to gain the Indulgences attached to the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul and to the days within its Octave. It also appears (2ndly) that no visit is required for the Indulgence attached to the Feast and Octave of St. Patrick. (3rdly) In the cases of Indulgences attached to the Festivals of Patrons of Churches and Oratories, a visit is not necessary for those *legitimately hindered.* It appears (4thly) that in all other cases a visit is necessary. In Dublin,

"ad aliquam Ecclesiam Parochialem civitatis Dubliniensis," that is to say, to some parochial church of the Diocese of Dublin, for *civitas* means diocese, not city. In every other diocese of Ireland the same Indulgences, including that of the first Sunday of the month, may be gained by a visit to any of the parochial churches of that diocese, and the performance of the required prayers as in Dublin. It may, perhaps, be useful to add that actual confession is not always necessary to gain an Indulgence, but only to have confessed during the week, and to be in a state of grace, as appears from the subjoined decree.

Hisce enumerandum est decretum S. C. Indulgentiarum quo indulsit omnibus Christi Fidelibus, qui frequenti confessione animam studentes expiare semel saltem in hebdomada ad sacramentum Penitentiae accedere nisi legitime impediantur, consueverunt, et nullius lethalis culpae a se post peractam confessionem commissae sibi conscii sunt, ut omnes et quascunque Indulgentias consequi possint, etiam sine actuali confessione quae coeteroquin juxta prioris decreti definitionem ad eas lucrandas necessaria esset. Nihil tamen innovando circa Indulgentias Jubilaei aliasque ad instar Jubilaei concessas pro quibus assequendis sicut et alia opera injuncta ita et sacramentalis confessio, tempore in earum concessione praescripta peragantur. S. C. Ingulg. 9 Dec., 1763. Approb. a Clementi XIII.

Sincerely yours,

MATTHEW CANON KEOGH.

In connection with the questions just treated, we print a Document granting similar Indulgences specially to Maynooth College.

INDULGENTIAE CONCESSAE COLLEGIO S. PATRITII APUD MAYNOOTH.

Ex audientia SSmi habita die 27 Aprilis, 1834.

SSmus Dominus Noster Gregorius Divina Providentia PP. XVI., referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide secretario, omnibus et singulis fidelibus degentibus in Collegio de Maynooth, Dioecesis Dublinensis, qui, vere poenitentes, confessi, ac Sacra Communione refecti, aliquam Ecclesiam, vel Oratorium, aut Capellam devote visitaverint diebus festis sequentibus, scilicet Nativitatis, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Pentecostis, Sanctissimi Corporis Christi, Omnium Sanctorum, Annuntiationis, Assumptionis, Conceptionis, Nativitatis, ac Purificationis, Beatae Mariae Virginis, cum facultate transferendi ad Dominicas sequentes duas postremas festivitates ibique per aliquod temporis spatium pias ad Deum preces effuderint

pro Sanctae Fidei propagatione, Plenariam Indulgentiam, applicabilem quoque per modum suffragii animabus in Purgatorio detentis, benigne concedit atque in Domino misericorditer impertitur et in perpetuam valituram.

Datum Romae ex aedibus dictae Sacrae Congregationis die et anno quibus supra.

Gratis sine ulla omnino solutione quocumque titulo.

Angelus Maius, *Secretarius.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

Presentation Nuns.

Rev. Sir.—In the year 1805, Pius VII. raised the Institute of the Presentation Nuns to the rank of a regular order of the Church, and recognised or sanctioned their vows as *solemn*. Up to that time, the nature of the obligation in reference to the divine office had been clearly defined by the constitutions of the Institute. Of late, it appears that some difference of opinion prevails regarding the obligation at present imposed on the solemnly professed choir sisters regarding the divine office. The reasons for holding that the obligation is sub gravi, appear to be very weighty.

1. In 1852, the following response, which enunciates a principle, was given by the S. Poenit. to a French Bishop: "Moniales votis solemnibus obstrictas teneri sub gravi quotidie officium recitare ex consuetudine jam praescripta..." &c.

2. An *a pari* argument may be drawn from the case of the Nuns of the Visitation Order, who recite the small office of the Blessed Virgin and are bound to it, sub gravi. (Konings, vol. 1, p. 468, Gury, Casus. Cons. part II. n. 129).

3. On the principle that all *religious* utriusque sexus *solemnly* professed and *bound to choir* are strictly obliged to recite the divine office, it would seem that the Presentation Nuns are *strictly* bound to recite the office of the Blessed Virgin, which in their case is substituted for the larger office.

Some editions of Gury contain a note, that is calculated to mislead.

For a long time, the present writer laboured under the impression, that the obligation discussed was at most sub levi. You would much oblige some clerical friends of mine, if you would look over F. Gautrelet's treatise de l'état relig., and give us your opinion on this practical question. Perhaps you may have met with some recent decision of the S. Poenit. that would decide the matter.—Yours, W. R.

[We owe the following answer to the kindness of a revered Correspondent who is well versed in the obligations of Religious.—Ed. I.E.R.]

Our correspondent is quite correct in his statement that His Holiness Pius VII., when confirming the Rules and Institute of the Presentation Nuns in Ireland, by Brief of 9th April, 1805, recognized their act of profession as "the solemn profession of religious vows," and we may infer from this at least that the vows of the sisterhood have the merit and the dignity of solemn vows. However, according to the technical or canonical acceptance of the term "solemn vows," in the Sacred Congregations of Rome at the present day, the vows of our Presentation Nuns cannot be considered solemn. The condition of Papal or strict inclosure is at present required in the religious communities of Nuns as a necessary condition for solemn vows. Such inclosure does not form part of the Presentation Rules, and indeed may be said to be incompatible with their Institute in this country, engaged as the Sisters are in the instruction of poor children in National Schools and other similar institutions.

As regards the recitation of the Divine Office their Rule expressly assigns the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin to be daily recited by them. It is one of the daily duties, precisely as Meditation, the hearing of Mass, or the other acts of Religion prescribed by the Rule. It is even made subordinate to other duties: "those whose duty occupies them elsewhere, or who are otherwise prevented from assisting in choir, shall say it when convenient." (*Directory for the Religious*, part 2, chap. 8). There is nothing in this to show that the recitation of the office each day is a matter of grave obligation.

The Presentation Nuns are not bound by Papal or strict inclosure so far as relates to their communication with externs or seculars. They are bound by their rule as a matter of grave duty to remain within the Convent premises, and it is only by Episcopal dispensation that in particular cases a temporary relaxation of this rule is permitted. It may be well to add, that the same holds good of some at least of the other cloistered communities in this kingdom. The Presentation Rule is admirably suited to the conditions of the country, as is sufficiently proved by the abundant fruits with which in the past, as at present, it has enriched the Irish Church.

As we have not leisure just now to peruse the excellent

treatise of M. Gautrelet, we would recommend its perusal to our esteemed correspondent, with this caution, that the principles laid down in regard to religious communities in countries where the Papal inclosure exists, are not to be too rudely applied to missionary countries.

II.

Rev. Dear Sir—Kindly give your opinion on the following case in the next number of the Record. It regards a *malâ fide* clandestine marriage. There are three neighbouring parishes which we may designate A, B, and C. The *sponsa* belonged to A. The *sponsus* to B. The marriage ceremony was performed *invalidly* in C. After the invalid marriage the *sponsa* went to reside with the *sponsus* in B. After a little time, when the invalidity of the marriage became manifest, the Parochus of A. wrote to the Parochus of B., giving the latter permission to validate the marriage. The Parochus of B. replied that he needed no authorization from the Parochus of A, because *both* parties were now his parishioners. For, he contended, not only the *sponsus*, but also the *sponsa* had now a domicile in his parish, just as she would be admitted to have, if the invalidity of the marriage had not been discovered for several years. The Parochus of A. rejoins that a residence of a few days in B., following a *malâ fide* invalid marriage in C., cannot be sufficient to constitute a domicile, just as a few days' residence by the *sponsa* in the parish of the *sponsus*, after an elopement, cannot give her a domicile there.

Please say which Parochus holds the correct opinion?

Parochus.

In reference to the above case as stated in full by the querist, we think that the Parish Priest of B. parish can lawfully convalidate the marriage whether entered into *bonâ-fide* or *malâ fide*, in C. parish; and the reason is, because in the case made both the parties by actual residence with the absolute intention of living there in future have become his parishioners.

In all circumstances a domicile for the purposes of marriage is acquired by this actual residence with the intention of thenceforward living in that place.

(1) Hence a woman by her marriage acquires her husband's domicile only when she comes to live in the house of her husband.

(2) If a woman choose to leave her father's house and parish to become the perpetual concubine of a man in another parish, or if she lives with him after a marriage before a registrar, she can even after a few days' residence

be validly and lawfully married by the Parish Priest on the usual conditions of temporary separation if prescribed, &c., &c.

(3) For the same reason, if a man and woman live together in parish B. after an invalid marriage elsewhere, and have the *absolute* intention of continuing to live together there in any case, both have a domicile in that parish, and should be married by the Parish Priest of that parish; and this holds, except the girl returns home and makes marriage the condition of continuing to live with her husband. It must be added, however, that in all such cases the intention must be proved and not presumed. In any case of doubt the original Parish Priest would retain his right.

The apparently parallel case of the elopement is not to the point. The girl intends in the case of an elopement, even if she elopes to the house of her future husband, to acquire her domicile only *through and after her marriage.* For the present she only intends to put pressure on her friends to give their consent; but she has no intention now and thenceforward, married or not, to live in that house as in her own home. If she had, it would be the same as case (2) mentioned above. J. Healy.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Prisoners of the King, by Henry James Coleridge, S.J. London: Burns & Oates, 1882.

This is a charming little book. "The Prisoners of the King" are the holy souls in purgatory, and the author's purpose is to apply the miracles of our Lord to illustrate the doctrine of purgatory, and at the same time to induce the faithful to succour the prisoners by their prayers and other works of charity. The idea is new, and has been carried out felicitously. We have first an explanation of the miracle in all its details, the principal moral lesson is developed with more or less fulness according to circumstances, and then it is applied to illustrate some point of doctrine, or phase of suffering, or else to suggest some means or motive for aiding the prisoners of the King. The book is very readable, the style is limpid, and the thoughts in many cases striking and original. If one begins a chapter he will surely finish it, and derive from its perusal both information and edification. We can strongly recommend it as a

useful little book to priests in preparing their instructions on our Saviour's miracles, and to all persons as an admirable little book for spiritual reading. It contains an explanation of 41 miracles of our Lord, in as many chapters, following in chronological order. The explanation in every case is full, accurate, and clear; we cannot agree, however, with Father Coleridge in thinking that the translation of our Lord's reply to the Blessed Virgin at the marriage feast of Cana, "What have I to do with thee?" is not a wrong interpretation. It is wrong and misleading, in our opinion, for it would imply that his divine Mother as such had no special claim to influence over her son. "What is [the failing of the wine] to me and to thee?" brings out the idea exactly, and certainly in no way savours of a want of due respect by the language used. It is a very different thing to say to a person, "What have I to do with you?" and, "What concern of yours or mine is this?"—J. H.

The Queen's Colleges and the Fellowships of the Royal University, by "Fair Play." Dublin: Ponsonby.

This is a republication, with considerable additions, of "Fair Play's" letters, published in the *Freeman's Journal*. The author certainly makes an unanswerable case against the Queen's Colleges participating in the endowment of the Royal University. "Let justice be done" is all he asks; let the competitors in honourable emulation start, not on equal terms, for the Queen's Colleges have already got the lion's share, but let not the existing injustice be augmented. The Queen's Colleges, he says, and proves, have no moral right to one shilling of the new endowment. They have enough already: they have not asked Parliament for more, the present grant was not intended for them, and to give it would be an outrage on justice, and an insult to the nation. The writer's arguments cannot be gainsayed; and if logic and justice were to sway the Councils of the Senate, the Queen's College Professors would not get the price of a new suit of clothes, except by earning it, from the funds of the Royal University.—Ed.

A Concise History of England to A.D. 1815. P. W. Joyce, LL.D., M.R.I.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

Dr. Joyce's book is intended chiefly for schools. He has done, we think with success, what it is no easy matter to do, to crush the History of England into a small volume. The arrangement of matter seems very excellent. Each paragraph gets a sort of title, which, being printed in prominent type, forms a useful compendium of the whole. The more important dates also are marked on the margin. This must make the work of preparing for examination much easier. The history appears to be absolutely fair to all creeds and parties.—Mc.

History of England, from the Roman Period to the Wars of the Roses. T. J. Livesey. London: Burns & Oates.

This little volume is the second number of the Granville Series of History Readers, published with the very laudable object of supplying children with sound Catholic ideas on historical questions. Those who know Irish schools well, have very little confidence in the histories used by many of them. Masters are not asked, as they might well be asked if necessary, to sacrifice any degree of efficiency. The volume before us gives, as far as it goes, a very full account of all the leading events. The poetry and engravings are sure to have a charm for young students, and will relieve the monotony of serious study. The third number of this series will complete what, we feel confident, will be found a very useful history of England.—Mc.

Résurrection de Julien L'Apostat. Par Le Père Rogey. Paris: Jules Gervais.

Père Rogey divides his book into two parts: in the first he tells us the history of Julian the Apostate and his persecution: in the second he traces the causes of what he well terms the Resurrection of the same tyrant in the 19th century. In this second part we would draw special attention to Chapter IV., on Protestantism. The author is manifestly not much in love with Liberals of any shade, whether in religion or politics. He traces very ably the present persecution of the Church to the spirit of the Reformation, and illustrates his argument by quotations from recent speeches and writings of leading infidels in France. Referring to the present condition of Ireland, he shows that persecution always was, and still is, the one great policy of Protestant England. We fear, however, that Père Rogey's plan would scarcely put an end to our agrarian difficulties; for many persons think—to our shame be it said—that Catholics have not always been the best landlords in this unhappy country. Père Rogey's book contains a good deal of useful reading; it will not give much assistance to the views of those who think that, for the ills of Catholic Ireland, the only remedy is to be found in an alliance with the Liberal Party.—Mc.

Guide to the Solemn Mass and Vesper Service for all Sundays and Festivals for the Year 1882. Compiled, according to the "Irish Catholic Directory," for the Use of Organists and Choristers, by the Very Rev. N. Donnelly. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1882.

We are glad to learn from the Preface to this useful little Guide that at least in one diocese in Ireland it is a very general usage that the Introits, Graduals, Offertories, etc., are sung in Solemn Mass, and that Vespers are chanted according to the Office of the day, with the proper Antiphons, Psalms, Versicles, Hymns, Commemorations, etc., as they occur in the Breviary. There can be, we trust, but little doubt that this general usage would soon

become universal, if only the means of observing it were more generally brought within the reach of those on whose cordial co-operation the practical compliance with the requirements of ecclesiastical law in the matter of Church Music must mainly depend.

"To most organists and choristers," as the zealous compiler of this Guide points out in his Preface, "this compliance with Ecclesiastical law is not an easy task; and," he adds, "it is to render it more feasible that I have undertaken to compile this little Calendar or Guide."

Although the "Guide" is thus intended mainly as a Calendar, setting forth, most clearly indeed and most fully, the details of the Mass and Vesper service for each Sunday and Festival for the remainder of the current year, it cannot fail to prove of great practical utility also in another way. It instructs both organists and choristers in the use of the officially authorised liturgical choral books. And it also brings into notice the *Manuale Vespertinum*, a work which, as a guide in the congregational chanting of the Vesper Psalms, whether in ecclesiastical Colleges or among the faithful in our public churches, is beyond question one of the most useful fruits of that great movement of liturgical reform which, although of such recent origin, has already wrought such happy results in removing from our churches the music of the concert room and of the theatre.

It is of good omen that the little work before us may be welcomed as the first fruits of the pastoral zeal of its learned author, brought forth amid the responsibilities of the new duties to the discharge of which he has recently been called by the Ordinary of his diocese. It has been published, as we learn from the Preface, by the new Parish Priest of Rathgar, and sent forth from his Church of "The Three Patrons," on St. Bridget's Day. We can have no doubt that a work issued under such happy auspices will meet with the success to which its merits, unpretending as it is, so eminently entitle it.—W. J. W.

In addition to the foregoing we have received from Messrs. Burns & Oates during this month, but too late for more than the briefest acknowledgment, the *Catechism Made Easy*, by the Rev. Henry Gibson. Second Edition. 2 Vols. From a hasty glance at the contents, it seems to us to be specially distinguished by the simplicity of its style, by the aptness of its illustrations, and by the number and appropriateness of its striking Examples. Also *An Exhortation to Frequent Communion*, by Father John Baptist Polacco, Priest of the Oratory of Padua; translated from the Italian by the Rev. George Porter, S.J., and *The Catholic Literary Circular*.

From Messrs. Gill & Son we get *The Girl's Book of Piety at School and at Home*, by the Author of "Golden Grains," translated by Josephine Black—a book admirably adapted to its purpose.—Ed.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1882.

LIGHTNING CONDUCTORS.[1]

DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS OF LIGHTNING.

THE effects of Lgihtning on the bodies that it strikes are analogous to those which may be produced by the discharge of our electric machines and Leyden Jar batteries. When the discharge of a battery traverses a metal conductor, of sufficient dimensions to allow it an easy passage, it makes its way along silently and harmlessly. But if the conductor be so thin as to offer considerable resistance, then the conductor itself is raised to intense heat, and may be melted, or even converted into vapour, by the discharge.

Here is a board on which a number of very thin wires have been stretched, over white paper, between brass balls. The wires are so thin that the full charge of the battery

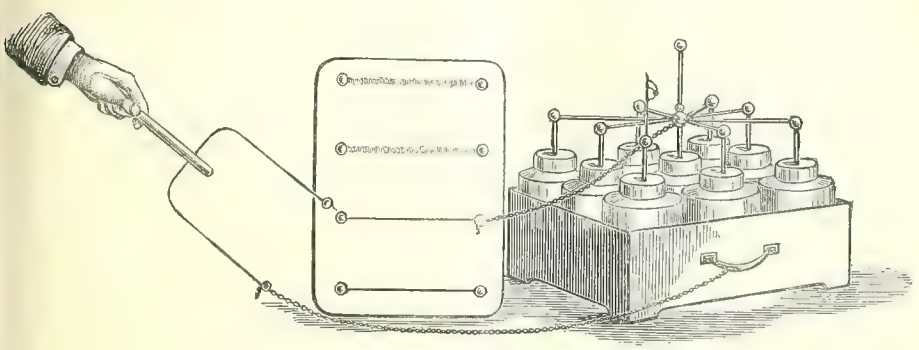


FIG. 1.—DISCHARGE OF ELECTRIC SPARK THROUGH THIN WIRES.

before you, which consists of nine large Leyden Jars, is quite sufficient to convert them, in an instant, into vapour.

[1] A Lecture delivered in the Theatre of the Royal Dublin Society, on Friday, April 8, 1881, by the Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D.

I have already, on former occasions, sent the charge through two of these wires, and nothing remains of them now but the traces of their vapour, which mark the path of the electric discharge from ball to ball. At the present moment the battery stands ready charged, and I am going to discharge it through a third wire, by means of this insulated rod which I hold in my hand. The discharge has passed: you saw a flash, and a little smoke; and now, if you look at the paper, you will find that the wire is gone, but that it has left behind the track of its incandescent vapour, marking the path of the discharge.

We learn from this experiment that the electricity stored up in our battery passes, without visible effect, through the stout wire of a discharging rod, but that it instantly converts into vapour the thin wire stretched across the spark board. And so it is with a flash of Lightning. It passes harmlessly, as every one knows, through a stout metal rod, but when it comes across bell wires or telegraph wires, it melts them, or converts them into vapour. On the sixteenth of July, 1759, a flash of Lightning struck a house in Southwark, on the south side of London, and followed the line of the bell wire. After the Lightning had passed, the wire was no longer to be found; but the path of the Lightning was clearly marked by patches of vapour which were left adhering to the surface of the wall. In the year 1754, the Lightning fell on a bell tower at Newbury, in the United States of America, and having dashed the roof to pieces, and scattered the fragments about, it reached the bell. From this point it followed an iron wire, about as thick as a knitting needle, melting it as it passed along, leaving behind a black streak of vapour on the surface of the walls.

Again, the electric discharge, passing through a bad conductor, produces mechanical disturbance, and, if the substance be combustible, often sets it on fire. So too, as you know, the Lightning flash, falling on a church spire, dashes it to pieces, knocking the stones about in all directions, while it sets fire to ships and wooden buildings; and more than once it has caused great devastation by exploding powder magazines.

Let me give you one or two examples. In January, 1762, the Lightning fell on a church tower in Cornwall, and a stone, three hundred weight, was torn from its place, and hurled to a distance of 180 feet; while a smaller stone was projected as far as 1200 feet from the building. Again, in

1809, the Lightning struck a house not far from Manchester, and literally moved a massive wall, twelve feet high and three feet thick, to a distance of several feet. You may form some conception of the enormous force here brought into action, when I tell you that the total weight of masonwork moved on this occasion was not less than twenty-three tons.

The Church of St. George, at Leicester, was severely damaged by Lightning on the first of August, 1846. About eight o'clock in the evening, the rector of the parish saw a vivid streak of light, darting with incredible velocity against the upper part of the spire. "For the distance of forty feet on the eastern side, and nearly seventy on the west, the massive stone work of the spire was instantly rent asunder, and laid in ruins. Large blocks of stone were hurled in all directions, broken into small fragments, and in some cases, there is reason to believe, reduced to powder. One fragment of considerable size was hurled against the window of a house three hundred feet distant, shattering to pieces the woodwork, and strewing the room within with fine dust and fragments of glass. It has been computed that a hundred tons of stone were, on this occasion, blown to a distance of thirty feet in three seconds. In addition to the shivering of the spire, the pinnacles at the angles of the tower were all more or less damaged, the flying buttresses cracked through and violently shaken, many of the open battlements at the base of the spire knocked away, the roof of the Church completely riddled, the roofs of the side entrances destroyed, and the stone staircases of the gallery shattered."[1]

Lightning has been, at all times, the cause of great damage to property by its power of setting fire to whatever is combustible. Fuller says, in his Church History, that "scarcely a great Abbey exists in England which once, at least, has not been burned by Lightning from heaven." He mentions, as examples, the Abbey of Croyland twice burned, the Monastery of Canterbury twice, the Abbey of Peterborough twice; also the Abbey of St. Mary's, in Yorkshire, the Abbey of Norwich, and several others. Sir William Snow Harris, writing about twenty years ago, tells us that "the number of churches and church spires wholly or partially destroyed by Lightning is beyond all belief,

[1] *The Thunderstorm*, by Charles Tomlinson, F.R.S.; Third Edition, pp. 153-4.

and would be too tedious a detail to enter upon. Within a comparatively few years, in 1822 for instance, we find the magnificent Cathedral of Rouen burned, and so lately as 1850 the beautiful Cathedral of Saragossa, in Spain, struck by Lightning, during Divine Service, and set on fire. In March of last year, a despatch from our Minister at Brussels, Lord Howard de Walden, dated the twenty-fourth of February, was forwarded by Lord Russell to the Royal Society, stating that, on the preceding Sunday, a violent Thunderstorm had spread over Belgium, that twelve churches had been struck by Lightning, and that three of these fine old buildings had been totally destroyed."[1]

Even in our own day, the destruction caused by fires produced through the agency of Lightning is very great; far greater than is commonly supposed. No general record of such fires is kept, and consequently our information on the subject is very incomplete and inexact. I may tell you, however, one small fact which, so far as it goes, is precise enough, and very significant. In the little Province of Schleswig-Holstein, which occupies an area less than one-fourth of the area of Ireland, the Provincial Fire Assurance Association has paid, in sixteen years, for damage caused by Lightning, somewhat over £100,000, or at the rate of more than £6,000 a year. The total loss of property, every year, in this province, due to fires caused by Lightning, is estimated at not less than £12,500.[2]

The destructive effects of Lightning on ships at sea, before the general adoption of Lightning Conductors, seems almost incredible at the present day. From official records it appears that the damage done to the Royal Navy of England alone involved an expenditure of from £6,000 to £10,000 a year. We are told by Sir William Snow Harris, who devoted himself for many years, to this subject, with extraordinary zeal and complete success, that between the year 1810 and the year 1815, that is, within a period of five years, "no less than forty sail of the line, twenty frigates, and twelve sloops and corvettes, were placed *hors de combat* by Lightning. In the Merchant Navy, within a comparatively small number of years, no less than thirty-four ships, most of them large vessels with rich cargoes, have been totally destroyed—being either

[1] *Two Lectures on Atmospheric Electricity and Protection from Lightning;* published at the end of his *Treatise on Frictional Electricity*, p. 273.

[2] See *Report of Lightning Rod Conference*, p. 119.

burned or sunk—to say nothing of a host of vessels partially destroyed or severely damaged."[1]

And these statements, be it observed, make no account of ships that were simply reported as missing, some of which, we can hardly doubt, were struck by Lightning in the open sea, and went down with all hands on board. A famous ship of forty-four guns, the *Resistance*, was struck by Lightning in the Straits of Malacca, and the powder magazine exploding, she went to the bottom. Of her whole crew only three were saved, who happened to be picked up by a passing boat. It has been well observed that were it not for these three chance survivors, nothing would have been known concerning the fate of the vessel, and she would have been simply recorded as missing in the Admiralty lists.

Nothing is more fearful to contemplate than the scene on board a ship when struck by Lightning in the open sea, with the winds howling around, the waves rolling mountains high, the rain coming down in torrents, and the vivid flashes lighting up the gloom at intervals, and carrying death and destruction in their track. I will read you one or two brief accounts of such a scene, given in the pithy but expressive language of the sailor. In January, 1786, the *Thisbe*, of thirty-six guns, was struck by Lightning off the coast of Scilly, and reduced to the condition of a wreck. Here is an extract from the ship's log. "Four a.m. strong gales; handed mainsail and main top-sail; hove to with storm stay-sails. Blowing very heavy, S.E. 4.15, a flash of Lightning, with tremendous Thunder, disabled some of our people. A second flash set the mainsail, main-top, and mizen stay-sails on fire. Obliged to cut away the main-mast; this carried away mizen top-mast and fore top-sail yard. Found foremast also shivered by the Lightning. Fore top-mast went over the side about 9 a.m. Set the foresail."[2]

A few years later, in March, 1796, the *Lowestoffe* was struck in the Mediterranean, and we read as follows in the log of the ship. "North end of Minorca; heavy squalls; hail, rain, Thunder, and Lightning. 12.15, ship struck by Lightning, which knocked three men from the mast-head, one killed. 12.30, ship again struck. Main top-mast shivered in pieces; many men struck senseless on the decks. Ship again struck, and set on fire in the masts and rigging.

[1] Loco citato. [2] Sir William Snow Harris; loco citato, p. 274.

Mainmast shivered in pieces; fore top-mast shivered; men benumbed on the decks, and knocked out of the top, one man killed on the spot. 1.30, cut away the mainmast; employed clearing wreck. 4, moderate; set the foresail."[1]

Again, in 1810, the *Repulse*, a ship of seventy-four guns, was struck, off the coast of Spain. "The wind had been variable in the morning, and at 12.35 there was a heavy squall, with rain, Thunder, and Lightning. The ship was struck by two vivid flashes of Lightning, which shivered the maintop-gallant mast and severely damaged the mainmast. Seven men were killed on the spot; three others only survived a few days; and ten others were maimed for life. After the second discharge, the rain fell in torrents; the ship was more completely crippled than if she had been in action, and the squadron, then engaged on a critical service, lost for a time one of its fastest and best ships."[2]

Not less appalling is the devastation caused by Lightning, when it falls on a powder magazine. Here is a striking example. On the eighteenth of August, 1769, the tower of St. Nazaire, at Brescia, was struck by Lightning. Underneath the tower, about 200,000 pounds of gunpowder, belonging to the Republic of Venice, were stored in vaults. The powder exploded, levelling to the ground a great part of the beautiful city of Brescia, and burying thousands of its inhabitants in the ruins. It is said that the tower itself was blown up bodily to a great height in the air, and came down in a shower of stones.

This is, perhaps, the most fearful disaster, of the kind, on record. But we are not without examples in our own times. In the year 1856, the Lightning fell on the Church of St. John, in the island of Rhodes. A large quantity of gunpowder had been deposited in the vaults of the Church. This was ignited by the flash; the building was reduced to a mass of ruins; a large portion of the town was destroyed; and a considerable number of the inhabitants were killed. Again, in the following year, the magazine of Joudpore, in the Bombay Presidency, was struck by Lightning. Many thousand pounds of gunpowder were blown up; five hundred houses were destroyed; and nearly a thousand people are said to have been killed.[3]

[1] Id. ib. p. 275.

[2] *The Thunderstorm*, by Charles Tomlinson, F.R.S.; Third Edition, p. 172.

[3] See for these facts, Anderson, *Lightning Conductors*, p. 197; Tomlinson, *The Thunderstorm*, pp. 167–9; Harris, loco citato, pp. 273–4.

And now, before proceeding further, I will make one or two experiments with a view of showing that the electricity of our machines is capable of producing effects similar to those produced by Lightning, though immeasurably inferior in point of magnitude. Here is a common tumbler, about three-quarters full of water. Into it I introduce two bent rods of brass, which are carefully insulated, below the surface of the water, by a covering of india rubber. The points, however, are exposed, and come to within an inch of

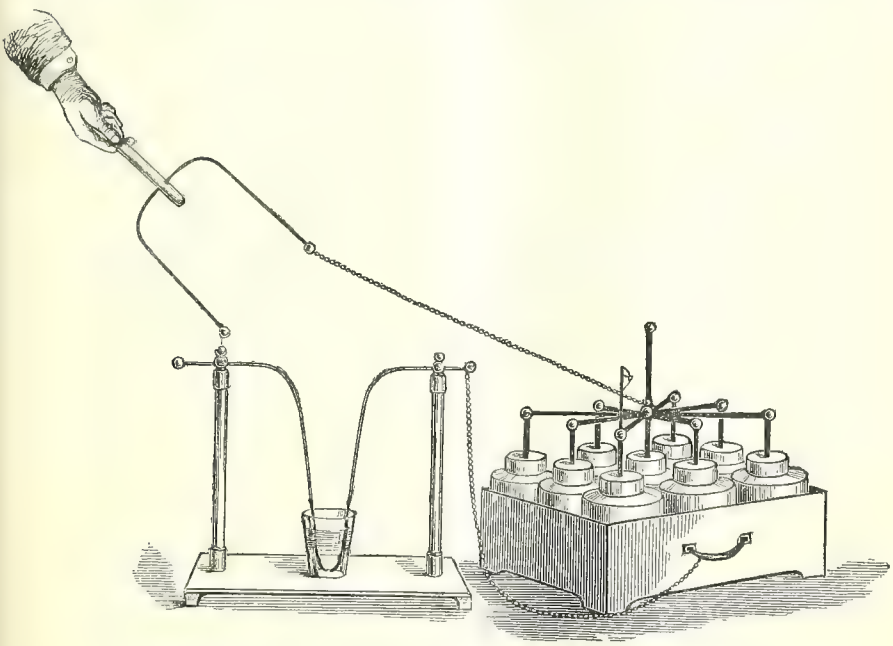


Fig. 2.—Glass Vessel broken by Discharge of Electric Spark.

one another, near the bottom of the tumbler. Outside the tumbler, the brass rods are mounted on a stand, by means of which I can send the full charge of this Leyden jar battery through the water, from point to point. Since water is a bad conductor of electricity, as compared with metals, the charge encounters great resistance in passing through it, and in overcoming this resistance, produces considerable mechanical commotion, which is usually sufficient to shiver the glass to pieces.

To charge the battery will take about twenty turns of this large Holtz machine. Observe how the pith ball of the electroscope rises, as the machine is worked, showing that the charge is going in. And now it remains stationary; which is a sign that the battery is fully charged, and can

receive no more. You will notice that the outside coating of the battery has been already connected with one of the brass rods dipping into the tumbler of water. By means of this discharger I will now bring the inside coating into connection with the other rod. And see, before contact is actually made, the spark has leaped across, and our tumbler is violently burst asunder from top to bottom.

This will probably appear to you a very small affair, when compared with the tearing asunder of solid masonry, and the hurling about of stones by the ton weight. No doubt it is: and that is just one of the lessons we have to learn from the experiment we have made. For, not only does it show us that effects of this kind may be caused by electricity artificially produced, but it brings home forcibly to the mind how incomparably more powerful is the Lightning of the clouds than the electricity of our machines.

The property which electricity has of setting fire to combustible substances may be easily illustrated. This india rubber tube is connected with the gas pipe under the floor ; and to the end of the tube is fitted a brass stop-cock which I hold in my hand. I open the cock, and allow the jet of gas to flow towards the conductor of Carré's machine, while my assistant turns the handle; a spark passes, and the gas is lit. Again, I tie a little gun cotton round one

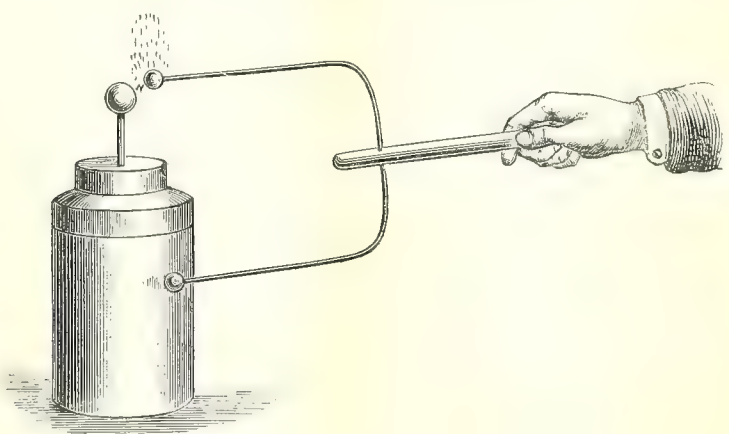


Fig. 3.—Gun-cotton set on Fire by Electric Spark.

knob of the discharging rod, and then use it to discharge a small Leyden jar: at the moment of the discharge, the gun-cotton is set on fire. Once more ; my assistant stands on this insulating stool, placing his hand on the large conductor of Carrè's machine, while I turn the handle. His

body becomes electrified; and when he presents his knuckle to this vessel of spirits of wine, which is electrically connected with the earth, a spark leaps across, and the spirits of wine are at once in a blaze.

It would be easy to explode gunpowder with the electric spark; but the smoke of the explosion would make the Lecture hall very unpleasant for the remainder of the Lecture. I propose, therefore, to substitute for gunpowder an explosive mixture of oxygen and hydrogen, with which I have filled this little metal flask, commonly

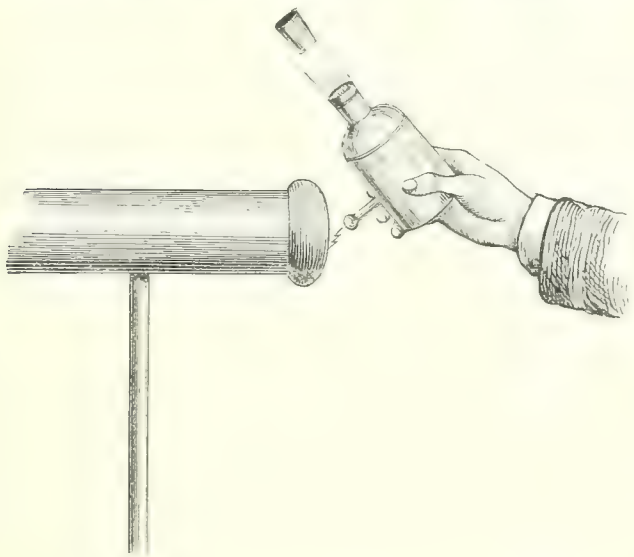


Fig. 4.—Volta's Pistol: Explosion caused by Electric Spark.

known as Volta's pistol. By a very simple contrivance, the electric spark is discharged through the mixture, when I hold the flask towards the conductor of the machine. A cork is fitted tightly into the neck of the flask; and at the moment the spark passes, you hear a loud explosion, and you see the cork driven violently up to the ceiling.

The last effect of Lightning to which I shall refer, and which, perhaps, more than any other, strikes us with terror, is the sudden and utter extinction of life, when the Lightning flash descends on man or on beast. So swift is this effect, in most cases, that death is, in all probability, absolutely painless, and the victim is already dead before he can feel that he is struck. I cannot give you, with any degree of exactness, the number of people killed every year by

Lightning; because the record of such deaths has been hitherto very imperfectly kept in almost all countries, and is, beyond doubt, very incomplete. But perhaps you will be suprised to learn that the number of deaths by Lightning actually recorded in England is, on an average, about 22 every year, in France 80, in Prussia 110, in Austria 212, in European Russia 440.[1]

So far as can be gathered from the existing sources of information, it would seem that the number of persons killed by Lightning, is, on the whole, about one in three of those who are struck. The rest are sometimes only stunned, sometimes more or less burned, sometimes made deaf for a time, sometimes partially paralyzed. On particular occasions, however, especially when the Lightning falls on a large assembly of people, the number of persons struck down and slightly injured, in proportion to the number killed, is very much increased. An interesting case of this kind is reported by Mr. Tomlinson. "On the twenty-ninth of August, 1847, at the parish church of Welton, Lincolnshire, while the congregation were engaged in singing the hymn before the sermon, and the Rev. Mr. Williamson had just ascended the pulpit, the Lightning was seen to enter the church from the belfry, and instantly an explosion occurred in the centre of the edifice. All that could move made for the door, and Mr. Williamson descended from the pulpit, endeavouring to allay the fears of the people. But attention was now called to the fact that several of the congregation were lying in different parts of the church, apparently dead, some of whom had their clothing on fire. Five women were found injured, and having their faces blackened and burned: and a boy had his clothes almost entirely consumed. A respected old parishioner, Mr. Brownlow, aged sixty-eight, was discovered lying at the bottom of his pew, immediately beneath one of the chandeliers, quite dead. There were no marks on the body; but the buttons of his waistcoat were melted, the right leg of his trousers torn down, and his coat literally burnt off. His wife in the same pew received no injury."

Not less striking is the story told by Dr. Plummer, surgeon of the Illinois Volunteers, in the *Medical and Surgical Reporter* of June 19, 1865. "Our regiment was

[1] See Anderson, *Lightning Conductors*, pp. 170–5.
[2] *The Thunderstorm*, pp. 158–9.

yesterday the scene of one of the most terrible calamities which it has been my lot to witness. About two o'clock a violent Thunderstorm visited us. While the old guard was being turned out to receive the new, a blinding flash of Lightning was seen, accompanied instantly by a terrific peal of Thunder. The whole of the old guard, together with part of the new, were thrown violently to the earth. The shock was so severe and sudden that, in most cases, the rear rank men were thrown across the front rank men. One man was instantly killed, and thirty-two men were more or less severely burned by the electric fluid. In some instances the men's boots and shoes were rent from their feet and torn to pieces, and, strange as it may appear, the men were injured but little in the feet. In all cases the burns appear as if they had been caused by scalding-hot water, in many instances the skin being shrivelled and torn off. The men all seem to be doing well, and a part of them will be able to resume their duties in a few days."

It sometimes happens that people are struck down, and even killed, at the moment a discharge of Lightning takes place between a cloud and the earth, though they are very far from the point where the flash is actually seen to pass; while others, who are situated between them and the Lightning, suffer very little, or perhaps not at all. This curious phenomenon was first carefully investigated by Lord Mahon, in the year 1779, and called by him the Return Shock. His theory, which is now commonly accepted, may be easily understood, with the aid of the sketch before you.

Let us suppose ABC to represent the outline of a Thundercloud, which dips down to the earth at A and at C. The electricity of the cloud develops, by inductive action, a charge of the opposite kind in the earth beneath it. But the inductive action is most powerful at E and F, where the cloud comes nearest to the earth. Hence bodies situated near these points may be very highly electrified, as compared with bodies at a point between them, such as D. Now when a flash of Lightning passes at E, the under part of the cloud is at once relieved of its electricity; its inductive action ceases; and therefore a person situated at F suddenly ceases to be electrified. This sudden change, from a highly electrified to a neutral state, involves a shock to his system, which may be severe enough to stun or even to kill him. Meanwhile, people at D, having been also

electrified, to some extent, by the influence of the Thunder-cloud, must, in like manner, undergo a change in their

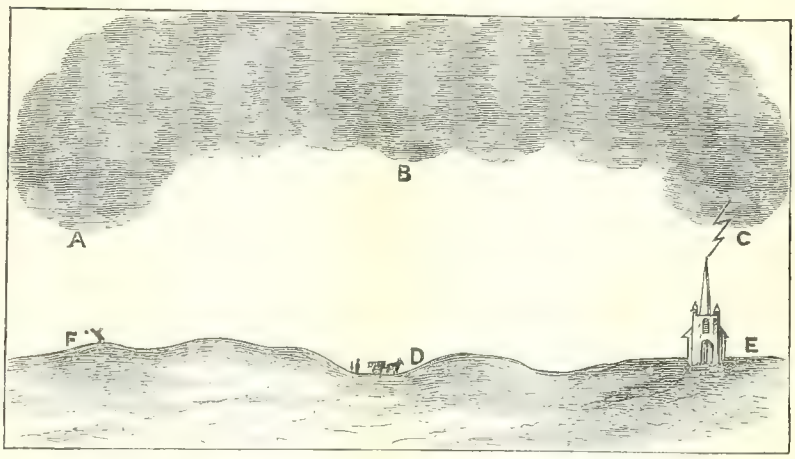


Fig. 5.—The Return Shock Illustrated.

electrical condition, when the flash of Lightning passes: but this change will be less violent, because they were less highly electrified.

Many experiments have been devised to illustrate this theory of Lord Mahon. But the best illustration I know is furnished by this electric machine of Carré's. If you stand near one end of the large conductor, when the machine is in action, and sparks are taken from the other end, you will feel a distinct electric shock every time a spark passes. The large conductor here takes the place of the cloud; the spark that passes, at one end, represents the flash of Lightning; and the observer, at the other end, gets the Return Shock, though he is at a considerable distance from the point where the flash is seen.

An experiment of this kind, of course, cannot be made sensible to a large audience like the present. But I can give you a good idea of the effect, by means of this tuft of coloured papers. While the machine is in action, I hold the tuft of papers near that end of the conductor which is farthest from the point where the discharge takes place. You see the paper ribbons are electrified by induction, and, in virtue of mutual repulsion, stand out from one another, "like quills upon the fretful porcupine." But when a spark passes, the inductive action ceases; the paper ribbons cease to be electrified; and the whole tuft suddenly collapses into its normal state.

While fully accepting Lord Mahon's theory of the Return Shock as perfectly good, so far as it goes, I would venture to point out another influence, which must often contribute largely to produce the effect in question, and which is not dependent on the form of the cloud. It may easily happen, from the nature of the surface in the district affected by a Thundercloud, that the point of most intense electrification, say E in the figure, is in good electrical communication with a distant point, such as F, while it is very imperfectly connected with a much nearer point, D. In such a case, it is evident that bodies at F will share largely in the highly electrified condition of E, and also share largely in the sudden change of that condition, the moment the flash of Lightning passes: whereas, bodies at D will be less highly electrified before the discharge, and less violently disturbed when the discharge takes place.

This principle may be illustrated by a very simple experiment. Here is a brass chain about twenty feet long. One end of it I hand to any one amongst the audience who will kindly take hold of it: the other end I hold in my hand. I now stand near the conductor of the machine; and will ask some one to stand about ten feet away from me, near the middle of the chain, but without touching it. Now, observe what happens when the machine is worked, and I take a spark from the conductor. My friend at the far end of the chain, twenty feet away, gets a shock nearly as severe as the one I get myself; because he is in good electrical communication with the point where the discharge takes place. But my more fortunate friend, who is ten feet nearer to the flash, is hardly sensible of any effect; because he is connected with me only through the floor of the hall, which is, comparatively speaking, a bad conductor of electricity.

Let me now briefly sum up the chief destructive effects of Lightning. First, with regard to good conductors: though it passes harmlessly through them, if they be large enough to afford it an easy passage, it melts and converts them into vapour, if they be of such small dimensions as to offer considerable resistance. Secondly, Lightning acts with great mechanical force on bad conductors; it is capable of tearing asunder large masses of masonry, and of projecting the fragments to a considerable distance. Thirdly, it sets fire to combustible materials. And Lastly, it causes the instantaneous death of men and animals.

FIRST INTRODUCTION OF LIGHTNING CONDUCTORS.

The object of Lightning Conductors is to protect life and property from these destructive effects. Their use was first suggested by Franklin, in 1749, even before his famous experiment with the kite: and immediately after that experiment, in 1752, he set up, on his own house in Philadelphia, the first Lightning Conductor ever made. He even devised an ingenious contrivance, by means of which he received notice when a Thundercloud was approaching. The contrivance consisted of a peal of bells, which he hung on his Lightning Conductor, and which was set ringing whenever the Lightning Conductor became charged with electricity.

Franklin's Lightning Conductors were soon adopted in America; and he himself contributed very much to their popularity by the simple and lucid instructions he issued every year, for the benefit of his countrymen, in the annual publication known as Poor Richard's Almanac. It is very interesting, at this distance of time, to read the homely practical rules laid down by this great philosopher and statesman; and, though some modifications have been suggested by the experience of a hundred and twenty years, especially as regards the dimensions of the Lightning Conductor, it is very surprising to find how accurately the general principles of its construction, and of its action, are here set forth.

"It has pleased God," he says, in His goodness to mankind, at length to discover to them the means of securing their habitations and other buildings from mischief by Thunder and Lightning. The method is this:—Provide a small iron rod, which may be made of the rod-iron used by nailors, but of such a length that one end being three or four feet in the moist ground, the other may be six or eight feet above the highest part of the building. To the upper end of the rod fasten about a foot of brass wire, the size of a common knitting needle, sharpened to a fine point: the rod may be secured on the house by a few small staples. If the house or barn be long, there may be a rod and point at each end, and a middling wire along the ridge from one to the other. A house thus furnished will not be damaged by Lightning, it being attracted by the points and passing through the metal, into the ground, without hurting anything. Vessels also having a sharp pointed rod fixed on the top of their masts, with a wire from the foot

of the rod reaching down round one of the shrouds to the water, will not be hurt by Lightning."

The progress of Lightning Conductors was more slow in England, and on the Continent of Europe, owing to a fear, not unnatural, that they might, in some cases, draw down the Lightning where it would not otherwise have fallen. People preferred to take their chance of escaping as they had escaped before, rather than to invite, as it were, the Lightning to descend on their houses, in the hope that an iron rod would convey it harmless to the earth. But the immense amount of damage done, every year, by Lightning, soon led practical men to entertain a proposal which offered complete immunity from all danger, on such easy terms; and when it was found that buildings protected by Lightning Conductors were, over and over again, struck by Lightning without suffering any harm, a general conviction of their utility was gradually established in the public mind.

The first public building protected by a Lightning Conductor, in England, was St. Paul's Cathedral, in London. On the eighteenth of June, 1764, the beautiful steeple of Saint Bride's Church, in the city, was struck by Lightning, and reduced to ruin. This incident awakened the attention of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the danger of a similar calamity, which seemed, as it were, impending over their own church. After long deliberation, they referred the matter to the Royal Society, asking for advice and instruction. A committee of scientific men was appointed, by the Royal Society, to consider the question. Benjamin Franklin himself, who happened to be in London at the time, as the representative of the American States, in their dispute with England, was nominated a member of the committee. And the result of its deliberation was that, in the year 1769, a number of Lightning Conductors were erected on St. Paul's Cathedral.

It was on this occasion that arose the celebrated controversy about the respective merits of points and balls. Franklin had recommended a pointed conductor; but some members of the committee were of opinion that the conductor should end in a ball and not in a point. The decision of the committee was in favour of Franklin's opinion; and pointed conductors were accordingly adopted for St. Paul's. But the controversy did not end here. The time was one of great political excitement, and party spirit infused itself even into the peaceful discussions of science.

The weight of scientific opinion was on the side of Franklin; but it was hinted, on the other side, that the pointed conductors were tainted with republicanism, and pregnant with danger to the empire. As a rule, the Whigs were strongly in favour of points; while the Tories were enthusiastic in their support of balls.

For a time the Tories seemed to prevail. The king was on their side. Experiments on a grand scale were conducted, in his presence, at the Pantheon, a large building in Oxford-street: he was assured that these experiments proved the great superiority of balls over points; and to give practical effect to his convictions, his Majesty directed that a large cannon ball should be fixed on the end of the Lightning Conductor attached to the Royal Palace at Kew. But the committee of the Royal Society remained unconvinced. In course of time the heat of party spirit abated: experience as well as reason was found to be in favour of Franklin's views: and the battle of the balls and points has, long since, passed into the domain of history.[1]

(To be continued).

ON THE HOUR OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

TO those who have given any special attention to the study of that deeply interesting branch of Scriptural science, the "Harmony" of the Gospels, it is well known that there are few points of Christian erudition involved in a more perplexing conflict of contending views than that to the examination of which I purpose to devote the following pages. It would not, indeed, be easy to present an exposition of the controversy, at once satisfactory and brief. It would be impossible to deal with it exhaustively within the limits necessarily determined by the exigencies of space in the pages of the RECORD. Abstaining, therefore, of necessity, from undertaking to present even a general outline of the various questions that it involves, and of the numerous opinions that have been formed regarding them, I shall aim merely at calling attention, in somewhat full detail, to

[1] See Anderson, *Lightning Conductors*, pp. 40-2; *Lightning Rod Conference*, pp. 76-9; *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1773, p. 42, and 1778, Part i., p. 232.

a few of the more important aspects of the case. In some respects this Paper must be regarded as to a certain extent supplementary to a more summary statement of those points, set forth in a Note on the subject published, a few years ago, elsewhere.[1] But I shall endeavour to make it, as far as possible, complete in itself.

The difficulty to be dealt with is, beyond question, a serious one. "Difficilis est quaestio," is the judgment of Maldonatus. "Difficultas," Cardinal Toletus says of it, "quae maxima antiquorum et recentiorum exercuit ingenia." And, coming down to modern times, we find Patrizi expressing his conviction that it is a difficulty out of which there is absolutely no way, except on the supposition that some corruption has found its way into the sacred text, two passages of which, as they stand, he regards as irreconcilable.

The difficulty arises on a comparison of three texts in the Gospel narratives of the Passion: one in St. Matthew's Gospel, one in St. Mark's, the third in St. John's. It regards more especially the mode of reconciling the two latter texts.

In St. Matthew's narrative (xxvii. 45-50) we read as follows:—

"Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the earth, until the ninth hour.

"And about the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying: Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani? that is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? . . . .

"And Jesus again crying with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost."

The darkness, then, that accompanied our Lord's crucifixion began about "the *sixth* hour," that is to say, as those words are generally interpreted, about 12 o'clock, at noon. And it continued until "the *ninth* hour," that is to say—following the same method of interpretation—until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. About this hour, then, it is plainly implied, though not, indeed, expressly stated, in St. Matthew's narrative, that our Lord expired on the cross

So far, no difficulty arises. And here, before proceeding to transcribe the corresponding passage of the narra-

[1] *Harmony of the Gospel Narratives of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Blessed Lord.* From the Vulgate, with English Notes Dublin, 1879.

tive of St. Mark, it may be interesting to examine the evidence by which it is established that, in the Jewish mode of numbering the hours, the "sixth," and the "ninth" hours, designated ,respectively, mid-day, and 3 o'clock p.m

It is certain, in the first place, that, in the system followed by the Jews at the time of our Lord's ministry on earth, the hours of the day were, as they now are with us, *twelve* in number. "Are there not *twelve hours* of the day?"[1] asked our Lord, in His discourse recorded in the 11th chapter of St. John's Gospel. And, it may be well to add, the words that immediately follow leave no doubt that the Day thus spoken of by our Lord, designates, not the whole period corresponding with our twenty-four hours, but only that portion of it which, in the more restricted sense of the word, is termed Day, as distinguished from Night. The passage is as follows:—"Are there not *twelve hours* of *the day?* If a man walk in *the day*, he stumbleth not, because he seeth *the light* of this world: but if he walk in *the night*, he stumbleth, because *the light* is not in him."[2] Manifestly, for the purpose for which they are here quoted, those words need no commentary.

It is equally certain that, in the Jewish method of designating the hours, the numbering from one to twelve did not go on, as it now does with us, from midnight to mid-day or from mid-day to midnight, but *from morning to evening.* On this point no evidence could be more distinct than that furnished by the words of our Lord Himself, in the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.[3]

The Owner of the Vineyard first went out, to hire the labourers, "early in the morning." Then "at the third hour" he went out again, and again at the "sixth," the "ninth," and the "eleventh" hours. At the "eleventh" hour, evening had not yet come, but it must have been near at hand. For, as we read, those who were then hired had stood in the market-place "all the day" idle; and, as the parable continues, "*when evening came*, the lord of the vineyard said to his steward: Call the labourers and pay them their hire. When they came who had come about the *eleventh* hour, they received, every man, a penny." But "when the first also came, . . they likewise received, every man, a penny;" and "they murmured against the master of the house, saying: *These last* have worked *but one hour.*"

[1] St. John, xi. 9. [2] St. John, xi. 9, 10. [3] St. Matthew, xx. 1-16.

In the Jewish mode, then, of indicating time, the hours of the day were twelve, and the numbering began with the morning, and closed with the evening, hours. It is of some importance also to note that the Jewish hours were not of equal length throughout the year. The first hour invariably began at sunrise: the twelfth closed at sunset. Thus, about the time of the equinoxes, in spring and autumn, when the daily periods of light and darkness are of equal length, each hour was of the same length as an hour in our modern system. But as the day—that is to say, the period from sunrise to sunset—grew longer or shorter, so too the hour, invariably measuring a twelfth part of the day, became longer or shorter in the same proportion.

Leaving out of account, then, for the present, any slight inaccuracy of statement due to the fact that our Lord's Crucifixion may not have taken place precisely at the time of the equinox,[1] we may regard the "sixth hour," mentioned by St. Matthew, as identical with the hour from 11 a.m. to 12 o'clock, noon, and his "ninth hour" as identical with the hour from 2 to 3 p.m.

We may now proceed to take into consideration the second of the passages in question. In St. Mark's Gospel (xv. 25-37), then, we read as follows:—

"And it was the third hour, and they crucified him . . . .

"And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole earth until the ninth hour . . .

"And Jesus having cried out with a loud voice, gave up the ghost."

The "*third* hour" may, according to the explanation already given, be regarded as identical with the hour from

[1] An elaborately exhaustive statement of the various views as to the Day of the Crucifixion, put forward by Christian writers from the earliest ages down to the 14th century, will be found, set forth in tabular form, in Patrizi's erudite work, *De Evangeliis*, Lib. 3. Dissert. 19.

The *earliest* date assigned by any of the writers thus quoted is the 18th of March: the *latest* is the 20th of April. There is a strong concurrence of opinion in favour of the 23rd or the 25th of March,—the former view being maintained chiefly by the Greek Fathers, the latter by the Latins.

Patrizi, allowing for the corrections to be made in consequence of the Reformation of the Calendar, is of opinion that the 18th of March was the day of the Crucifixion. Many recent writers, especially among the Germans and English, have come to the conclusion that a somewhat later day—the 5th or 7th of April—should be assigned as the true date. (See page 233 footnote.)

8 to 9 a.m. So far, manifestly, there is no difficulty as regards the harmony of the narratives. But another point here claims our attention, and it may be well to deal with it before we proceed to examine the text from St. John.

There can be no doubt that there is among the faithful a very widespread impression,—unquestionably in conformity with the preponderating sentiment of the Fathers, and with the view most commonly adopted by our theologians, commentators on Scripture, and spiritual writers,—that our Lord was crucified about mid-day, so that His death occurred after He had hung upon the cross, not for five or for six hours, but for three. It is unnecessary to recount the writers by whose authority this view is supported: many will be found enumerated by Suarez in his Treatise on the Mysteries of the Life of Christ,[1] by Maldonatus in his Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel,[2] and by Benedict XIV. in his work on the Feasts of our Lord.[3]

It is plain that St. Mark's words already quoted, "It was the *third* hour, and they crucified him . . . and when the *sixth* hour was come, there was darkness, &c.," are at least not very obviously capable of being understood in any sense with which the impression or opinion thus referred to is at all consistent. Very many ingenious theories have, however, been suggested with a view of showing that those words of the Evangelist do not, at all events, necessarily exclude it.

Of the theories thus put forward, the principal are the following:—

1. That instead of "the *third* hour," as the text now stands, we should read "the *sixth* hour,"—the present reading being, therefore, a corruption of the text.

2. That the text as it stands is genuine, but that it refers, not to the actual Crucifixion of our Lord, but to the clamour of the Jews, by which they virtually crucified Him, by extorting from Pilate the sentence of Crucifixion.

3. That the text refers to the Crucifixion, but only in this sense, that the time assigned is that of the incident which may be regarded as the first step taken in the

[1] Disp. 40. sect. 6. (Ed. Vives. Tom. 19).
[2] *In Evangel. S. Matthaei* (xxvii. 45).
[3] Lib. 1. cap. 7. n. 137.

Crucifixion of our Lord,—when He was mocked by the soldiers in Pilate's Court.

4. That it refers to the Crucifixion, and indicates the time at which our Lord was actually crucified, but that the hour indicated may be understood of any time up to noon; inasmuch as St. Mark's "third hour" included the whole period from 9 a.m. to mid-day—the Jewish day being divided, not only into *twelve* hours, as we have already seen, but also into *four longer periods*, also termed "hours," and designated respectively the *first* hour (from sunrise to 9 a.m.), the *third* hour (from 9 a.m. to mid-day), the *sixth* hour (from mid-day to 3 p.m.), and the *ninth* hour (from 3 p.m. to sunset).

5. That the term hour is here used by St. Mark in its ordinary meaning, to designate, namely, the twelfth part of the day; but that St. Mark's statement regards, *not the hour of the Crucifixion*, but *an interval of three hours* that had elapsed from the time of the Crucifixion to another event, which the Evangelist is here narrating—the casting of lots for our Lord's garments. In this view, then, the passage should be understood as follows: "They crucified Him. Afterwards they divided His garments, casting lots for them; *this* was at *the third hour after* they had crucified Him."

Of these views, the *fourth* is that which has found most favour among those who have undertaken to interpret St. Mark's words otherwise than in the sense which, at all events at first sight, seems so obviously their true meaning. Benedict XIV., who himself adopts this theory, mentions among its supporters, Baronius, Maldonatus, Tillemont, Natalis Alexander, Serry, Graveson, and Gotti.[1]

[1] It is not, however, to be supposed that all the writers thus mentioned endorse the theory in the form in which it is above set forth.

As the theory is one that has simply been devised for the purpose of explaining away a difficulty, and that has, in fact, absolutely no foundation of historical evidence to rest upon, it is not surprising that it has assumed different forms in the works of different writers.

Some, who aim chiefly at interpreting the text of St. Mark in such a way as not to exclude the belief, so generally entertained, that the Crucifixion took place not long before *mid-day*, put forward the theory in the form stated above.

Others,—as, for instance, Baronius,—who aim merely at reconciling the apparently divergent statements of St. Mark and St. John, adopt a totally different view as to the so-called "hours" in question. This view differs from the former as regards the *numbering* of the "hours." It recognises no *first* "hour." The "hour" from sunrise to 9 a.m., it

In truth, however, it seems to be an altogether unsubstantial, and by no means consistently constructed, theory, resting upon absolutely no solid foundation of fact. The authors who adopt it have not succeeded in bringing forward any evidence of the actual existence of any such division of the day as that on the supposition of which their entire superstructure rests.

The night time, no doubt, was divided into four parts or "watches" of about three hours each: the first, or evening watch, extending from sunset to about 9 p.m.; the second, or midnight watch, extending from about 9 p.m. to midnight; the third watch, extending from midnight to about 3 or 4 a.m., the time of cockcrowing, from which it derived its name; and the fourth, or morning watch, from the close of the preceding watch, until sunrise. To this division of the night, our Lord referred in His words of warning:[1] "Watch, therefore, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at *evening*, or at *midnight*, or at *the cock-crowing*, or in *the morning*."—the Greek words employed in these four cases being those that indicate, respectively, the close of the four watches of the night; ὀψέ, μεσονυκτίου, ἀλεκτοροφωνίας, πρωΐ.

But that the day time was similarly divided into four parts, or so-called "hours," there is no evidence to be found, either in Scripture, or in the works of any writer of antiquity, sacred or profane. The reference, relied on by many of the advocates of this theory, to the expressions "third hour," "sixth hour," and "ninth hour," in the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, is so plainly irrelevant, that it seems indeed hardly necessary to direct attention to the reasoning of Cardinal Tolctus or

designates as the *third;* that from 9 a.m. to mid-day, as the *sixth;* that from mid-day to 3 p.m., as the *ninth;* and that from 3 p.m. to sunset, as "vespers." This aspect of the case will claim our attention when dealing with the text of St. John.

Benedict XIV. (*De Festis D.N. Jesu Christi*, Lib. 1, cap. 7, n. 137) states in a somewhat anomalous form this theory of the division of the day into four "hours." His words are as follows:—

"Observant diem dividi in quatuor partes: quarum prima tres diei horas continebat, et *prima* appellabatur, quod ab ea esset diei *initium*. Altera ab hora tertia ad sextam, seu meridiem, porrigebatur, quae dicebatur *sexta*, quod ab hora *tertia* inchoaret. Tertia diei pars ab hora incipiebat sexta, et in horam desinebat nonam, et, quod a *sexta* hora inciperet, *nona* vocabatur. Postrema denique pars, &c., &c."

Even on *a priori* grounds, this nomenclature can hardly be regarded as satisfactory.

[1] St. Mark, xiii. 35.

of the other writers who have undertaken formally to demonstrate its irrelevance. There is not, as Toletus points out, a shadow of a reason for supposing that those expressions are used in the Parable in any sense different from that explained in an early portion of this paper, to designate, namely, the hours of *nine* in the forenoon, *twelve* o'clock at mid-day, and *three* in the afternoon. And how, as the same learned writer asks, can the advocates of the opposite view explain the expression "eleventh" hour, as used in the same Parable, more especially when the Parable contains such distinct evidence[1] that, in this case at least, the term Hour is taken in its ordinary sense, as designating, not the fourth, but the twelfth, part of the day?

Besides, even if it were to be admitted that, among the Jews, the day, as well as the night, was divided into four parts, each comprising three hours, surely the assumption that those greater divisions were themselves designated as "hours" would still remain not only groundless, but manifestly improbable in the highest degree. And again, no matter what might be the term employed to designate those four divisions of the day, they should surely be numbered, not as "first," "third," "sixth," and "ninth," but according to the order of their occurrence, first, second, third, and fourth. The analogy, manifestly, cannot be maintained between the division, which we know as a matter of fact to have existed, of the night, into four "watches," consisting each of about three hours, and numbered naturally in the order of their occurrence, and this imaginary division of the day into four so-called "hours," each consisting of three hours in the ordinary sense of the term, the first "hour," comprising the first, second, and third hours as commonly understood, the third "hour" comprising the fourth, fifth, and sixth hours, and so on.

When we come to examine the opinions of commentators regarding the text of St. John, we shall meet with a further development of this same theory. For the present, probably, we have sufficiently considered it; enough, at all events, has been said to show what slender claims it has to be recognized as furnishing a trustworthy principle to be relied upon in the interpretation of Scripture.

We may, then, proceed to examine the other views that have been suggested with the object of showing that

[1] Of those that came "about the eleventh hour," it is said that they had worked "but one hour." (St. Matthew, xx. 7-12.)

St. Mark's authority is not decisively against the opinion so commonly entertained, that the Crucifixion took place at mid-day, or within a short time before it.

The first of these views—which suggests that the text as it now stands is corrupt, and that we should rather read, "it was the *sixth* hour, and they crucified Him"—is commonly ascribed to St. Jerome.[1] The interchange, no doubt, of two words so dissimilar as τρίτη and ἕκτη—the Greek words for "third" and "sixth" respectively—may be regarded as one that could not easily have occurred in transcription. But, as is pointed out, there is rather, on the contrary, somewhat of a resemblance between the two Greek *letters* (γ and ϛ), which, before the introduction of numerals, it was customary to employ to indicate the two numbers in question. Furthermore, it is to be borne in mind that in the most ancient MSS. it was the usage to employ uncial, or capital, letters. Now, in these, the resemblance between the characters representing 3 and 6 is as close as it is possible to conceive. For, the number 6 was represented by the now obsolete *digamma*, the *sixth* letter of the Greek alphabet,—the uncial form of which was Ϝ. And the character by which the numeral 3 was represented was the *third* letter of the alphabet, *gamma*,—the uncial form of which is Γ.

Thus, then, we find that the error which, it is suggested, may have crept into the text of St. Mark, may possibly[2] have consisted merely in the interchange of the characters Ϝ and Γ,—a mistake so easily made that this very facility of error constitutes a strong antecedent probability in favour of the view that it in fact occurred.

But, however free from *a priori* difficulties, and even antecedently probable, this conjecture may be, we are surely not at liberty to adopt it, in face of the fact, now so significant, that, notwithstanding the exhaustive researches of the most skilled scholars, by means of which so many

[1] It is to be found in the Commentary on the 71st Psalm, usually printed among St. Jerome's works, but now more generally regarded by the best critics as not a genuine work of the saint.

[2] In the ancient *Codex Sinaiticus*, the word τρίτη is written in full, and not merely represented by a symbolical letter.

It may be interesting to mention that our College Library at Maynooth possesses a copy of the splendid fac-simile edition of this famous Codex, published in 1863, under the direction of Tischendorf, the discoverer of the Codex, at the expense of his Imperial Patron, the late Emperor Alexander II. of Russia. It was presented to the Library by direction of the Emperor.

thousands of *variantes lectiones* have been noted in the ancient MSS. of the inspired writings that have come down to us, absolutely no vestige has been discovered of any difference of reading in this text of St. Mark. So that, marvellous as has been the progress made in this branch of critical science since the time of our venerable commentator Cornelius a Lapide, we are still most fully justified in employing the very words in which he summed up his judgment on the conjecture we are here examining[1]:—"Verum OMNIA exemplaria in Marco habent, 'Erat autem hora *tertia*;' NULLUM vero habet, '*sexta*.'"

Following the same safe guidance, we may set aside also, at all events as not fully satisfactory, the *second* and *third* of the views before enumerated. "Aliud," says A. Lapide, "est postulare ad crucem: aliud *crucifigere*,"—the words of St. Mark being, "erat autem tertia hora, et *crucifixerunt* eum." The *second* opinion, indeed, is warmly advocated by St. Augustine. St. Thomas,[2] too, notices it with favour, and all but adopts it. But it is by no means easy to see how it can be defended against the criticism thus urged by Toletus:—

"Alterum modum prosequitur Augustinus . . . nempe Christum duobus modis dici crucifixum: uno modo *linguis Judaeorum* quando petierunt eum crucifigi . . et hoc factum est hora *tertia*, idque refert Marcus; altero modo quando . . vere est crucifixus . . .

"Porro . . durus videtur, nec facile Marci contextui et verbis accommodatur; nam praemisit Marcus Christum exutum fuisse veste purpurea, et angariatum Simonem, et perductum in Golgotha, et datum esse vinum myrrhatum, et vestimenta divisa: postea adjunxit, 'et erat hora tertia, et crucifixerunt eum.'

"Nemo unquam sic locutus est, ut, post tot jam narrata, revertatur repetere, et sine aliqua distinctione, ad id quod jam multo ante praecesserat. Nec refert, quod Marcus repetit 'et crucifixerunt eum.' Nam hoc potius confirmat Marcum loqui de vera crucifixione. Si enim tantum diceret 'et erat hora tertia,' ambiguum erat, an ad proxime narrata esset referendum: ut autem ambiguitatem tolleret, adjecit 'et crucifixerunt eum;' id est, hora tertia erat quando crucifixus est, sicut paulo ante descripserat."[3]

As regards, then, this branch of our subject, it now

[1] A. LAPIDE. *Comment in Evangel. S. Joann.* cap. xix., versic. 14.
[2] *Summa.* In 3 part., Quaest. 46, art. 9 ad 2.
[3] TOLETUS. *In Joannis Evangel. Comment.* In Cap. xix., versic. 14.

remains only to examine the *fifth* and last of the views already set forth.

It is, then, as we have seen, suggested that St. Mark's words are to be understood as indicating, not the time of the Crucifixion, but the time of a subsequent incident, the division of our Lord's garments.[1] Thus the passage should be paraphrased somewhat as follows:—"They crucified Him. Afterwards they divided His garments, casting lots as to what each should take: this was *at the third hour* (or *three hours*), *after they had crucified Him.*"

Rosenmüller is the chief authority in favour of this interpretation of the passage. "Mirum," he says, "quantum se torserint interpretes . . . Optime mihi hunc nodum solvere videtur Heinsius (in Exercitat. SS. ad hunc locum) qui putat, καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν, hic idem esse quod ἐξ οὗ ἐσταύρωσαν, 'ex quo,' sive 'postquam, crucifixissent eum' . . id est, 'et erat hora tertia ex quo crucifigi coepit,' sive, 'et tertia jam agebatur hora, ex quo actus fuerat in crucem.'"

But this interpretation, or translation, of the passage has not found favour among Biblical scholars. It is commonly set aside as inadmissible, even on grammatical grounds. And few will question that it is an interpretation which, whether grammatically admissible or not, is decidedly forced, and which, indeed, it never would have occurred to any commentator to suggest, but for the supposed necessity of showing that St. Mark's text does

[1] Independently of the special point regarding the hour of the Crucifixion, the text of St. Mark is considered by some commentators to give rise to a difficulty of another kind, which may appropriately be noticed here.

"A difficulty," says Bloomfield in his Edition of the New Testament (*in loc.*), "is here started by some commentators, namely, that the crucifixion is *twice* described by Mark as taking place. To avoid which, some would take the καὶ for ἐξ οὗ. But that signification is quite unauthorised. . .

"It is better, with others, to take ἐσταύρωσαν as an Aorist with a Pluperfect sense (on which see Winer's Greek Grammar), thus, 'It was the third hour when they *had* crucified him.'"

"Even this, however, is unnecessary, if σταυρώσαντες in the preceding verse be taken in a *present* sense . . thus: 'And on proceeding to crucify him, they divided his garments.'"

The Vulgate has, in fact, the present tense:—"*Crucifigentes* eum, diviserunt vestimenta ejus . . . erat autem hora tertia, et crucifixerunt eum." And there are sound reasons for maintaining the accuracy of this version. It is indeed by no means easy to account for the strangely uncritical observation of Patrizi in his Commentary *in loc*:—"Crucifigentes," he says, "graece, σταύρωσαντες, 'qui *crucifixerant*;' sed sermo latinus caret participiis activis temporis praeteriti."

not determine the third hour of the day, that is to say, the hour from 8 to 9 o'clock A.M., as the time of our Lord's Crucifixion.

Here, then, the question naturally arises, is there in reality any necessity for adopting an opinion which thus leads to so manifest a straining of the text of St. Mark? And is it clear that we are not at liberty to take the words of the Evangelist in their plain and obvious sense, as signifying that our Lord was crucified at the third hour of the day, and that this expression is not to be understood in accordance with the common Jewish mode of numbering the hours, so as to indicate an hour corresponding, or nearly corresponding, with nine o'clock A.M., three hours, or about three hours, after sunrise and before noon?

It is, in the first place, certain that we are in no way hindered from doing so by any formal authoritative teaching of the Church. But a question may be raised as to the impression, or belief, so generally prevalent among the faithful—grounded, indeed, upon the statements to be found in many standard works, whether of instruction or devotion —that our Lord was crucified about the hour of noon. It may then, perhaps, be asked whether here there is not some evidence of an ecclesiastical tradition which we should not be at liberty altogether to leave out of account?

Vague as this appeal to authority is, it is one that, for the full investigation of the question, it may be necessary to meet. I know of no more satisfactory way of doing so than by a reference to distinct authority on the other side—the authority of writers of the highest eminence, who have not merely indicated their view that the belief in question presents no difficulty against interpreting the text of St. Mark in the sense that I have throughout designated as its plain and obvious sense, but who have themselves without hesitation adopted this sense as the true interpretation of the text. On such an issue it would manifestly be superfluous to quote more than a very few authorities. For, it is to be remembered, these authorities are here quoted merely for the purpose of showing, not that this interpretation of St. Mark's words is true, but that it is not untenable. I shall content myself, therefore, with quoting the opinions of three eminent writers.

First, we may take Baronius, an authority whose opinion might surely be adduced as of itself decisive upon an issue such as this. Baronius, then, most distinctly states his view as follows. The sentence of Crucifixion, he says,

was pronounced by Pilate not very long before the close of the third hour after sunrise, and our Lord was crucified *almost immediately* afterwards—"nondum tertia hora absoluta . . Dominus noster a Pilato sententiam mortis accepit, ac *paulo post* cruci affixus est;" and again, "Dicimus hora tertia in Christum esse prolatam sententiam a Pilato, quam illi ejus necis sitabundi et famelici Judaei repente exsequendam curantes . . *continuo, nulla interjecta mora*, nisi quam opus exigeret, per Gentiles eum cruci affixerunt."[1]

Another writer, a modern commentator, not less favourably circumstanced than was Baronius for becoming fully conversant with the traditional sense of the Church—the Jesuit commentator, Patrizi,—is equally explicit on this point. In his work on the Gospels, in a learned Note on the order and time of several incidents of the Passion, he adopts, as the ground-work of his arrangement, the natural and obvious sense of St. Mark's words. Thus he infers that our Lord was crucified shortly after the close of the third, and during the first half of the fourth, hour of the day:—"Quum nihil," he says,[2] "prohibeat Marci verba ita accipi, ut quae horam tertiam significent jam completam, atque adeo Christum cruci affixum *inter completam tertiam*, et *mediam quartam*,"—that is to say, between *nine* and *half-past nine* in the morning.

Although manifestly superfluous, it may be of interest, especially for the great majority of the readers of the RECORD, to cite one other authority—that of the late Bishop of Kerry. It would be by no means easy to name a modern commentator more familiar with the works of our best spiritual writers, or more keenly sensitive to the necessity of giving due weight to the traditional views embodied in those works. Yet upon the point before us, without even referring to the existence of any traditional view as an element to be taken into account in the consideration of the question, he unhesitatingly adopts, in one of his Notes on St. Matthew's Gospel,[3] the plain and natural sense of St. Mark's words:—"Our Lord," he says, "was nailed to the cross at 9 a.m. (Mark), and died at 3 p.m. (Matthew and Mark.)"

[1] BARONIUS. *Annales Ecclesiasticae.* In Ann. 34, n. 159.
[2] PATRIZI. *De Evangeliis*, Lib. 2., Adnot. n. 195.
[3] M'CARTHY. *The Gospel of St. Matthew, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory.* (Note on Chapter 27, verse 45.)

Having thus fully examined the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark, we may now at length proceed to consider that of St. John (xix. 13-16.) In describing the proceedings in Pilate's Hall, the Evangelist writes:—

"Now, when Pilate had heard these words, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment seat. . . .

"And it was the parasceve of the pasch, about the sixth hour, and he saith to the Jews: Behold your king.

"But they cried out: Away with him; away with him; crucify him. . . . We have no king but Cæsar.

"Then, therefore, he delivered him to them to be crucified. And they took Jesus, and led him forth."

Thus, then, St. John records that it was "about the *sixth* hour," when Pilate proceeded to pass sentence on our Lord. How is this statement to be brought into harmony with St. Mark's narrative, in which "the *third* hour" is assigned as the hour of the actual Crucifixion?

As in the former case, it may be well to enumerate the principal views that have been put forward by commentators of eminence. In doing so, I shall set forth those views that proceed on the supposition that the Crucifixion took place at the "sixth" hour of the Jewish day, that is to say, at 12 o'clock, mid-day, as well as those that proceed on the supposition that it took place so early as the Jewish "third" hour, that is to say, at 9 o'clock A.M. The principal views, then, based upon either supposition, that have been suggested in interpreting St. John's words as to the time of Pilate's taking his place upon the judgment seat are as follows:—

1. That as St. John's words, "it was *about* the sixth hour," are, to a certain extent, indefinite, they may be understood of any time *not long before* the beginning of the sixth hour, from 11 A.M. to noon; that is to say, *not much more* than *one hour* before *mid-day*. [This view, it is evident, can be of no utility in "harmonising" the narratives, except on the supposition, already discussed at such length, that St. Mark's narrative allows us to suppose that our Lord was crucified about the hour of noon.]

2. That the word "*about*" in St. John's narrative may be understood as allowing a much wider margin, so that, in fact, the expression "*about* the sixth hour" might in this case be verified even of an hour so early as 9 A.M. [Taking into account that time must be allowed for the numerous incidents between Pilate's taking his place on the judgment

seat, and the actual Crucifixion of our Lord, it is evident that this view is available only on the supposition that our Lord was not crucified until some time substantially later than nine o'clock.]

3. That St. John's "*sixth* hour" is to be understood as designating the whole period, or so-called "hour," from 9 a.m. to mid-day, which is also, according to the theory examined in an earlier part of this paper,[1] designated by St. Mark as the "*third* hour." [Taking into account the indefiniteness of St. John's expression, "*about* the sixth hour," this interpretation, if otherwise admissible, might no doubt be regarded as consistent with the supposition that our Lord was crucified at 9 o'clock a.m., the beginning of the so-called "hour" in question. But the writers by whom it is put forward are those who consider that the Crucifixion took place towards the *close* of this so-called "hour," that is to say, about mid-day. The principle on which they account for the supposed two-fold designation of this "hour" by the two Evangelists, will be explained a little farther on.]

4. That, as in the preceding view, St. John's "*sixth* hour," is to be understood as indicating the period from 9 A.M. to mid-day, but that this was subsequent to St. Mark's "*third* hour," which may be taken to designate the period or so-called "hour," from 6 to 9 A.M. [This opinion, based upon a modified form of the theory of greater "hours," already examined, is adopted by Baronius and others,[2] who consider that our Lord was crucified some considerable time before mid-day, shortly after the close of the "third" "hour," and that the sentence of Crucifixion had been pronounced by Pilate at a somewhat earlier hour than 9 A.M., when, consequently, the "*sixth* hour" was about commencing.]

5. That the text of St. John's narrative has in this instance been corrupted, and that, instead of the "*sixth* hour," we should read the "*third* hour;" so that, even independently of the theory referred to in the two preceding paragraphs, we should take 9 o'clock a.m. to be the hour, designated by St. John, "about" which Pilate took his place on the judgment seat. [The remark appended to the statement of the third opinion is also, of course, applicable here.]

6. That the text as it stands is genuine, but that the

[1] See *antea*, pages 214, 215.. [2] Ibid.

"sixth" hour as understood in St. John's narrative designates a still earlier hour than 9 o'clock a.m.; that it is then, to be understood of the sixth hour, counted, not on the Jewish, but on what is termed by many commentators the "Roman," method, so as to indicate, not the sixth hour from sunrise, but the sixth hour from midnight, or, in other words, 6 o'clock a.m. [This opinion, manifestly, is in all respects fully consistent with the view that our Lord was crucified as early as the Jewish "third" hour, or 9 o'clock a.m.]

Regarding the *first* of these opinions it is probably superfluous to add anything to what has been stated at such length in the earlier part of this Paper. Interpreting St. Mark's narrative as indicating, not the sixth, but the *third,* hour from sunrise as the hour of the Crucifixion, we cannot of course rely upon the mere indefiniteness of St. John's expression, "*about* the *sixth* hour," as a sufficient explanation of the apparent divergence between the two narratives.

The *second* opinion, it may be interesting to explain, is a conjecture put forward, as a solution of the difficulty, by the well known Jewish convert, Drach.[1] His view, then, is that the words "it was about the sixth hour," were not so much intended by St. John to indicate the actual time of Pilate's taking his place on the judgment seat, as to explain that there was then remaining but barely sufficient time to allow the judicial proceedings to be carried out. It was necessary, he says, that the proceedings should be completed, and that the Crucifixion should take place, before mid-day; for then, at the close of the sixth hour, the Festival of the Passover, within which it was not lawful to execute a criminal, was to commence. Thus, he adds, we may paraphrase St. John's words as follows: "It was the day before the Festival, and the sixth hour, the commencement of the Festival, was rapidly approaching." "The Greek particle, ὡσεὶ," he continues, "is, according to the context, capable of greater or less extension: thus, at any time after the third hour, *considering all that should be done before mid-day* in the event of our Lord's being condemned

[1] This solution of the difficulty is fully stated by its author in a Letter addressed to D. Leander de Corrieris, Prefect of the Sessorian Library at Rome, and printed by that learned ecclesiastic as an Appendix to his work. *De Sessorianis praecipuis Passionis D. N. Jesu Christi Reliquiis Commentarius. Romae,* 1830.

to death, the expression that *mid-day was approaching* would, in the circumstances, have been a most appropriate one for the Evangelist to employ."

It would be interesting, if space permitted, to examine the evidence on which an author so learned in this special department of Scriptural archaeology relies for proof of his statement that mid-day was the time at which the Festival prohibition of the execution of capital sentences came into operation. But for the purpose of this Paper it is sufficient to note that this second interpretation, like the former, is open to the objection that it assigns twelve o'clock, and not nine, as the hour of the crucifixion.

Of the *third* opinion it would probably suffice to remark that it is altogether devoid of foundation apart from the theory examined at such length in the earlier part of this Paper. And that theory, it is to be observed, as usually applied in this instance, is presented in a form still more fanciful than that in which we have hitherto considered it. For, in order to make it available for the harmonising of the narratives of St. John and St. Mark, it was necessary to introduce a new development of it, so as to explain how one of the two events in question—Pilate's taking his place upon the judgment seat—could be said to have occurred about the *sixth* hour, while the other—our Lord's crucifixion—could be said to have occurred at the *third* hour. This, then, is accounted for as follows by the writers who have adopted this view. I take, for instance, the explanation of Maldonatus.

He considers that both the events in question took place within the same so-called "hour," which, as already explained, extended from 9 a.m. to mid-day: the earlier event at half-past ten, the later event, the Crucifixion, at about half-past eleven. We have, then, only to suppose that each of these greater "hours" might be indiscriminately designated by either of two numbers—either by that of the ordinary hour with which it commenced, or by that of the ordinary hour with which it closed. Thus, the "hour" from 9 a.m. to mid-day, that is to say, from the third hour of the day to the sixth, would be designated indifferently as the "third" "hour," or as the "sixth." If we suppose, then, that the latter designation was employed by St. John, the former by St. Mark, all difficulty disappears.

The difficulty, however, of admitting such a series of absolutely groundless suppositions as a basis to be relied

upon in the interpretation of an important text of Scripture is surely sufficiently great to form a valid reason for hesitating to accept the interpretation which rests upon no better foundation. Moreover, it is not to be overlooked that, in this view, the expression, "the *sixth* hour," is employed by St. John, in narrating the earlier of the two events, and the expression, "the *third* hour," by St. Mark, in narrating the later one.

As regards the *fourth* opinion, based, as it is, upon merely another form of the theory of "hours," already discussed, it is manifestly open to all the objections that have been so fully set forth against that theory.

The *fifth* opinion, so far as mere *a priori* considerations are concerned, obviously differs but slightly in its merits from the first of the views set forth in examining the text of St. Mark. It differs, however, from that view in another respect of very substantial importance—the existence of a certain amount of MS. authority in favour of the corrected reading here suggested.

In this respect, then, the case stands thus. As regards (1) manuscript authority, the reading, "it was about the *third* hour," is found in one of the five Greek MSS. of the New Testament that rank highest in antiquity—Codex D. (*Cantabrigiensis* or *Bezae*); this MS. dates probably from the fifth or sixth century.[1] Moreover, (2) we have in favour of this reading the remarkable testimony of an ancient writer, the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* (circ. A.D. 630), who adopts it, mentioning that he does so on the authority not only of many accurate copies, "accurata exemplaria," but also of the very autograph of St. John himself, which he describes as then still extant, deeply venerated by the faithful, in the Church at Ephesus. And (3) in fine, as regards the judgment of modern critical editors, this reading is not without support from scholars of the first rank: Griesbach, for instance, in his critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, marks it as *of equal authority* with the reading commonly received.

It is not strange then that this explanation of the

[1] In the more ancient *Codex Sinaiticus*, to which I have already referred (see *footnote*, page 211), the word τρίτη appears, not, however, in the original writing of the MS., which has the commonly received reading ἕκτη, but from the hand of one of the "correctors," whom Tischendorf designates C., and to whom, on critical grounds, he assigns a date not earlier than about the 7th century.

apparent discrepancy of the narratives has been adopted by many of the most eminent commentators, Catholic and Protestant.

Even its warmest advocates, however, must confess that it is an explanation not altogether free from difficulty. The weight of MS. authority is decidedly against it. And it is clearly open to the criticism of Greswell[1] and other writers, that, while the existing difference of MS. readings is quite easily explained on the supposition that the more commonly received reading is the true one, it is, on the other hand, almost impossible to explain how the more commonly received reading could have been introduced into the text, if we are to regard it as a corruption.[2]

Hence another solution of the difficulty—the *sixth* in the enumeration already set forth—is preferred by many writers. They suggest, then, that, even accepting the commonly received reading as genuine, we may suppose that Pilate took his place upon the judgment seat at an hour sufficiently early to allow the Crucifixion to take place at nine o'clock, "the third hour," as stated by St. Mark.

St. John's text, no doubt, tells us that it was "about the *sixth* hour," when Pilate thus took his seat as judge. But is it clear, those writers ask, that St. John, in designating the hours of the day, follows, as St. Mark does, the Jewish method, and not the "Roman," which began with midnight, and in which "the sixth hour" corresponded with the hour from 5 to 6 A.M.?

St. John's narrative, as all writers on the Gospels now recognise, was written a date long subsequent to the writing of the other three, subsequent also to the fall of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the social polity of the Jews, when the Roman supremacy was fully established, and Roman usages and Roman forms of speech had taken the place of the usages and forms that had so long been the peculiar characteristics of the Jewish race. If, then, we are at liberty to suppose that St. John's numbering of the hours

[1] *Dissertations upon a Harmony of the Gospels.* Diss. 42.

[2] "Is it not infinitely more probable," says Greswell, *ibid*, "that if the original reading was ἕκτη, there would be a constant tendency to change it into τρίτη, that so the testimony of St. John might be reconciled apparently with that of St. Mark, than the contrary? For had the original reading been τρίτη, not one MS. or other authority, we may venture to affirm, would have exhibited ἕκτη: but if it was ἕκτη, it becomes a moral certainty that in the course of time, and in some instance or other, it would be found to be assimilated to τρίτη."

proceeds on a "Roman" system, altogether different from the Jewish method, followed by St. Mark, so that, in fact, St. John's "*sixth* hour," was antecedent by three hours to St. Mark's "*third* hour," it is manifest that all difficulty as to a conflict of testimony between the two Evangelists disappears.

Is there, then, sufficient reason to suppose that this different system of numbering the hours is followed by St. John?

The author generally referred to by modern writers as the chief authority in favour of the affirmative answer to this question, is Dr. Townson, an English writer of the last century. In his *Dissertations on the Four Gospels*, he examines at great length, and with great erudition, the various texts in which St. John makes mention of any specific hours of the day; and in each case, from the circumstances of the event narrated, he undertakes to show that the method of numbering followed by the Evangelist cannot have been the Jewish method, beginning at sunrise, and must have been the so-called "Roman" method, in which, as in the system followed in modern times, the numbering of the hours begins at midnight.

For our present purpose it is unnecessary to enter upon an examination of this question. We must, indeed, be on our guard against the common error, most learnedly refuted by Dr. Townson, of designating this method of numbering the hours as "Roman." It is plain to demonstration that the ordinary Roman method of numbering the hours was in this respect identical with that of the Jews. But assuming that the numbering of the hours beginning at midnight was a method which St. John was not unlikely to have adopted in his Gospel, it may be well to examine whether there is in the present case any special reason for regarding this assumption as inadmissible here. The question is to be examined chiefly in reference to the time required for the occurrence of the various incidents of the Passion.

Two sets of incidents are here to be taken into account: those that preceded the time of Pilate's taking his place on the judgment seat, and those that intervened between that formal opening of the Roman judicial process and the actual Crucifixion of our Lord.

For the latter series of incidents, it is clear that abundance of time is allowed in the interval of three hours, from six o'clock to nine.

But, as to the former, it is difficult, indeed, to see how all that is narrated by the Evangelists as having thus occurred on that morning, could have occurred before six o'clock.

To appreciate the force of this consideration, it is necessary, in the first place, to bring clearly to mind the number and order of the judicial proceedings that took place before the various Tribunals. This, probably, is the point in regard to which, more than any other connected with the history of the Passion, a difficulty in forming a clear and accurate conception of the events as they actually occurred, is apt to arise from the reading of the Four Gospels as distinct and independent narratives. Or perhaps indeed it should rather be said that such a course is most likely, as regards this point, to result in no definite idea being formed on the subject at all. But if we carefully examine the narratives, comparing them so as to ascertain their Harmony, we shall find that the following distinct proceedings, more or less judicial in their nature, took place subsequent to the seizure of our Lord in the garden, and previous to Pilate's taking his place on the judgment seat "about the sixth hour."

I. *The Preliminary Interrogatory before the High Priest Annas.* This[1] is narrated only by St. John (xviii. 19–23).

II. *The Preliminary Judicial Inquiry before the High Priest Caiphas.* This is narrated by St. Matthew (xxvi. 59–66) and St. Mark (xiv. 55–64).

III. *The Formal Trial before the Jewish Council.* This is mentioned by St. Matthew (xxvii. 1), and St. Mark (xv. 1). St. Luke (xxii. 66–71) alone narrates the proceedings which took place at it.

IV. *First Proceedings before Pilate.* These, according to the view most generally taken by Harmonists, are narrated by the four Evangelists—St. Matthew, xxvii. 11 14; St. Mark, xv. 2–5; St. Luke, xxiii. 2–7; St. John, xviii. 28–38, and probably also, 38-40.

[1] In a Note appended to the little work on the Harmony of the Gospel Narratives, to which I have more than once referred in this Paper, I have set forth the principal views of commentators regarding this incident of the Passion (*Harmony*, &c., Note 26). I may be permitted here to mention that, by an obvious typographical error, this Interrogatory is in the next Note (Note 27) referred to the Tribunal of Caiphas.

V. *The Proceedings before Herod.* These are narrated only by St. Luke (xxiii. 8–12).

VI. *Final Proceedings before Pilate.* These also, like the former proceedings before Pilate, are narrated, in more or less detail, by the four Evangelists.

The incidents recorded under the four last of the headings thus set forth, must, it is obvious, have occupied a considerable time. Now the earliest of these, that is to say, the Formal Trial before the Council, did not take place, at all events, before dawn. The oral law, in fact, required for the validity of a trial in a capital case, that it should be held in the light of day. Thus the judicial proceedings held during the previous night, before Annas and Caiphas, were merely preliminary. By means of them the enemies of our Lord were enabled to expedite the proceedings of the solemn Trial in the morning. And that this solemn Trial was not held before daybreak we have evidence, not only in the stringency of the legal enactment just now referred to, but also in the distinct statements of the three Evangelists by whom the Trial is mentioned, and who fix its time by the expressions, πρωΐας γενομένης, ἐπὶ το πρωΐ, ὡς εγένετο ἡμέρα, that is to say, when *morning*, and, in fact, *day*, had come.

The writers who, in accordance with the theory we are now examining, identify St. John's "sixth hour" with 6 o'clock A.M., naturally endeavour to assign to this Trial before the Council the earliest possible hour to which those expressions can be regarded as at all applicable.

Dr. Townson, fully conscious of the difficulty involved in the supposition of any later hour, endeavours to show that the words of the Evangelists are applicable to so early an hour as *four* o'clock. This, he justly observes, would leave an interval of about two hours and a half between the commencement of the Trial before the Jewish Council, and Pilate's taking his place on the seat of judgment[1] "*about* the sixth hour"—an interval which commentators, at least generally speaking, would recognise as in all probability sufficient to allow of the occurrence of the intervening incidents.

[1] The writers who rely upon this sixth solution of the difficulty, take care to explain that the early hour at which the proceedings before Pilate must thus be supposed to have begun, does not form a valid objection to the hypothesis; since, as Greswell remarks, "the habits of ancient times were very different in these respects from those of modern." (Greswell, Dissertation 42.)

But, from the mere enumeration already given, it is manifest that no interval notably less than this would suffice.

The proceedings before Pilate alone must have occupied no inconsiderable time. It may be useful to enumerate them in detail.

1. When our Lord was first brought to Pilate, the Jews, for the reason specified in the text, did not enter into the Prætorium; and consequently Pilate *came out* to them. Here the conversation ensued, between Pilate and the accusers of our Lord, which is recorded by St. John xviii. 29-32.

2. Pilate then brought our Lord with him *into the Prætorium*, leaving the Jews, as before, without. The questioning of our Lord by Pilate that took place within, with our Lord's answers, is narrated by St. John xviii. 33-38, ending with Pilate's half impatient, half scornful, question, "What is truth?"[1]

3. Then Pilate, without waiting for the answer, and leaving our Lord within, *went out* again to the Jews, and pronounced his first express declaration of the innocence of the Accused. Here also, most probably, we are to place Pilate's (first) proposal,[2] in reference to the privilege of the Feast, to release our Lord, and, perhaps, the first express demand of the Jews for the liberation of Barabbas in His stead. See St. John, xviii. 38-40.

4. The next section of St. John's narrative (xix. 1-3) brings us once more *within* the Prætorium. It narrates the scourging, the crowning with thorns, and the subsequent mocking of our Lord by the Roman soldiers. Of these incidents, it is plain from the context that at least the two latter must have occurred within.

5. Then Pilate once more *went out* to the Jews, and, after a short address, brought out our Lord now clad in the purple robe and crowned with thorns. Here occurred the incident of the *Ecce Homo*. See St. John, xix. 4-8.

[1] "'Thou *art* a King, then?' said Pilate to Him in astonishment. Yes; but a king not in this region of falsities and shadows, but one born to bear witness unto the truth, and one whom all that were of the truth should hear. 'Truth,' said Pilate, impatiently, 'What is truth?' What had he—a busy, practical, Roman governor—to do with such abstractions? What bearing had they on the question of life and death?"—Canon Farrar, *Life of Christ*, chapter 60.

[2] I have elsewhere (*Harmony of the Gospel Narratives*, &c., Note 31) stated the reasons for distinguishing this proposal, here narrated by St. John, from the somewhat similar one narrated by St. Matthew (xxvii. 17), St. Mark (xv. 9), and St. Luke (xxiii. 17-20).

6. Finding his efforts to obtain the deliverance of our Lord frustrated, Pilate now brought Him once more *within* the Prætorium, and there held with Him the conversation narrated by St. John, xix. 9-11.

7. After this, as we learn from what follows, he *came out* again, and once more sought to release our Lord, but was now finally overawed by the threatening cries, "If thou release this man, thou art no friend of Cæsar's." (St. John, xix. 12.)

8. "When Pilate therefore heard these words, he brought Jesus out, and sat down on the judgment seat . . It was about the sixth hour." (St. John, xix. 13, 14.)

9. In fine, in the following verses (xix. 15, 16), the Evangelist narrates the close of the proceedings before Pilate, and the sentence of Crucifixion.

It is to be observed that with the one trifling exception, to which I have called attention, this statement of the order of the incidents of this stage of the Passion is in no way conjectural. And, as shown by the reference in each case, I have throughout strictly followed the order of St. John's narrative.

Nor is there among writers of authority on the Harmony of the Gospels much difference of opinion as to the determination of the point at which the long interruption in these proceedings occurred, which was caused by Pilate's sending away our Lord to Herod. The narrative of this incident, with the account of the proceedings in Herod's Palace, and of those that immediately followed our Lord's return to the Court of Pilate, is given only by St. Luke (xxiii. 6-16). It is generally agreed that the place of this passage of St. Luke's Gospel in the consecutive narrative of the Passion is between that of the events mentioned in the *third*, and that of the events mentioned in the *fourth*, paragraphs of the preceding statement.

Thus for our present purpose it is unnecessary to enter upon an examination of any of those complicated questions in reference to which a substantial difference of opinion exists among the best Harmonists—such, for instance, as the question where we should place, whether before or after Pilate's taking his place on the judgment seat, the incidents of the message from his wife (Matt. xxvii. 19), of his washing his hands (*ibid.* 24), and of the demand for the liberation of Barabbas, as narrated by St. Matthew (xxvii. 15-21), St. Mark (xv. 6-11), and St. Luke (xxiii. 17-19).

Irrespective of any conclusion that may be come to with regard to these incidents, we may take it as sufficiently established that, for the events narrated by St. Luke and St. John that occurred between the meeting of the Jewish Council in the morning, and Pilate's taking his place upon the judgment seat "about the sixth hour," an interval, at the least, of fully two hours must be allowed. And this, as we have seen, is the computation of Dr. Townson himself,[1] the chief advocate of the view that St. John's "*sixth* hour" was the hour of 6 A.M.

Are we then at liberty to suppose that such an interval could in fact have intervened? The writers who answer this question in the affirmative, necessarily go upon the supposition that the expressions, πρωΐας γενομένης, ἐπι το πρωΐ, ὡς εγένετο ἡμέρα, used by the Evangelists in reference to the meeting of the Jewish Council on that morning, are applicable to an hour so early as four o'clock, or, at least, as Greswell puts it, "shortly after four."

But the question plainly is one not so much of opinion as of fact. The answer to it must altogether depend upon two points—the hour of sunrise, and the duration of the dawn, or, in other words, of the twilight preceding sunrise, at Jerusalem, about the time of the Equinox.

For information regarding those plain matters of fact we may, strange to say, search in vain in the works even of the writers best known among modern commentators.

[1] Greswell also (Dissertation 42), who endorses Townson's view as to St. John's method of designating the hours, assigns practically the same interval for those events. He supposes the Formal Trial before the Jewish Council to have been held "shortly after *four*"; this, then, he says, having been speedily completed, "our Lord would be brought before Pilate soon after *five;* and if we assign the space of *one hour* to the intervening events, we assign what is abundantly sufficient for them, down to the time of the sitting *pro tribunali*, which would consequently be soon after *six*."

But Greswell, it must be remembered, in this computation, leaves altogether out of account the time required for the sending of our Lord to Herod, for the proceedings in Herod's Palace, for our Lord's being sent back to Pilate, and for the subsequent proceedings before Pilate—all these events, in his opinion, not having occurred *until after Pilate had taken his place on the judgment seat.* (St. John, xix. 14.)

But, as I have already remarked, this writer, notwithstanding his adoption of this view as to the order of the events, nevertheless considers that an interval of two hours is to be allowed between daybreak and the time of Pilate's taking his seat as judge. Also, in reference to this view of Greswell's, it may be well to add that it involves the manifestly improbable supposition that the scourging, and the crowning with thorns, occurred *before* our Lord was sent by Pilate to Herod.

I have, however, recently been fortunate enough to meet with a distinct and, I should say, satisfactory, statement on the matter, in an interesting volume, the first volume of a work apparently still incomplete.[1] It is as follows:—

"We are enabled to state, on the authority of information kindly communicated to us by a resident in Jerusalem (the Right Rev. Dr. Gobat, Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem), that the *morning twilight*, at Jerusalem, about the vernal equinox, 'begins 2 minutes or 3 minutes before 5.30, and at 5.40 it can be said to be *full daylight*.' And the *sunrise* at that season is at 6 A.M. . .

"The entire duration of twilight from dawn to sunrise is thus seen not to have exceeded 32 or 33 minutes."

If, then, in accordance with the traditional view, we hold that the day on which our Lord was crucified was, at all events, not more than a very few days removed from the day of the vernal equinox, it is manifest that the expressions we are here examining cannot be understood of an hour earlier than *half-past five*. Where, then, are we to find, between this hour and six, or even half-past six, o'clock, the interval which, as we have seen, must have intervened before the subsequent point of time spoken of by the Evangelist as "about the sixth hour?"

The difficulty thus raised is, no doubt, to some extent diminished if, with many modern writers, we suppose that the day of our Lord's Crucifixion was between two and three weeks later than the equinox. But even making allowance for the largest possible margin than can thus be regarded as available, it would still be difficult to obtain an interval at all approaching that which we have seen to be necessary for the requirements of the sacred narrative.

The ingenious writer to whom we are indebted for the definite information already quoted regarding the hours of sunrise and of daybreak at Jerusalem, is himself a strong advocate of this solution of the difficulty. He remarks, then, that on the 7th of April, the day which, on independent grounds,[2] he adopts as the true date of the Crucifixion,

[1] *The New Testament.* A New Translation, with copious references, &c. By John Brown M'Clellan, M.A. London, 1875.

[2] From calculations made, at the Rev. Mr. M'Clellan's request, by Professor Adams, Director of the Observatory of Cambridge, it appears that within the period A.D. 29-33, the great Festival of the Paschal celebration, the 15th day of the Jewish month Nisan, fell on Friday only twice, that is to say on Friday, the 7th of April, in A.D. 30, and on Friday, the 3rd of April, in A.D. 33.

Now, as it is quite certain that Friday was the day of the week on

daybreak occurred, at Jerusalem, at about *ten minutes before five* o'clock. To this time, then, he assigns the formal meeting of the Jewish Council: "the cause being prejudged," he adds, "the formal sitting lasted a very few minutes:" thus he is enabled to assign "about 5 A.M." as the hour at which our Lord was brought before Pilate. For the first portion of the proceedings before the Roman Governor previous to the sending away of our Lord to King Herod, he conjectures that about a quarter of an hour would suffice. In another half hour, our Lord might have been brought back to Pilate's Court: this brings us to about *a quarter to six.* And, he considers, the remaining incidents of this stage of the Passion might have occurred within a sufficiently short time to enable us to verify the expression, "it was *about* the sixth hour," that is, as we may suppose, not later than *half-past six*, when Pilate took his place upon the judgment seat. It is clear, of course, that abundance of time would then remain for all that intervened until the actual Crucifixion at *nine* o'clock.

It is, in conclusion, to be remembered that, apart from all special considerations arising out of the nature and number of the incidents we are here examining, this sixth solution of the difficulty is altogether dependent for its stability on the theory that, throughout his Gospel, St. John's method of numbering the hours of which he speaks, is different from that which was in use among the Jews at the time of the events narrated in the Gospel history. The general question thus raised is of sufficient interest to form the subject of a distinct Paper in some future number of the RECORD. As regards the special question which, as an appropriate one for examination at this season of the ecclesiastical year, I have reviewed at such length in the present number, probably few readers who have had the patience to follow this lengthened

which our Lord died, it would follow from this computation, that the year of His death, if He was crucified on the 15th day of Nisan, must have occurred in either of those two years. But it is now universally recognised that the year A.D. 33 is too late a date. Therefore, on the basis of Professor Adams' calculations, and of the supposition already stated, it is inferred that Friday, the 7th of April, A.D. 30, was the true date of the Crucifixion.

So many elements of uncertainty, however, enter into this computation, that it is not surprising to find that results widely differing from this have been arrived at by other writers, by whom the same general line of argument is employed.

exposition of it will hesitate to endorse the judgments which I began my Paper by transcribing from Maldonatus and Cardinal Toletus. Whether they will endorse also the judgment of Patrizi, will probably depend upon the opinion they may form, favourable or adverse, as to the admissibility of this theory of a difference between the methods of numbering the hours followed by the two Evangelists.

W. J. Walsh.

MODERN ERRONEOUS SYSTEMS OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

UP to the period of the Protestant revolt, the doctrine and practice of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures according to the sense of the Church, and the tradition of the Fathers was universally received. The abuses of the Cabalistic and Allegorical systems in the early ages of Christianity were not a denial or rejection of this principle. They were rather excesses committed by individuals in the application of theories sanctioned by the Church. The Cabalistic system in itself did not differ substantially from the orthodox one founded on the existence of a mystical sense in the Sacred Scriptures; while the Allegorical, which was carried to excess by Origen and his followers, and even by St. Jerome in his youth, as he himself informs us in his commentary on the Prophet Abdias, is still recognised by the Church.

This palmary principle of sacred hermeneutics was not denied even by the various heretics who arose from time to time. On the contrary, so far were they from despising or rejecting the judgment of the Church, and the teaching of tradition, that they laboured hard to draw one and the other in defence of their peculiar innovations.

The so-called reformers of the sixteenth century, casting aside the principle of authority, started with a new one which has produced the most lamentable results in the religious and social order. Applying the new theory of independence to the Sacred Scripture, Luther, Calvin and Zwinglius laid down as a fundamental law: "unumquemque fidelem per se, et absque ullo respectu ad authenticum Ecclesiae magisterium, scripturam intelligere posse, et ex ea

fidei suae normam accipere." This new dogma was accepted by all the sects that sprung out of the Reformation. It is found in the confessions, articles, and writings of the Calvinists and Anglicans as well as the Lutherans.

Individual faith was then to be deduced from Holy Writ alone. But how was the sense of Holy Writ to be discovered? Having rejected the *magisterium* of the Church, what was to be substituted for it? who was to be the authentic interpreter of God's word, what to be the rule of Christian faith? In its very infancy, the innate spirit of this religious revolution was made manifest. It was capable of knocking down, but not of building up. Its parents and abettors could unite in negation and rejection, but not in affirmation and substitution. Agreeing in the fundamental principle, they split when there was question of applying it. Luther and his followers, among whom are the Episcopalians and others, invented what is called the *rational system*, according to which the sense of the Bible can be determined with certainty by the proper use of right reason, by the *private judgment* of each individual aided by the rules of sacred hermeneutics. Calvin was not pleased with this theory. He founded a new system, called the *Pietistic*, which has been adopted by the Anabaptists, Quakers, and other sects He, and they who believe with him, assumed, that the Holy Ghost is present with the faithful while reading the Scriptures, and by a *special interior illumination*, suggests and reveals its sense, and all things necessary for salvation.

They who sowed the wind, reaped the whirlwind. The principle of independent interpretation produced an endless variety of belief. Even amongst the members of the same sect, uniformity of faith became impossible. The seed of religious discord, which was scattered broadcast produced fruit an hundred fold. Such was the confusion in the camp of Protestantism, that Luther himself had to exclaim "si diutius steterit mundus, iterum esset necessarium, ut propter diversas scripturae interpretationes quae nunc sunt, ad conservandam fidei unitatem concilii decreta recipiamus atque ad ea confugiamus"—(De Veritate Corporis Christi contra Zwinglium.)

It is vain to look for consistency amongst those who turn aside from the true faith. Some remedy had to be applied, some barrier opposed to this unbridled licence of scriptural interpretation and consequent religious disunion. What was it to be, where to be found? They had to return

to the principle of authority which they had so summarily set aside. What in fact does the Confession of Augsburg mean? What the three Calvinistic confessions or symbols of faith of the years 1532, 1536, and 1566? What the symbol of the reformed theologians in the Synod of Paris 1559? What the symbol of faith under Edward VI., and the "Confession" of the Anglican Episcopalians, in the Synod of London under Elizabeth, consisting of the "Thirty-nine Articles"? All these were an effort at uniformity of faith by a *practical re-establishment* of some principle of authority, and a virtual denial of the individual religious liberty which inaugurated the innovation.

I say a *practical re-establishment*, because they were not content with merely formulating articles of belief, and submitting them to the individual and private judgment of their followers, as in common consistency beyond this they could not go. They went much further. These symbols were made the tests of orthodoxy. Their professors and ministers were obliged to swear by them; fines, imprisonment, and even death were sometimes the punishment of contumacy in disbelief or disobedience. They arrogated to themselves an authority, which they denied to legitimate power. But logic has its laws, and the appeal to authority by persons who had started with a denial of all authority, as was natural, proved abortive. The contradiction was so patent, that few if any Protestants, felt themselves bound by the new-fangled dogmas of faith. Harmony was not restored, on the contrary, discord became more widespread. New sects made their appearance, and religious opinions became so numerous, that in the same sect few could be found to hold the same belief even about the most essential mysteries of Christian faith.

It was at this stage of Babelic confusion, two men arose from the bosom of Calvinism. They founded a new sect, and a new system of biblical interpretation. I allude to the Socinians, Lelius and Faustus, the uncle and nephew, who, banished from Switzerland, found a home in Poland, and hence the name by which they are known, of the "Polish Brothers." The former died in Switzerland in 1562, the latter at Cracow in 1604. They were the founders of the Unitarians, so called because of their belief in the unity of the divine nature to the exclusion of the distinction of persons in the Holy Trinity.

The Socinian system of hermeneutics is nothing less than the purest naturalism. They assumed, that reason

alone is the standard and rule of faith. All revelation in Holy Writ has to be judged by this standard. Whatever surpasses the comprehension of reason, or exceeds the forces of nature, has to be rejected as false, the rest may be accepted. They were careful, however, not to propound this novel and strange theory in its naked deformity. While rejecting doctrines, they retained the dogmatic Ecclesiastical terminology in which the same doctrines were expressed. For example, though they denied the existence of three distinct Persons in the Blessed Trinity, they still professed to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, meaning thereby three attributes of the Divine nature, *i.e.*, the power, wisdom, and goodness. They retained and professed to believe the words of St. John, c. i. v. 14, "Et verbum caro factum est," and still they denied the hypostatic union, contending that these words refer to an union by grace with human nature.

The ravings of the Socinians paved the way for the religious incredulity and biblical rationalism of the succeeding centuries. The first traces of this last stage of biblical exegesis is found in the writings of the English philosophers Hume, Hobbes, Bolingbroke, and Wolstan, who made an open profession of naturalism, deism, and scepticism, and heaped the most scathing ridicule on mysteries, revelation, inspiration, and divine authority. This spirit soon passed into France, and was taken up, fostered and propagated by such men as Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, Bayle, Rousseau, and embodied in the famous work called the "Encyclopedia," the teachings of which led to the socialism of the close of the last century. From France it passed into Germany, where it assumed a definite form, and was reduced to a system. The French and English philosophers assailed the Holy Scripture with reckless raillery, and bitter cynicism. The Germans entered the contest more soberly and seriously, but with more damaging effect. They professed a profound reverence for the Sacred Word, praised the sublimity of its teaching and morality. For the purpose of its interpretation they made a study of philology and oriental archaeology. The more easily and effectually to propagate their principles, they published at Berlin from 1766 to 1806 a periodical called "The Universal German Library." The writers of this periodical, of whom there were more than one hundred and thirty, were called "Illuminati." Their aim was to eliminate from the Sacred Writ every element of the supernatural. By

plausibility of argument and a parade of biblical erudition they succeeded in drawing many into the vortex of incredulity. New meanings were given to words, strange metaphors gratuitously invented, prejudices and erroneous traditions of the Jews raked up, and mingled with the preaching of Christ and His Apostles, historical facts turned into legends. They observed a method and order in the work of demolition. To understand their tactics, we must bear in mind that the Sacred Scripture contains a triple supernatural element. It contains the *supernatural dogmatic* element, or mysteries and truths surpassing the comprehension of reason. There is secondly the *supernatural moral* element, comprising the laws, precepts, and counsels, which belong to the supernatural order of grace and redemption. We have finally the *supernatural historic* element, which consists in miracles or facts exceeding the forces of nature. To this element prophecies may be reduced. Now, though some writers assailed this threefold supernatural element indiscriminately, still for the most part, the work was divided, and each element was exposed to the exclusive and direct attack of some philosopher, school, or system. Semler, who may be called the parent of rationalistic exegesis, assailed the supernatural dogmatic element. In his work "Apparatus ad literalem V. et N. Testamenti interpretationem" of the year 1767, he propounded a novel system, called the "system of accommodation," in which he contends that all the mysteries and supernatural truths preached by Christ and the Apostles were mere prejudices and false notions of the Jews, to which, in the exercise of a prudent economy for the purpose of winning them over to the Evangelical doctrine, Christ and the Apostles accommodated themselves.

Against the supernatural moral element arose the celebrated philosopher of Konigsberg, Emmanuel Kant. Having endeavoured to destroy the objective certitude of all human knowledge in a work entitled "Critica purae rationis," in another work, "Religio intra limites purae rationis," he sought to cancel the supernatural from the morality of the Scriptures by the invention of a new system. This system, called the system of moral interpretation, founded on the false supposition, that religion consists in moral principles alone, to the exclusion of dogmatic truths, proposes that Holy Scripture is to be interpreted according to the ethical principles of pure reason. Hence no sense of Scripture can be accepted, be it ever so mani-

fest from the context and scope of the author, which does not contain some philosophic principle for the practice of virtue. But (according to this philosopher), whatever surpasses the limits of nature, or range of reason, not only does not promote, but impedes the growth of virtue, and therefore must be rejected.

Against the supernatural historic element a special system was invented by Eichorn in the year 1780. It is called the system of mythical interpretation, which was applied by its founder only to the first chapters of Genesis, and the prophecies about Christ. He contended that the narration in these chapters about the creation of the world, the temptation of the serpent, the fall of Adam and expulsion from the garden, &c., are pure myths. William Bauer adopted this new system, which he extended to other portions of the Old Testament. Strauss of Tübingen, in his work "Vita Jesu," published in 1835, applying this theory to the New Testament, reduces the Gospel history to a mere legend. Ernest Renan adopts the same view in a work with the same title, published at Paris in 1863. This too is the teaching of the whole school of Tübingen, whose glory is negative or destructive criticism. This is the latest development of rationalistic exegesis. Beyond this, impiety cannot go. Stripped of every shred of the supernatural, their divine inspiration denied, their authority and veracity impugned, the sacred books are reduced to the category of mere profane works, to which at most a mere human authority is accorded. And the authors and champions of these irreligious and subversive theories are the men who have been, and still are, honoured with academical distinctions, extolled by journals and reviews, and rewarded with University professorships.

For my present purpose this cursory history of the origin and progress of biblical rationalism with which I intend principally to deal in these papers, will suffice. The foundation, scope, and falsehood of each system will be made more obvious when I come to examine them in detail.

In passing, I think it right to remark that though rationalism is the logical outcome of the principles of Protestantism, and though, now-a-days, most Protestants either reject, or retain only in name and appearance, the divine inspiration of Holy Writ, still there were not wanting in its ranks men calling themselves orthodox and conservative, who boldly stepped forward and ably defended from time to time the sanctity and authority of

God's Word against the rampant revellings of rationalistic incredulity. Amongst them Guericke and Hengstenberg, Winer, Fritsche, Olshausen, Horne, and Burgon, are worthy of honourable mention. But destitute of authority, and lacking themselves many of the sounder principles of sacred hermeneutics, their zeal, industry, and praiseworthy intentions were quite ineffectual to oppose a barrier to the onward march of infidel teaching and thought.

Again, though Protestantism and rationalism are as nearly related as the parent to the child, the fountain to the stream, yet a distinction has to be made between the rationalistic systems of interpretation and the Protestant one properly so called. Both agree in repudiating the *magisterium* of the Church, and placing reason on its throne. But the scope and domain of reason is much wider in the rationalistic than the Protestant system. In this its office is merely hermeneutical, in that it is hermeneutical and critical. In the one, reason is made the judge of what the sense of Scripture is; in the other, it is made the judge not only of what the proper meaning or sense of Scripture is, but also whether such sense contains truth or falsehood. The conservative Protestants, admitting the divinity and veracity of Sacred Scripture, having once by the help of reason, discovered what they conceive to be its true meaning, are bound to receive, revere, and believe it, even though it contain something supernatural. The rationalists approach the interpretation of Scripture, as they would the discourses of Socrates or any profane author, and reject or embrace its sense and teaching, according as it commends itself or otherwise, to the judgment of their reason. In a word, the Protestants do not question the objective truth of the sense of Scripture, the rationalists do.

From the foregoing it is evident why the rationalists admit no special rules of hermeneutics for the Sacred Scriptures. Regarding them as mere human works written after a human fashion, they reject all other subsidies save those used in the interpretation of any profane author. Philological helps, or the signification of words, and use of language as gleaned either from the study of its etymology, its comparison with kindred languages, or the testimony of tradition, are largely employed; those likewise derived from the laws of human thought, the context, scope of the author, parallel places, subject-matter, &c., which come under the heading of logical criteria; and finally the historical aids which spring from the external circumstances of time, place, persons, and things, which exercise so much

influence on the mind of a writer, and the knowledge and consideration of which are often so useful in discerning his meaning. All these are studied, extravagantly extolled, and solely and exclusively applied by them. Not, however, by them alone are these rational rules of interpretation used; they are not neglected by Protestants and Catholics, who, while recognizing in the sacred books a special character, which requires special hermeneutical laws, do not and cannot deny that they were written by men in human language, in defining the sense of which the ordinary instruments of human interpretation cannot be ignored.

The special character of the Bible to which I have just alluded, recognised by Christian Protestants as well as Catholics, is its divine inspiration, and consequently its entire veracity. By this characteristic it is distinguished from all other works, and hence the necessity of special rules of interpretation, which are necessarily to be borne in mind when one seeks the meaning of an infallible author. These rules, which may be properly termed Christian, and are of their nature negative, are reducible to two, viz.: first, "all falsehood or error must be excluded from the sense of Scripture;" second, "no *real* contradiction can be admitted between the hagiographers." Beyond this Protestants do not go. But Catholics cannot rest here. For us there is another dogma regarding the Holy Scriptures which involves further and special rules of interpretation, which are aptly styled "Catholic." *We* believe that the whole deposit of revelation, and hence of course the Sacred Scriptures, have been confided to an authentic and infallible expounder, viz.: the infallible Catholic Church. From this relation to a divinely appointed custodian and infallible interpreter, arise new and positive rules of hermeneutics, which every Catholic interpreter must bear in mind. He must remember, in obedience to the decree of the Council of Trent, that it is not lawful for him to expound those parts which have reference to faith and morals, in a sense different from that which the Church assigns to them either by a solemn and specific definition, or by its ordinary teaching and practice, of which the Fathers, "unanimously consenting," are the legitimate and recognised expounders. Nor is this decree to be understood in a mere negative sense, viz.: forbidding us merely to interpret the Scriptures in a sense hostile to Catholic faith, but not obliging us to accept the Ecclesiastical and Patristic interpretation. This estimate of the Tridentine decree, the invention of the bold and novelty-loving brain of Jahn, whom some others followed, has

been exploded by the Vatican Fathers. In the 3rd Session, ch. ii., we find the following declaration of the Council:—"Quoniam vero quae Sancta Tridentina synodus de interpretatione divinae scripturae ad coercenda petulantia ingenia salubriter decrevit, a quibusdam hominibus prave exponuntur, nos idem decretum renovantes, hanc illius mentem esse declaramus, ut in rebus fidei et morum ad edificationem doctrinae Christianae pertinentium, *is pro vero sensu Sacrae Scripturae habendus sit*, quem tenuit ac tenet Sancta mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sanctarum, atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam Sacram interpretari."

Regarding those texts of Scripture of which the Church has given no definite interpretation, the Catholic interpreter in the exercise of his liberty, must keep before his mind the analogy of faith, which is another rule of Catholic hermeneutics, arising from the general and indirect influence of the Church's *magisterium*, as embodied in its authentic dogmatic decrees, its authorized symbols of faith, and public and universal practice. Hence he must reject every interpretation of Holy Writ opposed to the analogy of Catholic faith; and though not always to be used as a *positive* standard by which to determine the sense of Scripture, attention to it cannot but throw light on many obscure and difficult passages.

This digression regarding the Catholic system of hermeneutics and the difference between it and the erroneous ones with which I intend to deal, has been introduced for the purpose of clearly defining our position and standpoint, and thus enabling us to take a more secure and comprehensive survey of that of our adversaries. Let us sum up then briefly all that has been said in the foregoing regarding the different systems of hermeneutics.

All the laws of biblical hermeneutics may be divided into two classes—rational and dogmatic. Again, the dogmatic ones may be subdivided into Christian and Catholic. Rationalists, Protestants, and Catholics, all admit and employ rational aids in scriptural interpretation. Protestants (I mean those who are Christians not in name only but in reality) as well as Catholics, add to these the use of Christian rules. But only Catholics employ the Catholic rules. The Rationalists, being neither Christians nor Catholics, reject all others save the rational ones.

D. Hallinan.

(*To be continued.*)

LITURGY.

I.

May the Baptismal Font be blessed, as a distinct ceremony, on Holy Saturday?

You will oblige many readers of the RECORD, if you kindly say whether the custom is allowable of blessing the Font as a distinct ceremony on Holy Saturday, or whether it is of obligation to carry out all the ceremonies of that day according to the small ritual of Benedict XIII.?

By a distinct ceremony we understand our respected correspondent to mean that all other portions of the Holy Saturday function—the blessing of the paschal candle, the reading of the prophecies, the Mass—are omitted.

We have not seen this question raised in any treatise on liturgy. It is our opinion that such a practice is not allowable. There is no indication in the rubrics of Holy Saturday that it may be done. Quite the contrary. The parts of the function are intimately connected. Thus, it is ordered in the rubrics that the paschal candle, which has been just blessed, should be borne in procession by an acolyte to the font; and a portion of the ceremony of blessing the font consists in dipping the paschal candle into the water of the font.

Moreover, that which renders the blessing of the font on Holy Saturday specially solemn is the fact that the blessing on this day forms, by the arrangement of the Church, an integral portion of the Holy Saturday function, and is, as a consequence, blessed in immediate connection with the celebration of Mass.

It was for the purpose of rendering quite feasible the carrying out of the full ceremony on this and the other days of Holy Week in every parish church that the ritual of Benedict XIII. was drawn up.

We, then, are of opinion that you should carry out the ceremony according to the ritual of Benedict XIII., including the blessing of the candle, the reading of the prophecies and litanies, and the celebration of Mass; and if this is not done, that the font is to be blessed with the form given in the Roman ritual.

There is, however, another sense in which the blessing of the font is a distinct or separate ceremony from the Mass. The Congregation of Rites declared on the 14th

June, 1608, that the font may be blessed by one priest and the Mass celebrated by another:

"Censuit esse divisibiles, et posse ab uno fieri benedictionem Fontis, ab alio Missam cantari."—S.R.C. (386.)

The Congregation was also asked whether the Mass may be celebrated without the preceding functions, namely, without the blessing of the fire and paschal candle, the reading of the prophecies and the other ceremonies ordered for Holy Saturday, and the answer of the Congregation was that it is right that the blessing of the fire and paschal candle should precede the Mass, and that the prophecies ought not to be omitted.[1]

II.

Ought the Paschal Candle to be renewed each year?

Is it necessary to provide a new Paschal Candle each year, or may I proceed to bless again and again the same candle which has been only partly consumed from year to year?

It is right that you should have each year a new or unblessed paschal candle. The form of blessing supposes this. Moreover, it is opposed to the reverence due to the solemn blessing to present an object over which that blessing is pronounced to no purpose. Such an object is a paschal candle which is already blessed, inasmuch as the second blessing can in no way add to its consecration. Now, every one knows that the paschal candle does not lose its consecration or blessing by having been in part consumed at the public service in the course of the year. "Ergo (cereus) non potest iterum benedici," writes Merati, "quia cum jam habeat esse sacrum quod benedictione confertur, frustra secunda benedictio adhiberetur."[2]

Accordingly, we find it to be the common teaching of rubricists that we should procure a new paschal candle, or have the old one made over again, or finally it is enough if an unblessed addition has been made to it, provided the addition is the *major pars*. Merati[3] says that it is a venial sin to bless for the second time a paschal candle to which an addition has been made, if the addition is a *pars minor;*

[1] Congruit ut Missae in Sabbbato Sancto celebrandae ignis et cerei benedictio praecedant; ante quam Missam prophetiae omitti non debent; et Archiepiscopus parochos ad ignis et cerei benedictionem faciendam ad aliqua poena pecuniaria adigere poterit.

S.R.C. 12 Aprilis. 1755 (4252).

[2] Pars. iv. Tib. x. Sect. xxvii. *De Sabbato Sancto.* [3] *Ibid.*

for in this case the candle retains its blessing on the principle, which is applicable to such objects, *major pars secum trahit minorem.*

Merati concludes with the following sentence:—"Pessime faciunt ii, adeoque non imitandi, qui absque ulla cerei refectione (ut fit in multis ecclesiis) semper eundem cereum, donec totus fuerit consumptus, benedicunt.[3]

III.

Where there is no font, the Baptismal Water is not consecrated with the Holy Saturday rite.

1. In one of my outlying churches, close to which lives a priest, there is no baptismal font. Notwithstanding the want of a font, may the priest consecrate baptismal water on Holy Saturday in a vessel prepared for the purpose?

2. In these circumstances is it allowable at least to bless what is popularly called "Easter Water" that is, to bless water with the Holy Saturday rite, omitting the infusion of the holy oils?

Our answer to both questions is: *Negative.*

1. Where there is no font, there is to be no consecration of the baptismal water with the Holy Saturday rite. This seems to be plain from the missal rubrics of the day.

2. The Congregation of Rites has decided the other question:

An benedictio aquae in Sabbato Sancto sive infusione Olei Sancti fieri possit ecclesiis non habentibus Fontem Baptismalem?

S.R.C. resp. *Negative.* 13 July, 1697 (3433.)

III.

The quantity of balsam required in Chrism.

What quantity of balsam should be mixed with the oil to constitute the chrism which is consecrated on Holy Thursday? Will a few drops suffice, or is a teaspoonful or more required? This seems to me to be an important question when I consider the obligation of using chrism for the administration of Confirmation.

It is plain from the Pontifical that a very small quantity suffices, for the rubrics direct that the balsam and oil are to be mixed on a paten or in a little vessel—*super Patenam vel in aliquo parvo vasculo.* Now the quantity of balsam and oil that could be mixed with safety on an ordinary chalice-paten must be small indeed.

[1] Pars. iv. Tib. x. Sect. xxvii. *De Sabbato Sancto*

But the question is rather what quantity is necessary? We answer that a few drops—one or two—are necessary and sufficient. In this opinion we follow Catalani, who in reply to a question on this matter quotes approvingly a rubric from a fifth century manuscript Pontifical of the church of Mayence. We know that our revered correspondent would wish to read Catalani's own words, and so we give the extract:

"Si quis vero scire desideret, quantum Balsami in ipso oleo misceretur, ex manuscripto Pontificali ecclesiae Moguntinae annorum circiter D. addiscere poterit; praescribit siquidem "ut Episcopus conversus ad altare, vertens se ad orientem, unam moderatam particulam Balsami, videlicet *unam guttam vel duas ad plus* ponat in ipsum oleum Chrismale et dicat expressa voce:—Haec commixtio liquorum fiat omnibus perunctis propitiatio et custodia salutaris in saecula saeculorum. Amen."[1]

V.

The mystical meaning of balsam.

What is the mystical signification of adding balsam to the oil to constitute chrism?

The agreeable odour of the balsam signifies that those to whom the holy chrism is applied in the sacrament should diffuse round about them the sweet odour of edification. They should be by their example the "bonus odor Christi" "Sciendum est," writes Durandus,[2] "quod chrisma conficitur ex balsamo et oleo propter mysticam rationem, quoniam per oleum nitor conscientiae designatur juxta illud Evangelii: Prudentes virgines acceperunt oleum in vasis suis cum lampadibus. Per balsamum imprimitur odor famae per quod in libro sapientiae dicitur:—Sicut balsamus aromatizans dedi odorem."

VI.

Solemn Requiem Mass on the Feast of the Patron of the Diocese.

May a solemn Requiem Mass be celebrated *praesente cadavere* in the diocese of Ferns on the 31st of January, the Feast of St Aidan, Patron Saint of the diocese, a double of the first class with an Octave? The Feast is not celebrated in all the parishes of the diocese *cum solemnitate et concursu populi*, and it is to such a parish I refer.

We think that the Requiem Mass is allowable in the circumstances. A Requiem Mass is not allowed *etiam prae-*

[1] *Pontificale Romanum Commentariis illustratum.* Tom. 3, page 73.
[2] Rationalis divinorum officiorum, cap. lxxiv., n. x.

sente cadavere, in a church on the Feast of its principal Titular.[1] but we can find no sufficient authority for extending this prohibition to the Feast of the patron of the diocese or locality, especially when it is not a feast of obligation or celebrated *cum solemnitate et concursu populi.*

VII.

The Stations of the Cross.

Where can I find the rubrics for the devotion of the Way of the Cross, or would you kindly give them in the RECORD for the common good of your readers?

A set of rules or rubrics for conducting this devotion was published by order of Pope Clement XII., in 1731, and from time to time various questions regarding it were proposed to and answered by the Congregation of Indulgences. These documents are to be found in Prinzivalli's collection of *Decreta Authentica.* You will find a good summary of these rules in Father Maurel's little book on Indulgences, translated by the Rev. P. Costello, and for sale in Dublin.

Books containing suitable prayers for this devotion can be bought at almost every Catholic bookseller's. The little book composed by St. Alphonsus, called *The Fourteen Stations*, is in common use, and also another translated from the Italian by Father Anderdon, S.J., which reproduces the method instituted by St. Leonard of Port Maurice. In the Raccolta Cross.

While writing on this topic, we ought perhaps to state that no vocal prayer is necessary in order to gain the indulgences of this Way of the Cross. Supposing the Stations to be canonically erected, there are only two conditions necessary. The first is to visit each Station by passing from one to the other, unless a person is prevented from doing so by infirmity, or the narrowness of the place, or the crowd of people present, &c. In such a case, it would be enough to rise from one's knees, and turn towards

[1] An dici possit Missa de Requiem, corpore praesente, diebus primae classis cum multo apparatu et pompa exteriori celebratis, licet non festivis de praecepto; et quatenus sunt festivi de praecepto, an praedicta Missa dici possit in aliis ecclesiis quae talem non habent exteriorem solemnitatem?

S. R. C. resp: *Affirmative, dummodo non sit Titularis.*

the following Station, or to make some similar movement of the body. When the devotion is gone through *publicly*, the Congregation of Indulgences recommends the method of St. Leonard of Port Maurice, namely, "that all the people remain in their respective places, whilst the priest, accompanied by two clerics or chanters, goes round the different Stations, and stopping before each of them, recites there the usual prayers, to which the faithful answer in their turn."

The second and last essential condition is to meditate on the Passion of Christ, while going through the fourteen Stations. Persons who do not know how to meditate, will satisfy this second condition by pious thoughts on some circumstances of the Passion, according to their capacity.[1]

DOCUMENTS.

Decision of the Sacred Penitentiary regarding Fasting and Abstinence.

THE following decision of the Sacred Penitentiary, bears upon a point that was discussed at some length in the first and in a subsequent early number of the present series of the Record.[2]

It has been issued, quite recently, in reply to a question proposed by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Salford, as to the case of persons who are exempted, on account of delicate health, from the obligation of *fasting*, that is, of restricting themselves to *one meal*. The question proposed is, Are such persons at liberty to eat meat *toties quoties*, on days when the use of meat is allowed generally to the faithful of the diocese by the Episcopal Indult?

The following is the text of the decision, for an accurate copy of which we are indebted to the kindness of the

[1] See Prinzivalli: *Decreta Authentica.* [Maurel: *Christian instructed in nature and use of Indulgences*, translated by Rev. P. Costello.

[2] See Irish Ecclesiastical Record (Third Series.) Vol. 1, No. 1, (March, 1880,) page 36; and Vol. 1, No. 3 (April, 1880) pages 155 and 156.

Right Rev. Prelate, in reply to whose question the decision was given :—

[1] "Eminenza Revma.—Il Vescovo di Salford umilmente supplica che V.E.R. si degni dichiarare se quelle persone le quali per causa di malferma salute sono dispensate dalla legge del digiuno, possano cibarsi di carne più di una volta *nei giorni in cui si permette l'uso della carne?*

"Sacra Poenitentiaria, mature ac diligenter perpenso proposito dubio, respondendum censuit, fideles qui ratione affectae valetudinis a lege jejunii seu unicae comestionis eximuntur, licite posse, iis quadragesimae diebus quibus esus carnium per indultum permissus est, toties carnibus vesci quoties per diem edunt.

"Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria, die 16 Martii, 1882.

"A. Card. Bilio, P.M.
"Hip. Can. Palombi, S.P., *Secretarius.*"

It is satisfactory to note that the answer thus given by the Sacred Penitentiary confirms the view put forward in these pages on the occasion referred to.

It was there explained (1) that, by a decision of 1834, persons exempt *ratione aetatis vel laboris* from the obligation of fasting may, on such days, eat meat *toties quoties*, unless the Bishop in his Indult restricts the use of meat, not only as regards the faithful generally, but *moreover as regards persons exempt from fasting*, to the principal meal; (2) that the answer, *Non aequiparari*, given by the Penitentiary, in 1863, in reply to the question, "An iis qui . . non tenentur *ratione aetatis vel laboris* aequiparandi sint qui *ratione infirmae valetudinis* . . excusantur," presents in reality no difficulty as regards those exempt on this latter ground; for (3), as was also explained, although an exemption from the obligation of abstinence resulting *merely* from illness or delicate health is "*always* to be regarded as *restricted* and *never* as *extending to the entire day*, unless the circumstances of the individual case" require such an extension of it, there is no reason why persons thus exempt should not furthermore have the benefit of the general Episcopal Indult, which "is *always* to be regarded as *extending to the entire day*, and *never* as *restricted* to a portion of it, unless it appear that

[1] The following is the translation of the question thus proposed :— "The Bishop of Salford respectfully begs that your Eminence will have the goodness to declare whether persons dispensed by reason of ill-health from the law of fasting, are at liberty to eat meat more than once on days when the use of meat is allowed?"

such a restriction has been imposed by the Bishop whose Indult is in question."[1]

It is, however, essential to bear in mind that, as indicated in the last words of this extract, the question of the lawfulness of thus eating meat *toties quoties* cannot arise in any case where the Bishop, in his Lenten Indult whether implicitly or explicitly, restricts the permission *as regards those exempt from fasting*, to the principal meal. This is clear from a decision of the Penitentiary[2] in 1834.

W. J. W.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Very Rev. Dear Sir—Would you kindly give your opinion on the subjoined case? It regards a marriage celebrated between a girl from Parish A, and a young man from Parish C; the two parishes being separated by the Parish B, and at a considerable distance from one another. The parties found it convenient to have the marriage celebrated in the Church of B, which was about midway between their domiciles.

In order to meet their wishes, the Parochus of A proceeded to the Church of B, and married them there, without any reference to the Parochus of B, or authority from him; or to the Parochus of C, or authority from him, except the usual certificate of freedom, which, however, according to the Council of Thurles (page 28, No. 56,) conveyed no delegated authority to marry the young man. The question is, was the marriage valid?

For the invalidity of the marriage it might be said, that the girl, when she passed the boundary of A and into B, intending not to return, lost her domicile there. She had no domicile or quasi domicile in B, as she was only passing through it; and she did not acqure a domicile in C, as she did not enter it; it might then be said, that she was a vaga; and, being such, she should be married by the Parochus of B.

There is a case given in the "*Bibliotheca, &c.*, of Ferraris;" which bears on the case stated above; but I do not know by whom

[1] "Irish Eccesiastical Record" (Third Series) vol. 1, n. 3, April, 1880, pages 155, 156.

[2] See Irish Ecclesiastical Record (Third Series) vol. 1, n. 1. March, 1880, pages 37 and 38, where the principle thus laid down is illustrated by reference to clauses such as usually are to be met with in Episcopal Lenten Indults.

it was written, nor what importance to attach to it; nor is there any decision on the case referred to; though it is very probable that the parties concerned had referred to Rome, and that a decision was obtained. The case is given (Migne's edition) vol. 5, under the word "Matrimonium," page 472, after No. 66, and within asterisks. It may please some of your readers to have the case in English, so I will translate it.

"Here[1] a few years ago there was a great dispute between the Parochus of a sponsa and the Parochus of the sponsus; and this was the origin of it. On the day before the marriage was to be celebrated, the sponsa, having gone to see the sponsus, and being unable on account of the storm and rain that came on, to return to her father's house, she with her mother spent the night in the house of the sponsus. On the following day her Parochus was sent for, and in his presence the marriage was celebrated in the private chapel of the sponsus. His Parochus having heard of the marriage, without much delay declared it to be null; as it was celebrated before one, who was evidently not the Parochus of the sponsus, nor of the sponsa, as she had changed her domicile the day before; and therefore the marriage was celebrated in presence of one, who was the Parochus of neither party, and consequently null. On the other hand, the Parochus of the sponsa contended, that though she was bodily away from her own parish, she had not intended to be away, and that she spent the night in the house of the sponsus, as her mother did, merely as a guest."

So far the quotation from "Ferraris." One may here observe that the Parochus of the sponsa grounded his right to celebrate her marriage on the fact of her intention on the day and night before the marriage to return to her father's house; so that, if she had left her father's house the day before the marriage with the intention of remaining in that of the sponsus until the marriage took place, her former Parochus should consistently give up all claim to the celebration of it. Now, on the morning of the day on which she was married, she certainly had the intention of remaining where she was, and for her life; and that intention ought to be as efficacious to establish her domicile there, as any intention she might have had during the preceding twenty-four hours. Hence I infer that the weight of argument was against the Parochus of the sponsa, and the validity of the marriage.

I think I might also infer that, in the opinions of the theologians of the place where the dispute arose, if a girl leaves her domicile with the intention of not returning to it, and of living elsewhere, she forfeits her former domicile, for if the sponsa above-mentioned acquired a domicile where she was married and before she was married, she forfeited her former domicile.

[1] The words in that text are "Hinc paucis ab hinc annis:" but I take the first "hinc" to be a typographical error for *hic*.

Now, if this conclusion be correct, we must hold that, in the case proposed by me, the marriage celebrated in the presence of the Parochus of A, was invalid.

However, a writer, who signs himself H. F. N., in an article in the RECORD of December, 1875, would sustain the validity of the marriage celebrated by the Parochus of A, in the case put by me. For he says in page 110, that persons giving up their home, "intuitu matrimonii," do not surrender it unless on the hypothesis of marriage: and consequently in the case put by me, he would hold that the girl from A retained her domicile there until she was married; and that therefore she was not a vaga, and that her marriage was valid. I think that his view of the "animus" of girls, whether gentle or simple, is fanciful; dissappointment in marriages of the kind rarely occurs—perhaps not in one case in a thousand; and are we to believe that girls, when looking forward to a bright and happy future, will harass themselves by dwelling on a very rare incident? M. C.

In reference to the case as put forward by our correspondent, it is our decided opinion that the Parochus of A, can validly assist at the marriage.

The sponsa does not lose her domicile by *leaving* her father's house with the intention of getting married elsewhere; she does not even necessarily lose it by her marriage, if, as is sometimes the case, she intends to return to her father's house for a few weeks before finally going to live with her husband.

The case made by our correspondent happens every week in the year, when the sponsa, for instance, with her friends and her parish priest, or his representative, goes to Dublin to get married to a sponsus from a different parish, and she intends after a few days' or weeks' travelling to return to live with her husband.

Her Parochus, then, can validly assist at the marriage, for the reason assigned by H. F. N. in the RECORD of December, 1875, that the sponsa gives up her house only *intuitu matrimonii*, that is, she intends to acquire her husband's domicile "*through and after her marriage*," but not till then. The case is not as our correspondent thinks "fanciful;" it happens every day, and no one dreams of questioning the right of the lady's Parochus to assist at the marriage for the reason already assigned. J. H.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The British Trade Journal. London, March 1.

This Journal is a complete resume of all items of commercial interest to residents in India, the Colonies, and all foreign lands. The present number will be widely read by people at home, principally for Mr. Mahaffy's article on "State Loans and Subsidies for Ireland." To all who, in these dull times, are anxious for a little quiet recreation, we recommend the reading of that article. It teems with fun from beginning to end. What could be fresher than the reference to "the immense subscriptions collected in England;" in connexion, we presume, with the recent relief fund, to which the "sister" country contributed about thirty thousand pounds; an "immense subscription," certainly, considering that people who had more right to be generous, such as Americans and Australians, did not send over for the same purpose much more than half a million!

Then there is the intelligence, rather stale we allow, that the "property" of the richer classes has been "confiscated to meet pressing difficulties." Poor injured landlords, who never confiscated a shilling themselves! Are our readers prepared to hear that "the disendowment of 'the Irish Church' clergy was felt in most parishes throughout Ireland to be a personal loss to the poor of all denominations?" This is news for the poor. But what do you think of this item? Mr. Mahaffy has actually found out that it was the intention of those who framed the Intermediate Education Act, to give Irish Catholics some of the "Irish Church" money indirectly;" and suggests that the Religious Orders, already struggling hard to support a few members here and there, should flock over in crowds to Ireland, and live on the wind for the benefit of education! Thus we are prepared for a most ingenious solution of this seemingly ridiculous question:—how it is that these same Orders can have taken all the highest prizes at the examinations, their members, on their own confession, being of no avail for teaching!

One is not surprised, after this, that the writer finds so little difficulty in explaining his own position; for an ignorant person might be at a loss to understand how a well-paid professor of an institution, the most highly endowed, proportionately, in the world, could consistently denounce all state subsidies in the very act of pocketing his own substantial salary.

Mr. Mahaffy remembers "a few years ago turning into a farmer's house on Lord Bessborough's thriving, and well-managed estate, to ask for a drink of water. The man offered him whisky, and then milk, and apologised he had no sherry in the house." All this, of course, is only one of the many "puerile follies" of Irishmen; and, perhaps, that County Carlow farmer, if Mr. Mahaffy's article should meet his uncultured eye, will have the further "ignorance" to think, that his generous, though, no

doubt, rude kindness, need not be turned to his reproach in the public press. But what do "ignorant Irishmen" know of culture or of courtesy in comparison with Trinity College Professors?

We are next treated to some new views on the manufacture of butter; learning, by the way, that our past want of success, notwithstanding all the petting of England, is due to "the laziness of the Irish character." We grow solemnly serious over the lamentable exodus of English capitalists, who, owing to "the Nationalist conspiracy" which Mr. Mahaffy—clever fellow—has recently discovered, have to fly from the shores of Erin, taking their money for security to the safe strong box of the Turkish debt or the Channel Tunnel. But no great and good philosopher is without his remedy. Mr. Mahaffy's was suggested to him, in the present instance, "by the remarkable success of the Irish race under strict military control or discipline." Let the Government only send over a sufficient number of Clifford Lloyds and Major Bonds. Let us have "industry worked on military principles, with prompt military punishments for disobedience, and we, civilians, might attain a similar success!" People are beginning to say that Irishmen are losing their proverbial wit; but talk of *Punch* after Mr. Mahaffy's article! After all, Mr. Mahaffy may not be an Irishman.

Mc.

May Carols: or, Ancilla Domini. By Aubrey De Vere. Third Edition, enlarged. London: Burns & Oates.

It would be presumption for us to recommend this beautiful book to Irish Catholic readers. The author is his own recommendation. If holy thoughts expressed in chaste and elegant poetry have not lost their attraction, these May Carols will be widely read during the coming Month of Mary.

For those who have not already made the acquaintance of the work, it may be useful to give some account of its general character. In an exhaustive preface the author explains two peculiar offices of the Mother of God—with relation to Christian Truth and to the Christian Life. He shows that the dogmas against which modern thought has most openly rebelled, are secured by a correct knowledge of her privileges. Her virtues are the pattern of what is expected in every state. A Virgin, a Mother, a Widow, exulting in joy, and steeped in sorrow, she teaches in her own life how everything may be made conducive to the perfect love of God.

At first sight the work itself appears to consist of detached fragments; but one finds, on perusal, that there is a connection between them, binding them into a complete poem on the Incarnation. Perhaps it will be best described by saying that it is very like the Poet Laureate's "In Memoriam." We have the same "short swallow-flights of song;" but, as we should expect from the subject and the author, Mr. De Vere's book contains far sounder philosophy, or rather, contains very little philosophy, and supplies its place with the best theology of the schools. The metre

even of the two poems is almost the same, the iambic tetrameter; the only difference being that, in the May Carols, unlike "In Memoriam," the verses rhyme alternately.

The poem comprises three parts, each of which is made up of several pieces, generally on some mystery or title of the Virgin, or on some fact on the life of our Lord. The first part brings us to the close of the period of our Saviour's infancy; the second deals with the Public Life down to the Burial; the Assumption completes the third. Interwoven, however, with the subjects already mentioned, there are beautiful pieces on the Divine attributes, exquisite descriptions of May scenery, and communions of the soul with God on Christian Truth and Duty. If we quoted detached passages they would lose their effect; let our readers get the book for themselves.

Instructions for Particular States and Conditions of Life. By the Rev. JOHN GOTHER. Edited by the Rev. M. COMERFORD. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS little book will be found very useful to both clergy and laity. It contains eighteen Instructions suitable for all classes of Christians. There is one for those who work, and another for such as are idle; for the scrupulous as well as for the lax; for masters and servants; for parents and children. The work has been reprinted, with very few changes, from the edition of 1754. The Editor expects, not unreasonably, that "the venerable Author's quaint, old-fashioned phraseology will be found to give additional weight to the wise and holy lessons with which his work abounds."

We have received for Review the following Books :—

Messrs. GILL & SON—

Outlines of English History from the Beginning to the Present Time. By The CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.

Manual of St. Michael the Archangel, or Quis ut Deus. By Father SEBASTIAN, Priest of the Congregation of the Cross and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Report on the State of the Public Accounts between Ireland and Great Britain. By the late Alderman DILLON, M.P.

Messrs. BURNS & OATES—

Science, Prayer, Free Will, and Miracles: An Essay reprinted from the *Dublin Review*. By WILLIAM GEORGE WARD, D. Ph.

Confession. By Monseigneur DE SEGUR. Translated from the French by MARGUERITE MARTIN.

The Soldier's Companion to the Spiritual Exercises. By the Rev. J. REDMAN, D.D. 2nd edition.

Catechism of the Vows. By the Rev. Father PETER COTEL, S.J.

Life of the Good Thief. From the French. By Monseigneur GAUME, Protonatory Apostolic. Translated by M. DE LISLE.

The Pope and Italy. Translated from the Italian by ALEXANDER WOOD, M.A.F.S.A.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1882.

LIGHTNING CONDUCTORS.

FUNCTIONS OF A LIGHTNING CONDUCTOR.

A Lightning Conductor fulfils two functions. First, it favours a silent and gradual discharge of electricity between the cloud and the earth, and thus tends to prevent that accumulation which must of necessity take place before a flash of Lightning will pass. Secondly, if the flash of Lightning come, the Lightning Conductor offers it a safe channel, through which it may pass harmless to the earth.

These two functions of a Lightning Conductor may be easily illustrated by experiment. When our machine is in action, if I present my closed hand to the large brass conductor, a spark passes between them, and I feel, at the same moment, a slight electric shock. Here the conductor of the machine, as usual, holds the place of the electrified cloud; my closed hand represents, as it were, a lofty building that stands out prominently on the surface of the earth; the spark is the flash of Lightning; and the electric shock just suggests the destructive power of the sudden disruptive discharge.

Now let me protect this building by a Lightning Conductor. For this purpose, I take in my hand a brass rod which I connect with the earth by a brass chain. In the first instance, I will have a metal ball on the end of my Lightning Conductor. You see the effect: sparks pass rapidly, but I feel no shock. I can increase the strength of the discharge by hanging this condensing jar on the conductor of the machine. Sparks pass now much more brilliant and powerful than before, but still I get no shock. It is evident, therefore, that my Lightning Rod does not

prevent the flash from passing, but it conveys it harmless to the ground.

I next take a rod which is sharply pointed, and connecting it, as before, with the earth, by a brass chain, I present the sharp point to the conductor of the machine. Observe how different is the result: there is no disruptive discharge; no spark passes; no shock is felt. Electricity still continues to be generated by friction in the machine; and electricity is generated by induction in the brass rod, and in my body. But these two opposite electricities discharge themselves silently by means of this pointed rod, and no sensible effect, of any kind, is exhibited.

These experiments are very simple; but they really put before us, in the clearest possible way, the whole theory of Lightning Conductors. In particular, they give us ocular demonstration that an efficient Lightning Conductor not only makes the Lightning harmless, when it comes, but tends very much to prevent its coming. A remarkable example, on a large scale, of this important property, is furnished by the town of Pietermaritzburg, the capital of the colony of Natal, in South Africa. This town is subject to the frequent visitation of Thunderstorms at certain seasons of the year, and much damage was formerly done by Lightning; but since the erection of Lightning Conductors on the principal buildings, the Lightning has never fallen within the town. Thunderclouds come as before: but they pass silently over the city; and only begin to emit their Lightning flashes when they reach the open country, and have passed beyond the range of the Lightning Conductors.[1]

But it will often happen, even in the case of a pointed Conductor, that the accumulation of electricity goes on so fast in a Thundercloud, that the silent discharge is insufficient to keep it in check. A disruptive discharge will then take place, from time to time, and a flash of Lightning will pass. Under these circumstances, the Lightning Conductor is called upon to fulfil its second function, and to convey the Lightning harmless to the earth.

CONDITIONS OF A LIGHTNING CONDUCTOR.

From the consideration of these functions, which it has to fulfil, we may now infer what are the conditions necessary for an efficient Lightning Conductor. The first con-

[1] See *A Lecture on Thunderstorms*, by Professor Tait of Edinburgh, published in *Nature*, vol. xxii. p. 365.

dition is that the end of the Conductor, projecting into the air, should have, at least, one sharp point. Our experiments have shown us that a pointed Conductor tends, in a manner, to suppress the flash of Lightning altogether; whereas a blunt Conductor, or one ending a ball, tends only to make it harmless when it comes. It is evident, therefore, that the pointed Conductor offers the greater security.

But a fine point is very liable to be melted when the Lightning falls upon it, and thus to be rendered less efficient for future service. To meet this danger, it has recently been suggested, by the Lightning Rod Conference, that the extreme end of the Conductor should be a blunt point, destined to receive the full force of the Lightning flash, when it comes; and that, a little lower down, a number of very fine points should be provided, with a view to favour the silent discharge. This suggestion, which seems to me admirably fitted to provide for the twofold function of a Lightning Conductor, deserves to be recorded in the exact terms of the Official Report.

"It seems best to separate the double functions of the point, prolonging the upper terminal to the very summit, and merely bevelling it off, so that, if a disruptive discharge does take place, the full conducting power of the Rod may be ready to receive it. At the same time, having regard to the importance of silent discharge from sharp points we suggest that, at one foot below the extreme top of the upper terminal, there be firmly attached, by screws and solder, a copper ring bearing three or four copper needles, each six inches long, and tapering from a quarter of an inch diameter to as fine a point as can be made; and with the object of rendering the sharpness as permanent as possible, we advise that they be platinized, gilded, or nickel plated."[1]

The second condition of a Lightning Conductor is that it should be made of such material, and of such dimensions, as to offer an easy passage to the greatest flash of Lightning likely to fall on it: otherwise it might be melted by the discharge, and the Lightning, seeking for itself another path, might force its way through bad Conductors, which it would partly rend asunder, and partly consume by fire. Copper is now generally regarded as the best material for Lightning Conductors, and it is almost universally employed in these countries. If it is used in the form of a rope, it

[1] *Report of the Lightning Rod Conference*, p. 4.

should not be less than half an inch in diameter: if a band of copper is preferred—and it is often found more convenient by builders—it should be about an inch and a half broad, and an eighth of an inch thick. In France, it has been hitherto more usual to employ iron rods for Lightning Conductors: but since iron is much inferior to copper, in its conducting power, the iron rod must be of much larger dimensions; it should be, at least, one inch in diameter.[1]

The third condition is that the Lightning Conductor should be continuous throughout its whole length, and should be placed in good electrical contact with the earth. This is a condition of the first importance; and experience has shown that it is one most likely of all to be neglected. In a city like Dublin, the best earth connection is furnished by the system of water mains and gas mains; each of which constitutes a great network of conductors everywhere in contact with the earth. Two points, however, must be carefully attended to: First, that the electrical contact between the Lightning Conductor and the metal pipe should be absolutely perfect; and Secondly, that the pipe selected should be of such large dimensions as to allow the Lightning an easy passage through it, to the principal main.

If no such system of water pipes or gas pipes is at hand, then the Lightning Rod should be connected with moist earth, by means of a bed of charcoal, or a metal plate not less than three feet square. This metal plate should be always of the same material as the Conductor: otherwise a galvanic action would be set up between the two metals, which, in course of time, might seriously damage the contact. Dry earth, sand, rock, and shingle, are bad conductors; and, if such materials exist near the surface of the earth, the Lightning Rod must pass through them, and be carried down until it reaches water, or permanently damp earth.

[1] The dimensions here set forth are greater, in some respects, than those "recommended as a minimum" in the Report of the Lightning Rod Conference, page 4. But it will be observed by those who consult the Report, that the minimum recommended is just the size which, in the preceding paragraph of the Report, is said to have been actually melted by a flash of Lightning; and therefore it seems to me not to be a very safe minimum. It will be also seen that there is some confusion in the figures given, and that they contradict one another. For the dimensions of iron rods see the Instructions adopted by the Academy of Science, Paris, May 20, 1875; *Lightning Rod Conference*, pp. 67–8.

If the earth contact is bad, a Lightning Conductor does more harm than good. It invites the Lightning down upon the building, without providing for it, at the same time, a free passage to earth. The consequence is that the Lightning forces a way for itself, violently bursting asunder whatever opposes its progress, and setting fire to whatever is combustible.

I will give you some recent and striking examples. In the month of May, 1879, the Church of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, in England, though provided with a Conductor, was struck by Lightning, and sustained considerable damage. On examination, it was found that the Lightning followed the Conductor, down along the spire as far as the roof; then, changing its course, it forced its way through a buttress of massive masonwork, dislodging about two cartloads of stones, and leaped over to the leads of the roof, about six feet distant; it now followed the leads until it came to the cast iron downpipes intended to discharge the rain water; and through these it descended to the earth. When the earth contact of the Lightning Conductor was examined, it was found exceedingly deficient. The Rod was simply bent underground, and buried in dry loose rubbish, at a depth not exceeding eighteen inches. This is a very instructive example. The Lightning had a choice of two paths, one by the Conductor prepared for it, the other by the leads of the roof, and the downpipes: and by a kind of instinct, which, however we may explain, we must always contemplate with wonder, it chose the path of least resistance; though in doing so, it had to burst its way, at the outset, through a massive wall of solid masonry.[1]

On the fifth of June in the same year, a flash of Lightning struck the house of Mr. Osbaldiston, near Sheffield, and notwithstanding the supposed protection of a Lightning Conductor, it did damage to the amount of about five hundred pounds. The Lightning here followed the Conductor to a point about nine feet from the ground, then passed through a thick wall to a gas pipe, at the back of the drawing-room mirror. It melted the gas pipe, set fire to the gas, smashed the mirror to atoms, broke the Sevres vases on the chimney piece, and dashed the furniture about. In this case, as in the former, it was found that the

[1] See Letter of Mr. R. S. Newall, F.R.S., in *The Times*, May 30, 1879.

earth contact was bad; and, in addition, the Conductor itself was of too small dimensions. Hence the electric discharge found an easier path to earth through the gas pipes, though to reach them it had to force for itself a passage through a resisting mass of non-conductors.[1]

Again, in the same year, on the twenty-eighth of May, the house of Mr. Tomes, of Caterham, was struck by Lightning, and some slight damage was done. After a careful examination, it was found that the greater part of the discharge left the Lightning Conductor, with which the house was provided, and passed over the slope of the roof to an attic room, into which it forced its way through a brick wall, and reached a small iron cistern. This cistern was connected by an iron pipe, of considerable dimensions, with two pumps in the basement story; and through them the Lightning found an easy passage to the earth, and did but little harm on its way. When the earth contact of the Lightning Conductor was examined, it was discovered that the end of the Rod was simply stuck into a dry chalky soil, to a depth of about twelve inches. Thus, in this case, as in the two former, it was made quite clear that the Lightning Conductor failed to fulfil its functions, because the earth contact was bad.[2]

Cases are not uncommon in which builders provide underground a carefully constructed reservoir of water, into which the lower end of the Lightning Rod is introduced. The idea seems to prevail that a reservoir of water constitutes a good earth contact; and this is quite true of a natural reservoir, such as a lake, where the water is in contact with moist earth, over a considerable area. But an artificial reservoir may have quite an opposite character, and practically insulate the Lightning Conductor from the earth. One which came under my notice lately, in the neighbourhood of this city, consists of a large earthenware pipe set on end in a bed of cement, and kept half full of water. Now the earthenware pipe is a good insulator, and so is the bed of cement in which it rests: and the whole arrangement is identical, in all essential features, with the apparatus of Professor Richman, in which he introduced his Lightning Rod into a glass bottle, and by which he ost his life a hundred and thirty years ago.

[1] See *Nature*, June 12, 1879, vol. xx. p. 146.

[2] See Letter of Mr. Tomes in *Nature*, vol. xx. p. 145; also *Lightning Rod Conference*, pp. 210-15.

A Conductor mounted in this manner will, probably enough, draw down Lightning from the clouds; but it is more likely to discharge it, with destructive effect, into the building it is intended to guard, than to transmit it harmlessly to the earth. An example is at hand in the case of Christ Church, in the town of Clevedon, in Somersetshire. This Church was provided with a very efficient system of Lightning Conductors, five in number, corresponding to the four pinnacles and the flagstaff, on the summit of the principal tower. The five Conductors consisted of good copper rope; all were united together inside the tower; through which they were carried down to earth, and there ended in a earthenware drain. This kind of earth contact might be pretty good as long as water was flowing in the drain: but whenever the drain was dry, the Conductor was practically insulated from the earth. On the fifteenth of March, 1876, the Church was struck by Lightning, which, for some distance, followed the line of the Conductor; then finding its passage barred, by the earthenware drain, which was dry at the time, it burst through the walls of the Church, displacing several hundred weight of stone, and making its way to earth through the gas pipe.[1]

Another very instructive example is furnished by the Lightning Conductor attached to the Lighthouse of Berehaven, on the South-west Coast of Ireland. It consists of a half-inch copper-wire rope, which is carried down the face of the tower "until it reaches the rock at its base, where it terminates in *a small hole, three inches by three inches, jumped out of the rock, about six inches under the surface.*" Here, again, we have a good imitation of Professor Richman's experiment, with only this difference, that a small hole in a rock is substituted for a glass bottle. A Lightning Conductor of this kind fulfils two functions: it increases the chance of the Lightning coming down on the building; and it makes it positively certain that, having come, it cannot get to earth without doing mischief.

The Lightning did come down on the Berehaven Lighthouse about five years ago. As might have been expected, it made no use of the Lightning Conductor in finding a path to earth, but forced its way through the building, dealing destruction around, as it descended from stage to stage. The Board of Irish Lights furnished a detailed report of this accident to the Lightning Rod Conference, in March,

[1] See Anderson *Lightning Conductors*, pp. 208–10.

1880, from which the above particulars have been derived: but it does not appear from the report, that even then they had discovered what was the real source of the evil, or that they had made any change in the earth contact of their Conductor.[1]

PRECAUTION AGAINST RIVAL CONDUCTORS.

But it is not enough to provide a good Lightning Conductor, which is itself able to convey the electric discharge harmless to the earth: we must take care that there are no rival Conductors, near at hand in the building, to draw off the Lightning from the path prepared for it, and conduct it by another route, in which its course might be marked with destruction. This precaution is of especial importance at the present day, owing to the great extent to which metal of various kinds is employed in the construction and fittings of modern buildings. I will take a typical case which will bring home this point clearly to your minds.

A great part of the roof of many large buildings is covered with lead. The lead, at one or more points, may come near the gutters intended to collect the rain water: the gutters are in connection with the cast iron down-pipes into which the water flows, and these down-pipes often pass into the earth, which, under the circumstances, is generally moist, and, therefore, in good electrical contact with the metal pipes. Here, then, is an irregular line of conductors which, though it has gaps, here and there, may, under certain conditions, offer to the Lightning discharge a path not less free than the Lightning Conductor itself. What is the consequence? The flash of Lightning, or a part of it, will quit the Lightning Rod, and make its way to earth through the broken series of conductors, doing, perhaps, serious mischief, as it leaps across, or bursts asunder, the non-conducting links in the chain.

Another illustration may be taken from the gas and water pipes, with which almost all buildings, in great cities, are now provided, and which constitute a network of conductors, spreading out over the walls and ceilings, and stretching down into the earth, with which they have the best possible electrical contact. Now it often happens that a Lightning Conductor, at some point in its course, comes within a short distance of this network of pipes. In such

[1] See *Lightning Rod Conference*, pp. 208-10.

a case, a portion of the electrical discharge is apt to leave the Lightning Conductor, force its way destructively through masses of masonry, enter the network of pipes, melt the leaden gas pipe, ignite the gas, and set the building on fire.

These are not merely the speculations of philosophers. All the various incidents I have just described have occurred, over and over again, during the last few years. You will remember, in some of the examples I have already set before you, when the electric discharge failed to find a sufficient path to earth through the Lightning Rod, it followed some such broken series of chance conductors as we are now considering. But this broken series of conductors seems to bring with it a special danger of its own, even when the Lightning Conductor is otherwise in efficient working order. I will give you just one case in point.

On the fifth of June, 1879, the Church of Sainte Marie, Rugby, was struck by Lightning, and set on fire, and narrowly escaped being burned to the ground. A number of workmen were engaged, on that day, in repairing the spire of the Church. About three o'clock they saw a dense black cloud approaching, and they came down to take shelter within the building. In a few minutes they heard a terrific crash, just overhead: at the same moment, the gas was lighted under the organ loft, and the wood work was set in a blaze. The men soon succeeded in putting out the fire, and the Church escaped with very little damage.

Now, in this case, there was no reason to suppose that the Lightning Conductor was, in any way, defective. But about half-way up the spire there was a peal of eight bells. Attached to these bells were iron wires, about the eighth of an inch in diameter, leading from the clappers down to the organ loft, where they came within a short distance of a gas pipe fixed in the wall. It would seem that a great part of the discharge was carried safely to earth by the Lightning Conductor. But a part branched off at the bells in the spire, descended by the iron wires, and forced its way into the organ loft, to reach the network of gas pipes, through which it passed down to the earth, melting the soft leaden gas pipe in its course, and lighting the gas.

The remedy for this danger is obvious. All large masses of metal used in the structure of a building—the

leads and gutters of the roof, the cast iron down-pipes, the iron gas and water mains,—should be put in good metallic connection with the Lightning Conductor, and, as far as may be, with one another. Connected in this way they furnish a continuous and effective line of conductors, leading safely down to earth, and instead of being a dangerous rival, they become a useful auxiliary to the Lightning Rod.

I would observe, however, that the Lightning Conductor ought not to be connected directly with the soft leaden pipes which are commonly employed to convey gas and water to the several parts of a building. Such pipes, as we have seen, are liable to be melted when any considerable part of the Lightning discharge passes through them; and thus much harm might be done, and the building might even be set on fire by the lighting of the gas. Every good end will be attained if the Conductor is put in good metallic connection with the iron gas and water *mains*, either inside or outside the building.

It is a question often asked whether a Lightning Conductor should be insulated from the building it is intended to protect. I believe that this practice was formerly recommended by some writers; and I have observed that glass insulators are still employed, not unfrequently, by builders, in the erection of Lightning Conductors. But, from the principles I have set before you to-day, it seems clear that any insulation of this kind is, to say the least, altogether useless. The building to be protected is itself in electrical communication with the earth; and the Lightning Conductor, if efficient, is also in electrical communication with the earth. Therefore the Lightning Conductor and the building are in electrical communication with each other, through the earth; and any attempt at insulating them from one another, above the earth, is only labour thrown away.

Further, I have just shown you that the masses of metal employed in the structure or decoration of a building ought to be electrically connected with each other, and with the Lightning Conductor. Now if this be done, the Lightning Conductor is, by the fact, in direct communication with the building, and the glass insulators are utterly futile. Again, the building itself, during a Thunderstorm, becomes highly electrified by the inductive action of the cloud, and needs to be discharged, through the Conductor, just as the surrounding earth needs to be

discharged. Therefore the more thoroughly it is connected with the Conductor the more effectively will the Conductor fulfil its functions.

PERSONAL SAFETY IN A THUNDERSTORM.

I suppose there is hardly any one to whom the question has not occurred, at some time or another, what he had best do to secure his personal safety, during a Thunderstorm. This question is of so much practical interest that I think I shall be excused if I say a few words about it, though perhaps, strictly speaking, it is somewhat beside the subject of Lightning Conductors. At the outset, perhaps I shall surprise you when I say that you would enjoy the most perfect security if you were in a chamber entirely composed of metal plates, or in a cage constructed of metal bars, or if you were encased, like the knights of old, in a complete suit of metal armour. This kind of defence is looked upon as so perfect, among scientific men, that Professor Tait does not hesitate to recommend his adventurous young friends, devoted to the cause of science, to provide themselves with a light suit of copper, and thus protected, take the first opportunity of plunging into a Thundercloud, there to investigate, at its source, the process by which Lightning is manufactured.[1]

The reason why a metal covering affords complete protection is that, when a conductor is electrified, the whole charge of electricity exists on the outside surface of the conductor; and therefore, when a discharge takes place, it is only the outside surface that is affected. Thus if you were completely encased in a metal covering, and then charged with electricity by the inductive action of a Thundercloud, it is only the metal covering that would undergo any change of electrical condition; and when the Lightning flash would pass, it is only the metal covering that would be discharged.

Let me show you a very pretty and interesting experiment, to illustrate this principle. Here is a hollow brass cylinder, open at the ends, mounted on an insulating stand. On the outside is erected a light brass rod, with two pith balls suspended from it by linen threads. Two pith balls are also suspended, by linen threads, from the inner surface

[1] Lecture on Thunderstorms, *Nature*, vol. xxii. pp. 365, 437. See also a very interesting paper by the late Professor J. Clark Maxwell, read before the British Association at Glasgow, in 1876, and reprinted in the *Report of the Lightning Rod Conference*, pp. 109, 110.

of the cylinder. You know that these pith balls will indicate to us the electrical condition of the surfaces to which they are attached. If the surface be electrified, the pith balls attached to it will share in its electrical condition, and will repel each other: if the surface be neutral, the pith balls attached to it will be neutral, and will remain at rest.

I now put this apparatus under the influence of our Thundercloud, that is, the large brass conductor of our machine. The moment my assistant turns the handle, the electricity begins to be developed on the conductor, and you see, at once, the effect on the brass cylinder. (Fig. 6).

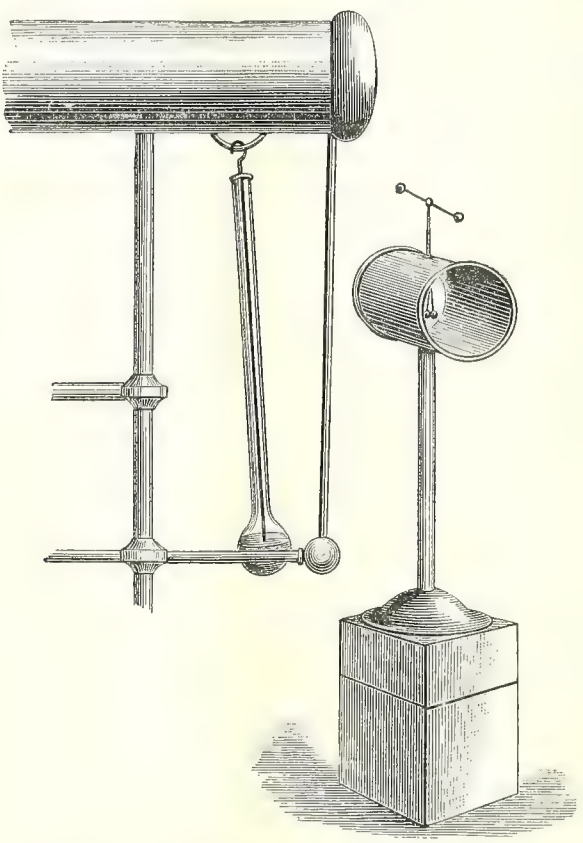


Fig. 6.—Protection from Lightning furnished by a closed Conductor.

The pith balls attached to the outer surface fly asunder: those attached to the inner surface remain at rest. And now a spark passes: our Thundercloud is discharged; the inductive action ceases; the pith balls on the outside surface suddenly

collapse, while those on the inside surface are in no way affected.

It is not necessary that the brass cylinder should be insulated. To vary the experiment, I will now connect it with the earth by a chain; you will observe that the effect is precisely the same as before. Flash after flash passes while the machine continues in action; the outside pith balls fly about violently, being charged and discharged alternately; the inside pith balls remain all the time at rest. Thus you see clearly that if you were sitting inside such a metal chamber as this, or covered with a complete suit of metal armour, you would be perfectly secure during a Thunderstorm, whether the chamber were electrically connected with the earth or insulated from it.

But it rarely happens, when a Thunderstorm comes, that an iron hut or a complete suit of armour is at hand, and you will naturally ask me what you ought to do under ordinary circumstances. First, let me tell you what you ought not to do. You ought not to lean against the trunk of a tree; you ought not to take shelter under a haystack, or under the lee of a house; you ought not to stand on the bank of a river, or close to a large sheet of water. If indoors, you ought not to stay near the fireplace, or near any of the flues or chimneys; you ought not to stand under a gasalier hanging from the ceiling; you ought not to remain close to the gas pipes or water pipes, or any large masses of metal, whether used in the construction of the building, or lying loosely about.

The necessity for these precautions is sufficiently evident from the principles I have already put before you. You want to prevent your body from becoming a link in that broken chain of conductors which, as we have seen, the electric discharge between earth and cloud is likely to follow. Now a tree is a better conductor than the air; and your body is a better conductor than a tree. Hence the Lightning, in choosing the path of least resistance, would leave the air to pass through the tree, and would leave the tree to pass through you. A like danger would await you if you stood under a haystack, or a house. Every large sheet of water constitutes practically a great conductor, which offers a very perfect medium of discharge between the earth round about and the cloud. Therefore, when a Thundercloud is overhead, the sheet ofwater is likely to become one end of the line of the Lightning discharge; and if you be standing near it, the line of discharge may pass through your body.

Again, when Lightning strikes a building, it is very apt to use the stack of chimneys in making its way to earth; partly because the stack of chimneys is generally the most prominent part of the building, and partly because, on account of the heated air, and the soot within the chimney, it is usually a moderately good conductor. Therefore, if you be indoors, you must keep well away from the chimneys; and for a similar reason, you must keep as far as you can from large masses of metal of every kind.

Having pointed out the sources of danger which you must try to avoid in a Thunderstorm, I have nearly exhausted all the practical advice that I have at my command. But there are some occasions on which it may be possible, not only to avoid evident sources of danger, but to make special provision for your own security. Thus, for example, in the open country, if you stand a short distance from a wood, you may consider yourself as practically protected by a Lightning Conductor. For a wood, by its numerous branches and leaves, favours very much a quiet discharge of electricity, thus tending to suppress altogether the flash of Lightning; and if the flash of Lightning does come, it is much more likely to strike the wood than to strike you; because the wood is a far more prominent body, and offers, on the whole, an easier path to earth. In like manner, if you place yourself near a tall solitary tree, a few yards outside its longest branches, you will be in a position of comparative safety. If the storm overtake you in the open plain, far away from trees and buildings, you will be safer lying flat on the ground than standing erect.

In an ordinary dwelling house, the best situation is probably the middle story, and the best position in the room, is in the middle of the floor, provided, of course, that there is no gasalier hanging from the ceiling above or below you. Strictly speaking, the *middle of the room* would be a still safer position than the middle of the floor; and nothing could be more perfect than the plan suggested by Franklin, to get into "a hammock, or swinging bed, suspended by silk cords, and equally distant from the walls on every side, as well as from the ceiling and floor, above and below." But as I can hardly hope that many of you, when the Thunderstorm actually comes, will find yourselves provided with this elaborate contrivance, I would recommend, as more generally useful, another plan put forth by the same high authority, which is simply to sit on one chair, in the middle of the floor, and put your feet up on another.

This arrangement will approach very nearly to absolute security, if you take the further precaution, also mentioned by Franklin, of putting a feather bed or a couple of hair mattresses under the chairs.[1]

SECURITY AFFORDED BY LIGHTNING CONDUCTORS.

You might, perhaps, be inclined to infer hastily, from the examples I have set before you, in the course of this Lecture, of buildings which were struck and severely injured by Lightning, though provided with Lightning Conductors, that a Lightning Conductor affords a very imperfect protection to life and property. But such an idea would be entirely at variance with the evidence before us on the subject. In all the cases to which I have referred, and in many others which might easily have been cited, the damage was done simply because the Lightning Conductors were deficient in one or more of the conditions on which I have so much insisted. Where these conditions are fulfilled, the Lightning flash will either not come down at all upon the building, or if it do come, it will be carried harmless to the earth.

Perhaps there is no one fact that so forcibly brings home to the mind the complete protection afforded by Lightning Conductors as the change which followed their introduction into the Royal Navy. I have already told you that, in former times, the damage done by Lightning to ships of the Royal Navy was a regular source of expenditure, amounting, every year, to several thousand pounds sterling. But after the general adoption of Lightning Conductors, about forty years ago, through the indefatigable exertions of Sir William Snow Harris, this source of expenditure absolutely disappeared; and injury to life and property has long been practically unknown in Her Majesty's Fleet.

I should say, however, that the trial of Lightning Conductors in the Navy, though it lasted long enough to prove their perfect efficiency, has almost come to an end in our own days. The great iron monsters, which, in recent times, have taken the place of the wooden ships of Old England, are quite independent of Lightning Conductors, in the common sense of the word. Their ponderous masts are virtually Lightning Conductors of colossal dimensions, and their unsightly hulls are, so to speak, earth-plates of

[1] See further information on this interesting subject in the *Report of the Lightning Rod Conference*, pp. 233–5.

enormous size, in perfect electrical contact with the ocean. To add to such structures Lightning Conductors of the common kind would be nothing better than "wasteful and ridiculous excess."

As regards buildings on land, I may refer to the little province of Schleswig-Holstein, of which I have already spoken to you. From some cause or other this small peninsula is singularly exposed to Thunderstorms, and of late years it has been more abundantly provided with Lightning Conductors than, perhaps, any other district of equal extent in Europe. Now as a simple illustration of the protection afforded by these Lightning Conductors, I may mention that, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1878, a violent Thunderstorm burst over the little town of Utersen. Five several flashes of Lightning fell in different parts of the town, but not the slightest harm was done; each flash being safely carried to earth by a Lightning Conductor. Further, it appears from the records of the Fire Insurance Company that, out of 552 buildings injured by Lightning, during a period of eight years—from 1870 to 1878—only four had Lightning Conductors; and in these four cases, it was found, on examination, that the Lightning Conductors were defective.[1]

It would be easy to multiply evidence on this subject. But as I have already trespassed, I fear, too far on your patience, I will content myself with saying, in conclusion, that according to all the highest authorities, both practical and theoretical, any structure provided with a Lightning Conductor, properly fitted up, in conformity with the principles I have set before you to-day, is perfectly secure against Lightning. The Lightning indeed may fall upon it, but it will pass harmless to the earth; and the experience of more than a hundred years has fully justified the simple and modest words of the great inventor of Lightning Conductors: "It has pleased God, in His goodness to mankind, at length to discover to them the means of securing their habitations and other buildings from mischief by Thunder and Lightning."

[As some of my readers may wish to pursue the study of Lightning and Lightning Conductors beyond the limits to which a popular Lecture must, of necessity, be confined, I subjoin a list of the books which, I think, they would be

[1] See *Die Theorie, die Anlage, und die Prüfung der Blitzableiter*, von Doctor W. Holtz, Greifswald, 1878.

likely to find most useful for the purpose. Among ordinary Text Books on Physics, *Jamin*, Cours de Physique, vol. i. pp. 470-494; *Mascart*, Traité d'Electricité Statique, vol. ii. pp. 555-579; *de Larive*, A Treatise on Electricity, in three volumes, London, 1853-8, vol. iii. pp. 90-201; *Daguin*, Traité de Physiqué, vol. iii. pp. 209-280: *Riess*, Die Lehre von der Reibungs-Elektricität, vol. ii. pp. 494-564; *Müller-Pouillet*, Lehrbuch der Physik, Braunschweig, 1881, vol. iii. pp. 210-225. Of the numerous special treatises and detached papers on the subject, I would recommend, Instruction sur les Paratonnerres adoptée par l'Académie des Sciences, Part i. 1823, Part ii. 1854, Part iii. 1867, Paris, 1874; *Arago*, Sur le Tonnerre, Paris, 1837; also his Meteorological Essays, translated by Sabine, London, 1855; *Sir William Snow Harris*, On the Nature of Thunderstorms, London, 1843; also by the same writer, A Treatise on Frictional Electricity, London, 1867; and various papers on Lightning Conductors, from 1822 to 1859; *Tomlinson*, The Thunderstorm, London, 1877; *Anderson*, Lightning Conductors, London, 1880; *Holtz*, Ueber die Theorie, die Anlage, und die Prüfung der Blitzableiter, Greifswald, 1878; *Weber*, Berichte über Blitzschläge in der Provinz Schleswig-Holstein, Kiel, 1880-1; *Tait*, A Lecture on Thunderstorms, delivered in the City Hall, Glasgow, in 1880, *Nature*, vol. xxii.; Report of the Lightning Rod Conference, London, 1882. This last-mentioned volume comes to us with very high authority, representing, as it does, the joint labours of several eminent scientific men, selected from the following Societies: the Meteorological Society, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Society of Telegraph Engineers and Electricians, the Physical Society. I should explain here, perhaps, that although the book had not been issued at the time my Lectures were delivered before the Royal Dublin Society, I have not hesitated to avail myself of the information it contains, in preparing them for publication.]

MAY WISHES—THEN AND NOW.

WE give below an exquisite little poem from the pen of the late lamented Father Thomas J. Rowe. This gifted young priest was a native of the diocese of Meath, and from the time of his ordination in 1877 to his death in 1881, he discharged with untiring zeal and great success, the duties of Professor in the diocesan college, St. Finian's, Navan. Father Rowe's talents were of the highest order; of this we can adduce no better proof than by referring to the honours he won during his brilliant course in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, though during most of this time he was in very weak health. Nor was his success confined to any one department. It extended over such a variety of subjects that his class-fellows felt that his talents were not only exalted in kind, but universal in character. In full keeping with his rare mental endowments, were his tender piety, his ever active zeal, and the deep though half-hidden amiability of his lofty nature. When it came to his turn to preach before his fellow students in Maynooth, they came in full expectation of a rich literary treat; but before he had spoken many minutes, the sublime ideas, the sincere piety, the soul-stirring pathos of the fervent discourse, not only held all minds captive, but so strongly moved all hearts, that the tear-drops glistened in the eyes of many of his hearers. When afterwards it occasionally became his coveted privilege to preach to the faithful, his earnest, pathetic sermons were no less striking and effective.

He had diligently applied himself from an early age to the language and literature, ancient and modern, of his native country: and he thus acquired an intimate knowledge of the history of the saints, scholars, bards, and warriors of former days. He had an accurate acquaintance, too, with the actions and writings of the distinguished Irishmen of modern times, and while gratefully appreciating their merits and services, his clear penetrating mind and keen political instincts enabled him to see their shortcomings, and correctly estimate their views. In general literature, too, he was very well versed; and the iron grasp of his retentive mind allowed him so to store it by his extensive reading, that it was quite surprising what a wealth of apt quotation he could bring forward in illustration of his deep and valuable reflections, or in support of his clear and logical arguments.

Father Rowe has not left, we understand, much completed literary work; but we may nevertheless say of him

that "he thought as a man of genius; and looked round upon nature and on life with an eye that at once comprehends the vast and attends to the minute." He had formed a plan of reading, with a view to his future works, that it would take years to carry out, and he eagerly embraced every opportunity for research, observation, and study. It is much to be regretted that he who from his professor's chair was so successful in elucidating the most abstruse subjects, and in investing the driest topic with an attractive interest, was not spared in life to give to a larger audience the results of his maturer studies, and the creations of his grand, rich, original mind. M.

MAY WISHES: THEN AND NOW.

Where the fairy mounds lie sleeping
On the bosom of the valley,
There's a gentle streamlet creepin
Through the sedge and 'neath the sally.
Spake that streamlet to me lately,
"Pilgrim weak, and worn and weary,
Rest thee 'neath the poplars stately,
Rest, and hearken to my query.

"Thou wert young when first I knew thee,
'Twas a May-day morn delicious,
And thy young heart was ambitious,
For I sang sweet songs to soothe thee,
And I whispered softly to thee,
And thou sang'st me all thy wishes.
Then thy heart was blithely building
Hopes all fair with Hope's own gilding,
Name and fame, and pomp and power,
These thy young heart sought that hour;
Now thou lookest bent and gloomy,—
Is thy heart as then ambitious?—
Lo! 'tis May-day morn delicious,
I would know thy hopes and wishes,
Sing them once again unto me!"

And the pilgrim bent and weary
Answered thus the streamlet's query:
"I would have again the simple
Guileless heart that once was mine,
When my cheek knew down and dimple,
And I wove the dew-gemmed flowers,
Culled in Lecane's[1] lonely bowers,
Ere the noonday sun did shine.

[1] Lecane: the writer's birthplace, situated in the parish of Rathkenny, County Meath.

"I would ask the minstrel's dower,
Rich in potent psalm and song,
How my heart would wield its power,
Pealing pæans proud, and ringing
Anthems bold and grand, and singing
Hymns that might to Heaven belong.

"I would be a lover giving
Heart and soul to love alone,
Loving loyally while living,
Loving so that death should find me
Asking stronger bonds to bind me
To the love my heart hath known."

"Simple child and guileless, wreathing
Lonely Lecane's dew-gemmed flowers,
Loyal lover, deep vows breathing,
Minstrel singing all thy hours—
Wherefore sing those songs divine?
Whither should thy vows incline?
Who should wear these wreaths of thine?

"At thy feet, O Mother Mary,
I would strew my floral treasure;
And the tender infant gazing
In thine eyes with childlike pleasure,
Should receive the homage loyal
Of a love that would not vary;
And my heart would aye be raising
Pæans proud and anthems royal,
Ever blessing, ever praising
Jesus Saviour! Mother Mary!"

T. J. R.

TENNYSON'S PHILOSOPHY.

ADMIRERS of the Poet Laureate claim for their favourite that in his words modern thought has found its fittest expression. Carlyle told us long since, in his Lectures on Heroes, that every epoch works on silently for ages, till at length the force that is in it bursts out in the music of some one voice, spends itself, and declines. Greece is dead, but, in Homer, Greece may still be construed. When the Romans reached the meridian of their power Virgil appeared

to utter for all time ideas which had struggled through seven centuries of kings and consuls, and at length mastered the world; when the song was completed the sun of pagan Italy sank gradually into darkness and decay. "So in Dante, ten silent centuries found a voice. The *Divina Commedia* is of Dante's writing; yet in truth it belongs to ten Christian centuries, only the finishing of it is Dante's. He is the Spokesman of the Middle Ages: these sublime ideas of his, terrible and beautiful, are the fruit of the Christian Meditation of all the good men who had gone before him." Again, "when chivalry had reached its last finish, and was on the point of breaking down into slow or swift dissolution, as we now see it everywhere, Shakespeare, with his seeing eye, with his perennial singing voice, was sent to take note of it, to give long-enduring record of it." One may not be disposed to adopt the theory in its entirety; but it commends itself to one's judgment, at least to this extent, that great social and religious struggles are eminently calculated to excite and inspire genius. It is true not only of time past, but of the present and of the future; the newest age, as the oldest, will produce its Poet, when sufficient force has been treasured up to burst out in song.

If modern times are without their Poet, it surely is not for want of energy. What strange convulsions there have been since the first book was printed! The Reformation, the new Philosophy, the French Revolution, other revolutions of not less significance, steam, electricity, the press, the advance of democracy, the fierce struggle in the religious world,—when their accumulated force comes to set itself to music, what an Epic may we not expect!

But our Poet has yet to come. It is true that occasional pieces have now and then appeared, which fairly represent particular phases of modern life. It is also true, perhaps, that after a hundred years Tennyson will be the best exponent of the political and intellectual struggles of Victoria's reign. But, after all, how much of their fathers' history will he tell posterity? How much has he concentrated and uttered of the energy of four hundred years? Little more, if we mistake not, than the struggle with materialism and the reform times. There is, indeed, talk of science in his poetry; there is plenty of astronomy and electricity, flashing of lightnings, weighing of suns. But the strength of the man is not there; his force comes out in other places, where he expresses the earnest workings of religious minds. Not that he has given a full and complete expression; but

he speaks as one who has himself been engaged in the battle, and can graphically describe the dangers he endured in person, but has nothing to tell of the trials of others, for that he was so occupied with those of his own.

It is for this reason that good judges think "In Memoriam" the best of his works. The intellectual public have not yet decided in favour of any particular poem. Some prefer the "Idylls," others "Maud," and others still are attracted by the comparative simplicity of the shorter pieces. A choice will depend a good deal on the cast of the reader's mind, and the direction of his ordinary studies. The short poems are, indeed, sweet, and pretty, and elegant. In them the Author always shows himself to be a man of culture. In like manner no fault can be found with the "Idylls." The descriptive passages are really beautiful, true to nature in every part. The knights and ladies always express themselves with neatness and elegance. The versification is absolutely faultless; whilst the poet displays infinite resource in the use of the cæsural pause. Nay more, in many passages—for example, the speech of Arthur in "Guinevere"—he rises to the sublime. Nevertheless, there are persons who think that even in the "Idylls" Tennyson is not at his best. He says many nice and pretty things in the most elegant manner; but there is a want of strength. The energy of four hundred years does not find one expression. Had he lived in the reign of the lion-hearted king, it is likely that the chivalry age would have had its influence upon him; his tilts would be more stirring, his knights and ladies more natural, and the "Morte D'Arthur" might have turned out an Epic. But there is a tameness about the events he describes; his combats are but painted combats; so that the reader instinctively feels that his Author had no experience of the shock of steeds and heroes, had never even witnessed a tournament. One who has never been at sea may learn from books many smart things about the sailor's life, and should he write on the subject, will contrive, if a clever man, to say clever things; but the freshness of the salt water will not be there; for that one must have been a sailor.

"Maud" is decidedly an improvement on the "Idylls." Here one feels that the poet is sincere, that his subject has forced itself upon him, entered into him, and broken out into music. The struggle for riches has gone on from the beginning, but in no former age was it so keen as now. The development of mechanics has been a lever to turn

the minds of men. Coal, iron, cotton, the steamboat, the railway—these things have changed the face of the world. Old feudal institutions have tumbled down. "The people throng the chairs and thrones of civil power." The humblest may now hope, by work and energy, to die in a palace. And withal, there is dire poverty, and party tyranny, and class exclusion; the "almighty dollar" rules the world—

> "Every door is barred with gold, and opens but to golden keys."

Men of genius become soon disgusted with the hollowness and mockery of such boasted civilisation. All this the Laureate felt in the days of his highest vigour; he often set himself to give it musical expression, and its most forcible and harmonious utterance will be found in "Maud."

But there is another and a fiercer struggle. True, it is not felt by ordinary persons. We may well thank God that in the Catholic Church we have a haven of safety, where all is "calm, and peace, and rest," whilst the storm roars abroad. But think of others. Think of a poor Protestant who sets out on life's journey with a sincere conviction of a soul to save, and of a heaven and a hell. Who can direct him on the safe path? Who is right where so many dispute? He must turn his attention to the very foundations of the Christian religion; doubts torture him at every step; a parade of learning is made to cover sophistry; it will take a lifetime to thoroughly examine even one system. And yet there is the soul to be saved, and there is a heaven and a hell, and there is death.

> "Well roars the storm to those who hear
> A deeper voice across the storm."

But God help them to whom no deep voice calls; or if it calls, who are taught to shun it as the voice of doom.

Here again we have fierce energies struggling to utter themselves for the last four hundred years. It is a combat not of man with man, but of soul with soul; yea, and of devils with God. It is manifest that Mr. Tennyson was at one period engaged sternly in the strife, perhaps is still engaged. He himself refers to times "when faith had fallen asleep," when "he heard a voice, 'believe no more.'" He tells us how, "like Paul with beasts, he fought with death." Again he praises the firmness of one who "faced the spectres of the mind and laid them;" and he lays down

this proposition which must have forced itself upon him through his own struggle:—

> "There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds."

His poems show careful reading in all the branches of ancient and modern philosophy, not merely as theories or abstract speculations, but in relation to his own soul, and her duty towards God. What a maze to wander through! We, Catholics, have no idea of the terrors of this darkness; for the lamp of faith directs our steps, and our infallible guide does not suffer us to stray from the path and lose ourselves in the wilderness. Protestants, indeed, say they have the Scriptures; but when tradition is set aside, and the Church's voice unheeded, the Scriptures soon resolve themselves into myths and fables. There is only one system can stand the test of sincere and earnest inquiry.

The strength and sublimity of poetry are always in proportion to the amount of energy working in the poet. For high intelligences there is nothing more calculated to excite energy than religious struggles. In his "In Memoriam" Mr. Tennyson set himself to give expression to his own troubles in the matter of religion; and hence, though his other works may show more grace and elegance—and "In Memoriam" is not without graceful beauty—yet it is in this memorial to his dead friend that the full strength of the Laureate is made manifest, and that he is most sublime.

We readily admit that many critics will not acknowledge the correctness of this estimate. A good deal depends on one's own turn of mind; and that poem will naturally be most appreciated, which most accurately expresses one's thoughts. Moreover, we do not by any means wish to convey that "In Memoriam" is altogether free from defect. In the very fulness of the expressions of eternal fidelity there is something unnatural, overdone. One expects that a person under the influence of great and sincere grief, would not be so loud in his protestations: and if time should have loosed the tongue and thawed the frozen fount of tears, one expects that it would also have moderated the intensity of the sorrow. Indeed, the Poet himself anticipated the objection, for he writes:—

> "The traveller hears me now and then,
> And sometimes harshly will he speak;
> 'This fellow would make weakness weak,
> And melt the waxen hearts of men.'"

The answer is, of course, beautiful and poetic; but we confess, that whatever impulse inspires the trill of the linnet, the song seems to us always natural and in season, and that is more than can be said of certain stanzas of "In Memoriam."

Again, why is it that so many passages are so obscure? In diplomacy we can well understand that the use of language may be, according to the expression of Fontenelle, to conceal one's thoughts. But books are written for another purpose to give information. In addition, poetry should aim at pleasing, should express in musical language what most of us feel. The great masters of English are not difficult to understand; and if, occasionally, in certain places, it is not so easy to make out the meaning, who will say that these passages have contributed to the Author's fame? The *best* things in Shakespeare are understood by every one. But, unfortunately, the poets of our age have become metaphysical, and are nothing if not obscure. Our highest aim is to turn out faultless verse; and, provided there be smooth and well-turned sentences, who now cares whether there be sense or nonsence? In fact, we are fast becoming literary dandies. This is a great and crying fault, of which the Laureate has been only too guilty in the production which we consider his best.

It is very interesting to investigate by what process Mr. Tennyson laid those spectral doubts of his. He must have examined the foundations of all religion, for he suggests objections even against the existence of God. There is no doubt about the issue, at least so far as he lays open his mind in what may be called his earlier productions; of his recent poems we shall have something to say later on. There is always an expression of firm conviction. Nothing could be more noble than that invocation of the "Strong Son of God," with which "In Memoriam" is introduced; and though he describes past doubts and struggles, yet, through the whole poem, there runs a pæan of triumph for the victories which he had gained. Of late years the Materialistic School has pushed itself into notoriety. It bears upon its roll names of men who, whatever their merit as philosophers, have, in culture and in science, gained a reputation which they well deserve. But, for the Laureate, Darwinism has no charm.

> "Let him, the wiser man who springs
> Hereafter, up from childhood shape
> His action like the greater ape,
> But I was born to higher things."

By what proofs did he persuade himself of the existence of God? Our readers will pardon us if we refer to a subject which to Catholics, especially to ecclesiastics, is quite familiar. Our philosophers reduce their arguments to three classes—the metaphysical, the physical, and the moral. In the metaphysical proof they show that there must be a necessary being; else how could we account for any reality? What is a necessary being? A being which exists by virtue of its own essence, because its essence is to exist. Now, the essence of the material world is not actual existence; for essences are unchangeable, whilst, in this matter of existence, the world has seen many changes. Consequently there must be something outside the world and distinct from it: that something is necessary, and is God. There is, indeed, another element in our idea of the Deity. We conceive Him as endowed with reason, as a person. But that, too, follows from the metaphysical argument. For, given a being whose essence is actual existence, it is manifest that whatever may be said to be comprised in actual existence, in actuality and perfection, is comprised also in that infinite essence. Remember, it is not this or that form of actuality which constitutes such an essence, but *absolute* existence, as the philosophers say. But what is more actual and real than intelligence? Hence a necessary being must be a person.

The physical proof is even more complete; for, to any one at all acquainted with the wonderful works of nature, the beautiful harmony, the infinite variety, and regular unity, shown forth in the universe, are ample evidence of the existence of a Supreme Intelligence. It is to this argument the Scriptures most frequently refer. Thus, in the Book of Wisdom[1] the works of God are exhibited not merely as contingent beings, but as showing forth in their beauty and harmony evidence of intelligence in the first cause. "If men, being delighted with the *beauty* of the works, took them to be gods, let them know how much more the Lord of them is *more beautiful* than they. Or, if they admired their *power* and their *effects*, let them understand by them, that he who made them is *mightier* than they. For by the *greatness* of the *beauty* and of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen." When the people of Lystra were going to offer sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, it is to the harmony of the universe the Apostle appealed in order to convince them of the existence of a

[1] Chaps. xiii., 1–10.

personal Deity superior to men.[1] "He left not himself without testimony, doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." On this argument more than on any other the wise of all ages have staked their conviction. Its force has stood, and will ever stand, the test of the progress of science. And is it not curious that modern materialists, for all their loud boasting of their own advancement, have no other objection to propose, but what was scouted from the schools so long ago as the days of Epicurus?

We have dwelt so long on these things because we think that, to the modern cultivated English mind, the old arguments have lost their force. It would be more true, perhaps, to say, that our wonderful advance in the domain of experiment has blinded us, and we have no respect for anything which was esteemed by the great minds of old. "In Memoriam" shall be our evidence of this. It is admitted that Mr. Tennyson accurately expresses the ideas which, for the last forty years, have been common to educated Englishmen. On what argument does he rely for proof of the existence of God? On faith, on the impulse of the heart, on feeling. We find these verses in the introduction to "In Memoriam" :—

> "Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
> Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
> By faith and faith alone embrace,
> Believing where we cannot prove."

A little further on he writes :—

> "Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day and cease to be:
> They are but broken lights of thee,
> And thou, O Lord, art more than they.
>
> "We have but faith: we cannot know;
> For knowledge is of things we see," &c.

We do not object to that distinction between faith and knowledge; it is the old doctrine of the Church. Nay more, with regard to knowledge, it is surprising to us, Catholics, who are compelled to hear and read every day from Protestant lips and pens denunciations of the Syllabus as a document which would lead us back to barbarism—it is surprising to see with what force and elegance Mr. Tennyson defends, unconsciously of course,

[1] Acts, xiv. 16.

that much-abused document of Pius IX. Let any one read for himself the propositions in the first and second sections of the Syllabus, condemned for asserting the superiority of reason over faith, and will he not be thankful for the following stanzas, in which that condemnation was, as it were, foreshown?—

> "Who loves not knowledge? Who shall rail
> Against her beauty? May she mix
> With men and prosper! Who shall fix
> Her pillars? Let her work prevail.
>
> "But on her forehead sits a fire:
> She sets her forward countenance
> And leaps into the future chance,
> Submitting all things to desire.
>
> "Half-grown as yet, a child, and vain—
> She cannot fight the fear of death.
> What is she, cut from love and faith,
> But some wild Pallas from the brain
>
> "Of Demons? fiery hot to burst
> All barriers in her onward race
> For power. Let her know her place;
> *She is the second, not the first.*"

It is not, therefore, after all, the Catholic Church alone that has gone back to barbarism, but even enlightened and Protestant England, if it be really true that the Poet Laureate correctly utters its mind and spirit.

But let us return to Mr. Tennyson's conviction of the existence of God. The verses quoted, we think, prove that he does not rely on the old arguments, but takes his stand on an irresistible impulse of faith and feeling. It may be objected to this view, that he is writing in that particular passage of God the Son. The reply is, that he did indeed refer to the Son in the first stanzas; but he changed, after a little, to God without distinction of person. Else, what are the systems which he mentions? Or, have we any systems of philosophy which are even broken lights of the Second Person?

There is another passage, however, in which the Poet treats the same question, and in which he has left no doubt as to his meaning:—

> "That which we dare invoke to bless;
> Our dearest faith; our ghastliest doubt;
> He, They, One, All; within, without;
> The Power in darkness whom we bless;

"I found Him not in world or sun,
Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye;
Nor thro' the questions men may try,
The petty cobwebs we have spun:

"If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep,
I heard a voice, 'believe no more,'
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the godless deep;

"A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answered, 'I have felt!'"

Here we have a formal profession of distrust in the old grounds of conviction. The order of the heavens; the peculiar construction of the different species of living things, by which each one is most fittingly prepared for its individual purpose; the delicate arrangements by which unorganised matter is transformed into vegetable life, and vegetables, by becoming the food of insects and animals, are elevated in their turn to a higher grade; the harmony and order which are displayed in these things have always been thought the most conclusive proof of divine intelligence. But now we are to despise them all as the cobwebs of philosophers; and should doubts arise, we are to depend on "the warmth within the breast;" and, instead of refuting the arguments of the materialists, we should rather consider them conclusive, endeavouring to evade their force by "rising up like men in wrath and answering 'we have felt!'"

It seems strange to us who have so long heard ourselves reviled as the enemies of science, to read such a declaration from such a man. What! Will Protestants believe that, after all, according to their best exponent, they have bidden adieu to science, have thrown philosophy to the winds, and rejected her plain teaching for the sake of "a warmth within the breast?" What is that "warmth" but a superstition? They will not deny the existence of God, simply because they have been taught from childhood to love Him, to depend on His Providence, and because that dependence has been their life-long comfort. Is not this the height of inconsistency? Catholics admit nothing which reason does not point out. By faith, indeed, we rise to truths beyond reason's sphere; but even with regard to them, there is a ground-work of reason supernaturalised by the light of

grace. Yet it is we who are accused of being the enemies of science! And by whom? By men who, when they have permitted themselves to be led by lying lights to the very brink of Atheism, shrink back at last, and can assign no other reason for this inconsistency than "a warmth within the breast," and the "feeling" of their early years.

It should not be thought, however, that the Poet is without excuse. He studied all the systems of philosophy, —that is, all to which Englishmen think it worth while attending. They hear enough about the old schools of Greece and Rome. Take up any review, and ten to one you will find an article on some of the modern systems that have succeeded Descartes. Confused sentences succeed each other, in which bewildered writers try to explain to others doctrines of which they themselves have no accurate notion, with the result one might expect, of rendering confusion doubly confounded. Fichte, Hegel, Compte, turn up on every page; but who ever hears of the doctrines of the schoolmen? It is supposed that their time has long since passed away; that their theories have become little more than antiquated curiosities; and that, as they had no knowledge of steam, electricity, or chemistry, their speculations can no longer be sustained. It is true they laboured under difficulties; but has science so advanced, and so supplied new data in theology and metaphysics, that the old question may be said to be altogether changed? What can experiment tell of first causes, or of the attributes of necessary being? What does it tell of the nature of thought? Has any one, by the most powerful microscope, been able to investigate the origin of life? Can we now solve the mystery of the connection of soul and body? or are we able to resolve matter into its primary elements, whether they be extended molecules or unextended points? It must be confessed that in mechanics we have made wonderful progress; so, too, in the region of pure experiment; but let us not be told that in metaphysics and philosophy the old schoolmen are behind the age.

The foundations of religion are laid down plain enough in the philosophy of the schools. There were controversies, of course, but they were not material; the great principles were recognised by all. Universal ideas and necessary truths stood before the human intellect as objectively distinct from it,—great realities which could not lie unnoticed. But when the old system was rejected by Descartes, each new adventurer proposed a new theory,

easily upsetting all that went before him, to be in his turn set aside by more daring speculators. From the innate ideas of Descartes it was but a step to the forms and categories of Kant, by which all knowledge in matters of religion became subjective, being evolved from the innate powers of the mind. The peculiar forms which Kant conceived his intellect to possess, led him to a conviction of the existence of God; but are these forms realities? And could he reasonably complain if others conceived they had different forms, leading to conclusions the very reverse of his? Had not Fichte and Hegel a right to say that the idea-stamps they possessed did not contain any form or mould for the personal Deity? And if they had not such a form, how could they acknowledge his existence as a personal truth? Thus, when philosophers rejected the only system which could stand the test of inquiry, and could not be pushed to atheistic conclusions, they found themselves straying farther and farther from the path of truth, until at last they sank into the unintelligible doctrine of the Great Nothing.

Even within the Church the philosophy of Descartes led to serious errors. It was soon found that the existence of God could not be logically proved on the new principles. Different theories were then broached. De Bonald and the Traditionalists would have men acquire all their abstract knowledge from the teaching of others; forgetting altogether that, to be capable of being taught, one must have mental powers able to appreciate and take in the teaching; and that a master would have but little reward for his labour, if he spent his time and energy in teaching necessary truths to a monkey. Malebranche and Gioberti held the very reverse. Confounding the primary idea with the primary cause, they supposed that, as the former flashes on the mind without any process of argument, so also the existence of the latter could not be proved. The first idea we acquire is the idea of absolute being, not circumscribed to any definite shape by any definite qualities: therefore the absolute being, as our first idea, must be admitted to exist as a first principle and axiom. But the Absolute Being is God!

Nearer home, philosophers went to the opposite extreme. Even Kant admitted necessary truths and first principles; but the Sensists did away with these. The followers of Reid admitted Kant's doctrine in a measure, inasmuch as they supposed that fundamental judgments are formed only

by a blind instinct. Kant's difficulty, of course, stares them in the face; for it happens, unfortunately, that all men's instincts do not tend in the same direction; and what Reid instinctively believes, Hegel as instinctively denies. Who shall judge the right?

But Locke, the great founder of that much-boasting English school of philosophy, what did he propose? He simply cut away all necessary truths, all first principles. He began by misapprehending an old axiom of the schoolmen—that nothing is found in the intellect which was not first in the sense. This celebrated saying, as understood in the Aristotelian philosophy, means simply, that before the intellect can form any idea, the *species sensibilis* must have been received first into the sense. Not that the *species sensibilis* is the idea; but that it is required as a subject upon which the intellect can operate, spiritualising it into a concept and intellectual image. Whatever is in the intellect was first in the sense, not however as in the intellect, but coarse and material, requiring refinement in the intellectual mill. Locke neglected the refinement, the spiritualisation; and taking the coarse *species sensibilis*, he called it a concept, two of which being compared a judgment is produced.

Hence his next principle: we have no knowledge except what we derive from experience. That axiom also was always admitted by the schoolmen, but in a sense very different from that of Locke. We have no knowledge except what the intellect draws from the sensations we experience; that is true. We have no knowledge except what we gain by merely comparing the sensations we experience; that is absolutely false.

Armed with this last principle, Hume appears on the scene. Who had ever experience of causality? Who ever saw or felt a cause? We see and feel succession, but not causality. Hence he rejects the first principle of all *a posteriori* demonstration; and then, since we cannot prove the existence of a first cause except *a posteriori*, what becomes of the argument for the existence of God? This is the system of which Englishmen feel so proud; a system which, if followed to its logical conclusions, would lead to the rejection of all scientific proof.

In the scholastic philosophy there is a ready answer. Whenever the soul acts either on itself or on the body, we have a distinct perception of force and effort; what is this effort but causality? The same notion is derived even

from external things. Every moment we see beings exist which had no existence a moment before. We spiritualise the *species sensibilis* of such a being, and form this concept —*something beginning to exist.* Analyse this idea, and you will find that its very notion contains the notion of causality; and thus we arrive at a necessary truth.

It is thus the great lights of modern progress are divided amongst themselves; and, what is most curious, it is these men, each one of whom, if right, would prove all the others absolutely wrong—it is these men who are held up in our newspapers and reviews as the great leaders of modern thought! Their "little systems had their day and ceased to be;" they could not stand profound investigation. Hence we may well understand the expression of Mr. Tennyson: "We have but faith, we cannot know." We may well understand how star and sun, eagle's wing and insect's eye, led only to "cobweb" proofs. There was only one resource left to a religious mind—superstition, faith without scientific basis, and "the warmth within the breast." Happy it is for England if the same rejection of the old philosophy do not lead her men of science into a gloomier gulf; for the religious sense is passing away, the warmth is freezing within the breast; and should doubts arise, as they will arise, how few of the next generation can stand up before them "like men in wrath," and lay the spectres by the cold formula, "I have felt!"

And yet, closely connected with Mr. Tennyson's faith and feeling, there is something like a primary instinct from which a sound argument can be drawn in favour of the existence of God. This instinct is what some philosophers call the *moral sense.* We do not wish to advocate for a moment the doctrines of Robinet and some recent phrenologists. We recognise that moral as well as speculative judgments must proceed from the intellect. But all our best philosophers agree in admitting that, as all speculative science starts from some evident axioms which are incapable of proof, so all morality rests on self-evident moral truths. Individuals may disagree as to what judgments are self-evident; but all assert that *some* are so. Let it be granted, then, that some actions are evidently good or bad, does it not immediately follow that there must be some superior whom we are bound to obey?

This is the great argument advanced by Cardinal Newman. "If, on doing wrong, we feel the same tearful, broken-hearted sorrow which overwhelms us on hurting a

mother; if, on doing right, we enjoy the same serenity of mind, the same soothing, satisfactory delight which follows on our receiving praise from a father, we certainly have within us the image of some person to whom our love and veneration look, in whose smile we find our happiness, for whom we yearn, towards whom we direct our pleadings, in whose anger we are troubled and waste away. These feelings in us are such as require for their cause an intelligent being: we are not affectionate towards stone, nor do we feel shame before a horse or a dog; we have no remorse or compunction in breaking mere human law. . . . If the cause of these emotions does not belong to this visible world, the object to which our perception is directed must be supernatural and divine."[1] These things are put forward as the first principles of Catholic philosophy; but how can we expect that cultured Englishmen, in the vain race after unintelligible German speculations, will be able to spare a little time for such antiquated curiosities as the doctrines of the schoolmen?

So much for the existence of God. There is another great question which has in all ages exercised the human mind,—the spiritual nature of man, and the origin of life. We venture to call these one question: for, though in a philosophical treatise they should be kept distinct, yet one hinges on the other, and the more recent advocates of materialism have given equal prominence to both. Here, too, we may see the loss sustained by true philosophy in consequence of the rejection of the system of the Church.

The Aristotelian philosophy is perfectly consistent. Beginning with inorganic bodies, it teaches that they are composed of two parts, matter and substantial form. This is not the place to enter into a defence of the doctrine; but it may be useful to remark, that it necessarily follows from the undoubted unity of mutually interacting particles, and from the chemical changes which occur. Moderns, of course, reply, that this unity and those chemical changes can be well explained by the action of force-centres. But, what is the force-centre? How many of them are required to the cubic inch? Are they divisible? If so, uprise Leibnitz, Boscovich, Wolf, Cousin, Ubaghs, and a host of others, to denounce such a doctrine as quite absurd. Are the centres indivisible and infinite? That hypothesis is

[1] See Grammar of Assent, page 109; also Franzelin de Deo Uno, Thesis iii. page 44; and Liberatore's Ethics, page 55, resp. ad obj. ii.

ridiculed by Descartes and his followers, and by the whole Newtonian school. To which of the various systems shall we turn, when each one rebukes the inconsistency of its fellows? In truth, that theory of atoms or force-centres, molecules or monads, by whatever name you wish to call them, acquired all its popularity for this simple reason, that it professed to give a final answer to an intricate question which it really left quite untouched. Which of the scholastics ever denied the existence of atoms? But the question always was, and is still, how are they composed? and by what principle are they bound into a whole?

If a substantial form be necessary for inorganic matter, it will be found much more so for living things. Vegetables, brutes, man, all have souls, substantial principles of life. The souls of plants are of an inferior order, as having only inferior functions to perform, the functions of nutrition. Brutes have not merely nutritive but sensitive powers; hence their souls must be endowed with higher faculties. In man we rise to the reason and the will. We mention these elementary matters only for the sake of this observation: that the rejection of the first point in that old system imperilled the Christian doctrine of the soul's simplicity. Destroy the substantial form of inorganic matter, and how will you prove the necessity in plants of a distinct principle of life? If plants can get on without such a principle, the question immediately arises:—are the lowest forms of sensitive life so superior to the vegetable, that there is manifestly a new argument for the distinct vital principle? It is but a step to the denial of the soul in man.

We do not mean to say that in the successive stages there is no new argument supplied. Each additional higher property supplies an additional and stronger proof, but a proof which tells backward; for it shows that, as these higher properties demand a distinct higher principle, so do the inferior powers in species less perfectly organised. Thus we see that, when the modern philosophers rejected —in all good faith, we admit—the old principles of the constitution of bodies, they paved the way to the new materialism of the Darwinian school. Even Descartes saw this; but, not having the courage to push his principles to their conclusions, and impelled, we suppose, by some "warmth within the breast," he was forced to satisfy himself with the old system of Plato, by which the soul is a mere jockey, the nerves serving as his bridle reins.

But let us return to Mr. Tennyson. These solemn and awful questions have manifestly engaged his deep study; and it is sad to think, if Englishmen of culture have no other answer than his, to what painful straits their boasted progress has reduced them. For, what is his answer? "I was born to higher things!" And this even in the teeth of Science. We could not believe it if our own eyes did not tell us so.

> "I trust I have not wasted breath:
> I think we are not wholly brain,
> Magnetic mockeries; not in vain,
> Like Paul with beasts, I fought with Death.
>
> "Not only cunning casts in clay:
> Let Science prove we are, and then
> What matters Science unto men,
> At least to me? I would not stay.
>
> "Let him, the wiser man who springs
> Hereafter, up from childhood shape
> His action like the greater ape,
> But I was born to higher things."

And so it has come to this at last, that they who were so fond of railing at the Catholic Church, for that she had rejected what they called Science, have now themselves cast that same Science to the winds, and all for this cold reason, because, forsooth, "they were born to higher things!" Will this answer satisfy Bain, or Huxley, or the many such whom the next generation will produce?

With reference to the soul's immortality, there is the same firm conviction without logical proof, nay, even though Science should prove the contrary. What devout Catholic could desire more than the following?—

> "Thine are these orbs of light and shade;
> Thou madest Life in man and brute;
> Thou madest Death; and lo, thy foot
> Is on the skull which thou hast made.
>
> "Thou wilt not leave us in the dust:
> Thou madest man, he knows not why;
> He thinks he was not made to die;
> And thou hast made him: thou art just."

But if we inquire the reason which convinced the Poet of this great truth, he has nothing better to suggest than vague generalities. "Else earth is darkness at the core:"

"What, then, were God to such as I?" In one place, indeed, he does argue, that if the soul be not immortal, "'twere best at once to sink to peace." Will the Materialists be inconvenienced by this conclusion? Is it not their opinion now, as in the days of Epicurus, that life is a banquet, to be enjoyed whilst the good things and appetite last; and that, when these fail, we should be content, like sated guests, to drop calmly to sleep? Do the viands not please your palate? Why, then, the sooner you "sink to peace" the better for yourself.

Mr. Tennyson seems to acknowledge that the future life of the soul cannot be logically proved; at least, so we interpret the following lines. Nature speaks; the answer is the Poet's:—

> "'Thou makest thine appeal to me:
> I bring to life, I bring to death:
> The Spirit does but mean the breath:
> I know no more.' And he, shall he,
>
> "Man, her last work, who seem'd so fair,
> Such splendid purpose in his eyes,
> Who roll'd the psalm to wintry skies,
> Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,
> * * * * * *
> "Who loved, who suffered countless ills,
> Who battl'd for the True, the Just,
> Be blown about the desert dust,
> Or seal'd within the iron hills?
>
> "No more? A monster, then a dream,
> A discord, dragons of the prime,
> That tare each other in their slime,
> Were mellow music matched with him.
>
> "O life as futile, then, as frail!
> Oh for thy voice to soothe and bless!
> What hope of answer or redress?
> Behind the veil, behind the veil."

Alas for him who waits for answer to this question till the hand of Death unveil Truth to his gaze! It is not merely that life would then be futile and frail indeed, a monster and a dream; but even in death, the removal of the veil would only enable man to see more clearly, in the light of the Divine countenance, the just reasons for his own damnation!

It would not be fair to a man of such reputation as the Poet Laureate, to pass over in silence an important stanza,

in which he declares that it never was his intention to enter into all the arguments for either side of these important questions.

> "If these brief lays, of Sorrow born,
> Were taken to be such as closed
> Grave doubts and answers here proposed,
> Then these were such as men might scorn:
>
> "Her care is not to part and prove;
> She takes, when harsher moods remit,
> What slender shade of doubt may flit,
> And makes it vassal unto love."

We can well understand how little it would suit Mr. Tennyson to enter into abstruse controversies in a poem intended for the general public. But is it too much to expect, that when proof is adduced, it will be either the best, or, at least, free from sophism? We should not so much complain of the want of system or argument, if it were not for the errors.

In connection with the immortality it strikes Catholics as strange, that Metempsychosis should have such attraction for a man so well read in philosophy. We are accustomed to look on this doctrine as good enough for old pagans like Pythagoras and the Platonists. We can understand how the Eastern nations should cling to the same delusion. But that cultured Englishmen should advocate the doctrine, takes us completely by surprise. Yet any one who reads that little poem, "The Two Voices," will find that such is the fact. The "still small voice" counsels self-destruction as an escape from present misery. Death is merely annihilation; because, as before birth, man was mere nothing, so by death he returns into the same state. What does the Poet answer to this not very difficult objection? He begins by saying that such things have no certainty, only mere suspicion. He then denies the supposition, and boldly advocates the possibility of transmigration. Nor is he content with mere possibility; he seems to adopt the doctrine as in some way his own.

> "Moreover, something is or seems
> That touches me with mystic gleams
> Like glimpses of forgotten dreams—
>
> "Of something felt, like something here;
> Of something done, I know not where;
> Such as no language may declare."

Again, this is what he says of a dead body :—

> "Eternal process moving on,
> From state to state the spirit walks,
> And these are but the shatter'd stalks
> And ruined chrysalis of one."

The same doctrine might be illustrated from "De Profundis."

It is not so easy to decide whether, in the Laureate's opinion, human souls were united to any other bodies before finally entering into the composition of man. If they were, then the bodies must have been of a higher order, such indeed as were supposed in the system of Plato. When this question is touched on, the poetry obscures the sense. Orbits and cycles and spheres lose much of their grandeur when reduced to prose; but, so reduced, the doctrine stands thus: In the beginning God created an immense number of spirits; they circle round the Deity in the Divine immensity like planets round a sun; when a child is conceived one of them "draws from out the vast, and strikes his being into bounds;" after death they return to "vaster motions," to circle round "a higher height, a deeper deep." Here again we see how closely he follows the more daring speculators of the Cartesian school; and the consequence is, that, true philosophy being set aside, the "still small voice" has the best of the argument.

One word with regard to the "Ballads." A writer in a recent number of the "Edinburgh Review" gives us to understand that something like a change may be noticed in the Poet's religious opinions; not from any indistinctness in his views, but from a certain hesitation or mysticism in giving them expression. We have not been able to notice such a change. "De Profundis," indeed, is mystical, but not more so than parts of "In Memoriam." Catholics have something to complain of in the poem on Sir John Oldcastle; but we easily forgive that as coming from one, who, notwithstanding the many beautiful things he has written on Catholic subjects, is yet outside the Church. We forgive it the more easily because, in another poem, "In the Children's Hospital" infidelity is severely and firmly rebuked.

Let it not be thought, from what has hitherto been said, that Mr. Tennyson's Philosophy is altogether unsound, or that he has completely rejected the system of the schoolmen. No. The verses we have already cited, about the place which knowledge holds in relation to faith, are sufficient to disprove that. There are many other points of scholastic

philosophy beautifully introduced. On the nature of Eternity Mr. Tennyson is a Thomist; and he has made many a reference through all his works, to the medium of our knowledge in the future life; how God's essence will constitute the primary object of the beatific vision, whilst we shall see in that infinite essence exemplars of the most intricate truths. It shows rare powers of mind to be able to seize on these things, and weave them into poetry which every one reads. And if the Author is not always so correct in his philosophy as Catholics could desire, let him, at least, have this great credit, that, unlike many other literary men, on all the leading questions his conclusions are sound. If his reasons do not carry conviction, let it be ascribed rather to the false lights of modern thought, who have led the world into error, in the maze of which Mr. Tennyson and many others are compelled to wander, with no guide but the instincts of a pure heart. When we consider how, in the great battle against scepticism, such men find the arms often broken in their hands, we shall be thankful that the Church has always endeavoured to keep Catholics to the old scholastic philosophy, which supplies the strongest and keenest weapons for the defence of Truth.

W. McDonald.

IRISH THEOLOGIANS.—No. VI.

Dungal.

THIS distinguished theologian, astronomer, and poet, was one of the Irish exiles of the 9th century who were so highly honoured in the Court of France. His name is not widely known to fame, yet few men of his time held so high a place in the estimation of his contemporaries, or rendered more signal service to the Church. The controversy concerning image worship was carried on with great warmth in the Frankish Empire during the first quarter of the 9th century, and in this contest Dungal was the foremost champion of orthodoxy. He gave the *coup de grace* to the Western Iconoclasts; after his vigorous refutation of Claudius of Turin they troubled the Church no more. It is well therefore to know something of his history.

That Dungal was an Irishman is now universally admitted. The name itself is conclusive evidence of his nationality. It was quite a common name in Ireland, and seems to have been peculiarly Irish. We know of no foreigner who was called "Dungal," but we find from the index volume of the Four Masters that between the years 744 and 1015 twenty-two distinguished Irishmen bore that name.

In a poem which he composed in honour of his friend and patron, Charlemagne, Dungal calls himself an Irish exile—Hibernicus exul. There can hardly be a doubt that he was the author of this beautiful poem to which we shall refer further on. At the close of his life he retired to the Irish monastery of Bobbio, in the north of Italy, founded by Columbanus, to which he left all his books, as we know from Muratori's published list. One of them, according to the opinion of Muratori, was the famous "Antiphonary of Bangor," which Dungal brought from that great school at home and fittingly restored to Irish hands at his death.

Yet unfortunately we cannot fix the place or date of his birth in Ireland, although the possession of the Bangor Antiphonary leaves little room to doubt that he was educated in the monastic school of St. Comgall. Not a cross, or even stone, now remains to mark the site of the famous monastery whose crowded cloisters for a thousand years overlooked the pleasant islets and broad waters of Inver Becne;[1] but the fame of the great school which nurtured Columbanus and Gall, and Dungal and Malachy can never die.

In all probability Dungal left his native country in the opening years of the 9th century. Two causes most likely induced him to leave Ireland, the fame of Charlemagne as a patron of learned men and the threatened incursion of the Danes, who were just then beginning their long career of pillage and slaughter in Ireland.

However, in 811, we find Dungal in France. In that year he addressed a remarkable letter to Charlemagne on the two solar eclipses which were said to have taken place in the previous year, 810. He is described at this time as a *recluse*, that is, one who led a monastic life in solitude; he seems, however, to have had some connection

[1] Inver Becne was the ancient name of Bangor Bay; the islands near the shore, in one of which is an ancient graveyard, are now called the Copeland Islands—the name of the foreigner who enjoyed the lands of Bangor Abbey. Dr. M'Cormick, the last Abbot of Bangor, died in Maynooth, and is buried in Larahbrine.—See Laverty's "Down and Connor."

with the community of St. Denis, for he evidently recognised the abbot Waldo as his superior. From the tone of this letter we can also infer that the Great Charles honoured the Irish monk with his intimacy and confidence, and the monarch seems to have the highest opinion of Dungal's learning. He accordingly requested the abbot Waldo to ask the Irish monk to write an explanation of the two solar eclipses which were said to have happened in 810. It is well known that Charles took a great interest in the advancement of knowledge, and was himself a diligent student. Hence he was anxious to understand that portion of divine philosophy of which Virgil sang—

Defectus solis varios lunaeque labores.

Moreover, although there certainly was a solar eclipse on the 30th of November, 810, visible in Europe, it was alleged by many persons that there had been another eclipse in the same year on the 7th of June, if not visible in Europe yet certainly visible in other parts of the world. This last point especially seems to have staggered the scientific faith of the royal scholar, and hence he appealed to his friend Dungal for an explanation.

The letter of Dungal in reply is exceedingly interesting. It is addressed to Charles and is entitled, "Dungali Reclusi epistola de duplici solis eclipsi anno 810 ad Carolum Magnum." We have read it over carefully. It is written in excellent Latin, and shows that the writer was intimately acquainted with many of the classical authors, especially with Virgil and Cicero. But we cannot guarantee its scientific accuracy in all points. He starts with an explanation of the celestial sphere according to the Ptolemaic system, and hence some of his statements seem very strange to those only acquainted with the Copernican theory of the heavenly bodies. In the main, however, his explanation of the eclipses of the sun and moon is accurate enough.[1] "The

[1] Quantum igitur spatii lata dimensio (Zodiaci) porrectis sideribus occupat, duabus lineis limitatum est, et tertia ducta per medium ecliptica vocatur, quia cum cursum suum in eadem linea pariter sol et luna conficiunt, alterius eorum necesse est evenire defectum; solis si ei tunc luna succedat; lunae si tunc adversa sit soli. Ideo nec sol unquam deficit nisi cum tricesimus lunae dies est; et nisi quinto decimo cursus sui die, nescit luna defectum; sic enim evenit ut aut lunae contra solem positae, ad mutuandum ab eo solidum lumen, sub eadem linea inventus terrae conus obsistat, aut soli ipsa succedens objectu suo ab humano aspectu lumen ejus repellat. In defectu autem sol ipse nihil patitur . . . luna vero circa proprium defectum laborat non accipiendo solis lumen cujus beneficio noctem colorat. *Migne.* Patrol. No. 105, pag. 454.

zodiac," he says, "or space through which the planets revolve, is bounded by two lines," which he takes care to explain are imaginary. "A third line drawn between them is called the ecliptic, because when the sun and moon during their revolution happen to be in the same straight line in the plane of this ecliptic, an eclipse of one or the other must of necessity take place; of the sun, if the moon overtake it in its course—ei succedat; of the moon, if at the time it should be opposite to the sun. Wherefore," he adds, "the sun is never eclipsed except the moon is in its thirtieth day; and in like manner the moon is never eclipsed except near its fifteenth day. For only then it comes to pass that the moon, when it is full, being in a straight line with the earth opposite to the sun receives the shadow of the earth; while in the other case, when the moon overtakes the sun (is in conjunction), by its interposition it deprives the earth of the sun's light. Therefore when the sun is eclipsed the sun itself suffers nothing, only we are robbed of its light; but the moon suffers a real loss by not receiving the sun's light through which it is enabled to dispel our darkness." We think it would require an intermediate exhibitioner to give as lucid an exposition of the cause of the eclipse as was given by this Irish monk of the 9th century, and we are quite certain he would not write it in as good Latin.

As for determining the exact dates of the eclipses of the sun, and, therefore, the possibility of having two in the year 810, Dungal cannot undertake to compute them, not having near him Pliny the Younger, and some other necessary works. However the thing is quite feasible, and many ancient philosophers knew and foreknew—*scierunt* and *praescierunt*—all about these eclipses. He concludes his letter with an elegantly written eulogy of Charles the Great, imploring all Christians to join with him in beseeching God to multiply the triumphs of Charles, to extend his empire, preserve his family, and prolong his life for many circling years. The language in the original is exceedingly well chosen and harmonious.

After this time we lose sight of Dungal for several years. Charlemagne died in 814, and was succeeded by his son Louis the Pious, and on the 31st of July, 817, Louis associated with himself his son Lothaire in the Imperial Government. Lothaire, young and energetic, was crowned King of Lombardy in 821, and next year proceeded to put his kingdom in order. The warlike Lombards,

though conquered by Charlemagne, and kept in restraint by his strong arm, were a restless and turbulent people. Lothaire, believing that education and religion would be the most efficacious means to keep them in order and consolidate his own power, induced Dungal and Claudius of Turin, as well as several other scholars of the Imperial Court, or the famous palace school, to accompany him to Italy. Claudius, a Spaniard, of whom we shall have more to say again, was made Bishop of Turin; and Dungal opened a school at Pavia. In a short time it became famous; for the master was the first scholar in the Court of the Emperor. Students flocked from every quarter, from Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui, Genoa, Asti and Como.[1] This was about 822, the very year, or as others say, the year after Claudius became Bishop of Turin. About the same time Lothaire himself went on to Rome where he was crowned Emperor by the Pope, Pascal I., with great solemnity in 823.

Dungal and Claudius were thus immediate neighbours. Both were ripe scholars, both held high and responsible positions; but Claudius who had long been a concealed heretic, now thought it safe to throw off the disguise. The wolf showed himself, and at once the Irish wolf dog sprang upon his foe. In order to understand this struggle, which was the last effort of Western Iconoclasm, we must go back a little, and trace the chain of events which led up to the crisis.

The Seventh Æcumenical Council, and Second of Nice, was concluded at that city in 787. This Council, accepting the teaching propounded by Pope Hadrian I. in his letter to the Empress Irene and her son Constantine, explained and defined the Catholic doctrine concerning the worship of images. It was distinctly declared that supreme worship, or λατρεία, was due to God alone; that an inferior worship, or προσκύνησις, should be rendered to the Blessed Virgin and the saints; and, finally, that a relative worship —σχετικὴ προσκύνησις—was due not only to the Sign of the Cross, but also to the pictures and images of the Blessed Virgin, of the angels, and of the saints of God. This relative worship was not, however, paid to the images on account of *their own* supernatural excellence: it was only

[1] See Lothaire's Capitular "de Doctrina," published by Muratori Primum in Papia conveniunt ad Dungalum de Mediolano, de Brixia, &c., &c. So that Dungal may be justly regarded as the founder of the University of Pavia.

a token of the love and honour which Christians have for the originals represented by the images.

The acts of this famous Synod were of course in Greek, so Pope Hadrian had them translated into Latin and sent a copy to Charlemagne apparently in 789 or 790.

Charlemagne had very great reverence for Hadrian during his entire life, but he had little love for Irene and her son. A short time previously an alliance had been proposed between the young Constantine and Charlemagne's daughter Rothrud. But the haughty Irene scorned an alliance with a barbarous princess of the West, pretty much as Queen Victoria would have scorned the marriage of the Prince of Wales with a daughter of the Chinese Emperor. Charles therefore did not look with much favour on anything emanating from Constantinople. Besides, the Greek Emperors had taken a great deal too much upon themselves in matters ecclesiastical. They were perpetually summoning Synods, and issuing their edicts even on questions of faith. Others might accept them, but the Emperor of the West was not bound to do so. On the contrary, he though the had as good a right to become a theologian as they had. So when he received from the Pope the Latin translation of the Greek Synod, Charles summoned his royal theologians about him, and they at once set to examine the Acts of the Council, and see if they could find therein anything reprehensible.

Unfortunately the Latin version was very faulty in many respects. Anastasius, the Roman Librarian, a most learned scholar and competent authority, declares that the translator knew very little of the genius either of the Greek or Latin language; that he made a word-for-word translation, from which it was frequently impossible to ascertain the real meaning; and hence in his time, about sixty years later, few persons were found to read or transcribe this faulty copy. So Anastasius himself found it necessary to make a new and correct translation. The French theologians therefore, at whose head was the keen-eyed Alcuin, found in this translation many things to censure in which they were right, and many other things they censured in which they were clearly wrong. The result of their labours is known to history as the famous Caroline Books—*Libri Carolini.* They were published under the name of Charles himself, but Alcuin is generally regarded as the real author.[1]

[1] The authenticity of these famous Caroline Books can no longer be questioned.

The Emperor was so pleased with his work that he resolved to send this treatise to the Pope himself. Meantime, however, he convened the Synod of Frankfort in 794, at which some three hundred Bishops of the Frankish Empire are said to have assembled.[1] Here, again, the great monarch, following the example, but scarcely imitating the modesty of Constantine at Nice in 325, presided in person, and resolved to prove himself a theologian. The Synod met in the great hall of the Imperial Palace. The emperor was on his throne: the bishops were seated round in a circle; an immense throng of priests, deacons, and clerics filled the hall. Rising up from his seat Charles advanced, and standing on the step of the throne pronounced an elaborate harangue mainly on the heresy of the Adoptionists, but referring also to the errors of the last Greek Synod regarding image worship, and called upon the prelates present to judge and decide what was the true faith.

The Council did so, at least in their own opinion, after ten days' discussion. They very properly condemned the heresy of the Adoptionists, and the condemnation was approved in Rome; but in the second Canon they very improperly censured the second Council of Nice, as if it declared that the same worship and adoration were due to the images of the saints, as are paid to the Holy Trinity. Of course the Council of Nice in their authentic acts had declared exactly the reverse.[2] Moreover, the prelates of Frankfort added that they would give neither *servitus* nor *adoratio* to the images of the saints; and no doubt they were right in the sense in which they used these terms.

It seems probable that the Caroline Books written about 790 or 791 were approved of in this assembly before they were sent to the Pope. But when Hadrian received them he very promptly and effectively refuted them. To each *reprehensio*, or censure of the Council of Nice, he gave an elaborate *responsio*, in which the Pope convicts the authors of the Caroline Books, from the extracts sent to him, of grave errors in doctrine, as well as of misquotations and misrepresentations of the Fathers. He shows that they did not understand the true meaning of the Sacred Scriptures in those passages which they cited, that they attributed to

[1] The real number is unknown. See Hefele, vol. v. p. 102.

[2] *Τὴν κατὰ λατρείαν προσκύνησιν μόνῃ τῇ ὑπερουσίῳ καὶ ζωαρχικῇ τριάδι ἀναπέμπομεν.*

the Nicene Fathers errors which they never taught, and that it was the Pope, not the French bishops, who had received authority to teach the Universal Church.

The authors of the Caroline Books richly deserved this castigation. They went so far as to declare that the Synod of 754, which ordered images to be broken, as well as the Synod of 787, which commanded them to be worshipped, were *infames* and *ineptissimae*. God alone is, according to them, to be *adored* and *worshipped*, and the saints may be *venerated;* but no kind of adoration or veneration may be paid to the images of the saints, because they are lifeless and made by the hands of men. It is evident the Frankish theologians did not understand what is meant by relative worship. They admit, however, that the images of the saints may be *retained* for adorning churches and as memorials of the past, but it is not lawful to worship them even by such veneration as is paid to men *salutationis causa.* Such is the substance of the doctrine put forward by the authors of the Caroline Books.[1] Pope Hadrian died on Christmas Day 795, and the controversy concerning image worship seems to have been lulled for some years in the West. It broke out again, however, with greater warmth in 824. In the month of November of that year an Embassy arrived at Rouen, where Lothaire was then holding his court, bearing letters and presents from the Greek Emperor, Michael the Stammerer, to his Western brother.

Michael was an Iconoclast, but not an extreme one; and wrote a very plausible letter, in which he complains of the superstitious excesses of the image-worshippers at Constantinople. He represents himself as the friend of peace and harmony, anxious to repress the excesses of both the extreme parties, and he beseeches his brother Lothaire to lend him his aid especially by his influence with the Pontiff of the old Rome, to whom he sends several presents with a view to gain his good will and co-operation for the same laudable purpose. Lothaire, ignorant of the real facts of the case, and misled by this most deceptive document, promised his assistance to the Greek ambassadors in Rome, and resolved to aid in the good work of reconciling the extreme parties in the East. He wrote to Pope Eugenius II. to that effect, and asked his permission to appoint a conference of the prelates of his empire with a view to sift

[1] Hefele clearly proves that the 85 Capitula sent to the Pope were not exactly the same as the Libri Carolini which we have. But there was no substantial difference between them.

the question thoroughly. The Pope seems to have consented to this course, and the conference met at Paris on the 1st of November, 825.

Only a few of the prelates are known to history, but probably no assembly of the kind ever excelled them in wanton assurance. Bellarmine has honoured them by a special refutation, in which, however, he is by no means complimentary to the members of that celebrated conference, and they richly deserve his severest strictures.

These gentlemen in a most elaborate production addressed to the emperor, by him to be forwarded to the Pope, begin by attacking the letter of Hadrian to Constantine and Irene, in which letter, as they allege, he ordered images to be superstitiously adored—quod superstitiose eas adorari jussit. In support of his doctrine he cited the Fathers, but according to them it was *valde absona* what he cited, and *ad rem non pertinentia.*

Then they attack the second Council of Nice which gravely erred by ordering images to be worshipped, as the Great Charles had clearly proved in the Books sent to Rome by the Abbot Angilbert. And Hadrian, too, in his answer to this treatise, when defending the Synod, wrote what he liked, not what he ought—quae voluit, non tamen quae *debuit.*

This was not enough for this Paris Conference; they had the assurance to dictate to the Pope what he was to write in reply to the Greek Emperor; and to Lothaire himself they recommended what he ought to write to the Pope. On point of doctrine they declare that nothing made by the hands of man is to be adored or worshipped; and to prove their position they quote St. Augustine, who, according to them, says that image worship had its origin with Simon Magus, and a *meretricula* called Helen!

When the Emperor Lothaire received these precious documents from the two prelates, Halitgar and Amalarius, deputed to present them, and ascertained their contents, he told them, as might be expected from a sensible man, that the letter to the Pope especially contained some things that were superfluous and more that were impertinent. He therefore commissioned Jeremias of Sens and Jonas of Orleans to make extracts from the report which would be more to the point and less likely to give offence in Rome; telling them at the same time to show every respect to the Pope as they were bound to do; that although much might be gained by deference, nothing could be effected by

exasperating the Pontiff. If, he adds, the *pertinacia Romana* will make no concessions, but the Pope is prepared to send an embassy to Constantinople, then let them try at least to induce him to allow the emperor also to send an embassy in conjunction with that of the Pope.

The emperor himself wrote a respectful and plausible letter to the Pope, urging upon him to send ambassadors to the Greek court, adding that he might send with them the two bishops who bore the report of the Paris Conference to His Holiness, and that thus he might be instrumental in restoring peace to the distracted Churches of the East.

Unfortunately we do not know what course the Pope took on receipt of these documents. He seems, however, to have sent an embassy to Constantinople, and thus far, at least, complied with the request of Lothaire.

Things were at this pass when Dungal appears upon the scene. The prelates of France were, many of them at least, not quite sound on the question of image worship, but Claudius of Turin just about this time brought things to a crisis.

This Claudius was a Spaniard, educated in his youth by Felix, Bishop of Urgel, in Spain, one of the leaders of the Adoptionist heretics. The mind of Claudius was infected with this as well as several other errors, but especially with the most extreme form of Iconoclasm.

Like Dungal he seems to have been in high favour at court, but he kept his errors at that time to himself, at least in their extreme form. When appointed to the See of Turin he threw off the mask. On his first or second visitation he removed the crosses from his Cathedral, he broke the images of the saints, and the holy pictures on the walls, he declaimed from the pulpit even against the worship of the saints themselves, or their relics in any shape or form; and finally heartily denounced the pilgrimage to Rome, which even then was customary with the faithful, as unnecessary and superstitious.

These rash and violent proceedings gave great scandal to the faithful of the diocese. They were divided into two factions, for the bishop had numerous partisans of his own, but the latter were in a minority; and on one occasion the bishop very narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the mob. The wily Claudius, however, by his representations to the emperor, in which he threw all the blame on the turbulence of the superstitious Lombards, succeeded in maintaining his ground.

About 824 a friend of his, the pious abbot Theodemir,

wrote a remonstrance to Claudius on his proceedings, in which he adjured him by the memory of their former friendship to discontinue these odious proceedings, reminding him how unworthy it was of a Christian bishop to dishonour the Saints of God, to insult the Cross of Christ, and break the images of his Saints and Martyrs.

This gentle remonstrance only made the Iconoclast more furious. He wrote a reply to the holy abbot, a considerable portion of which has come down to us, and shows Claudius in his true colours.

It is entitled—Apologeticum atque Rescriptum Claudii Episcopi adversus Theutmirum Abbatem.

It was this work brought out Dungal. He had hitherto been much pained at the proceedings of Claudius, for being then in Pavia he could scarcely be ignorant of what took place in Turin. Most of the French prelates, however, themselves more or less infected with unsound doctrine, held aloof, and even Agobard of Lyons wrote in favour of Claudius, so Dungal, although probably only a deacon, if, indeed, at all in holy orders, felt it his duty to come forward as the champion of the truth. He got his teaching not in France or Germany, but in Ireland, so he was not tainted with the errors of the Frankish theologians.

Dungal's treatise against Claudius is entitled: "Dungali Responsa contra Perversas Claudii taurinensis Episcopi Sententias." We regret we cannot give a full analysis of this most valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical literature of the time. It is especially interesting as furnishing clear proof of the solid and accurate theological training given in the Irish monastic schools of the eighth and ninth centuries. No doubt we have abundant evidence to the same effect in the works of Sedulius, Virgilius, Scotus Erigena, as well as of many others, but nowhere perhaps is there clearer proof of the fact than is contained in this treatise.

In the prologue of the book Dungal declares that for God's honour, and with the sanction of Louis and his son Lothaire, he undertakes to defend on the authority of the Holy Fathers the Catholic doctrine against the frantic and blasphemous trifling of Claudius, Bishop of Turin. Many times since his arrival in Italy he had just cause to complain, whilst we saw the field of the Lord oversown with tares, yet he held his peace in grief and pain. He can, however, do so no longer, when he sees the Church distracted, and the people seduced by deceivers. He then sets forth very clearly the points at issue between the rival parties.

1. The Catholics contend that the holy image of Christ's passion is good and useful, serving, as it does, to instruct the people almost like the Holy Scriptures; but the heretic and his party say it is seductive error and idolatry to regard it as such. The Catholics look upon the cross as a triumphal standard and the symbol of their salvation; the heretics say, no; it is only the opprobrious memorial of suffering and death, and therefore worthy of no honour.

2. In like manner regarding the commemoration of the Saints and their holy relics, the Catholic party say that the custom of visiting the tombs of the martyrs and venerating their relics is good and religious, and that wondrous miracles are daily wrought at their tombs; but the others oppose the practice, declaring that the Saints can help no one by their intercession after death, that they know nothing of what takes place on earth, and that their relics deserve no more reverence than any other vile bones or common dust. In this Claudius was a thorough Protestant.

3. Claudius and his party impiously teach that Christians who paint and venerate the images of Christ and of his Saints in love and honour of the Saviour and Redeemer of the world, and of his elect whom they, although in a far inferior way, also love and honour, because first loved and honoured by God, are as much idolators as the Gentiles who adore and worship idols through the instigation of the demon.

This last passage is important, because it shows that Dungal expressed Catholic faith and practice much more accurately than the Council of Frankfort or the Conference of Paris did in the matter of image worship.[1]

The Catholic faith and practice concerning image worship could not be more accurately explained and justified than it is by Dungal; and it is the highest testimony to the orthodox faith of the Irish Theologian and the Irish Church at a time when many persons were led astray.

[1] After saying that the Sensus dispar et Catholicae contrarius fidei of Claudius' "Apology" moved him to write, he adds:—"Dicit enim (Claudius) tantumdem errare et uno similiter nomine idolatras esse vocandos eos, qui idola et simulacra gentium diabolo instigante et per ea decipiente, adorant et colunt, credentes deos et deas esse a quibus omnia reguntur vel praestantur, et Christianos qui imaginem Christi et Sanctorum pingunt et venerantur pro amore et honore Salvatoris et Redemptoris mundi, et suorum electorum, quos et ipsos, licet longe inferius, diligunt tamen et honorant, quia prius a Deo electi ac dilecti sunt, eo quod sibi in vita sua fideliter servierunt et pro eo omnia devotissime usque ad mortem pertulerunt, in *nullum alium credentes* nisi in unum Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum sicut in Sancto Symbolo et fide continetur Catholica."

Dungal then proceeds to refute Claudius, and prove the Catholic doctrine, observing at the outset that it was astonishing insolence—*insana elatio*—for any man to presume to "censure and blaspheme that doctrine and practice which for 820 years or more was followed by the blessed Fathers, by most religious princes, and by all Christian households up to the present time." After proving that these practices were not only not forbidden, but sanctioned by God Himself in the Pentateuch, he goes on to establish this tradition of the Catholic Church, quoting most of the Greek and Latin Fathers, the poems of Paulinus, Prudentius, and Fortunatus, the Acts of the Martyrs, and the Liturgy of the Church. He quotes, moreover, the Apocalypse, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, at great length, to prove the same doctrine, and alleges that it was the universal belief and practice in the East and in the West from the days of the Apostles down to his own time. The Greeks lately erred, but their errors were retracted and condemned.

It is impossible not to admire the great knowledge of Sacred Scripture and Patristic literature displayed by the author. He reasons, too, clearly and cogently, and writes in a limpid and flowing style. Indeed, we know no writer of that age who excels Dungal in Latin composition, whether in poetry or prose, and this is generally admitted by those acquainted with the Latin literature of the period. Muratori observes that this work shows that Dungal was a learned man—Sacris etiam literis ornatum, et simul in grammaticali foro ac Prisciani deliciis enutritum, ut facile legenti constabit.[1] This is high testimony from such an authority. Papirius Massonus, in his address to the prelates and clergy of Gaul prefixed to the treatise of Dungal, calls him an excellent theologian—theologus excellens—and Alzog declares that the sophistical reasoning of Claudius, Bishop of Turin, was refuted by Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, but much *more ably* by Dungal, an Irish monk of St. Denys, and subsequently by Strabo and Hincmar of Rheims.

Dungal's was not only the ablest, but also the first work that was written on the subject, for in it he alludes to the Synod or Conference of Paris in 825, as held two years before. So it must have appeared in 827, long before the refutations published by Jonas, Eginhard, Strabo, or Hincmar. Henceforward Iconoclasm began to lose ground in the West, and soon entirely disappeared, until revived by the reformers of the sixteenth century.

[1] See Lanigan, vol. iii. ch. 20.

As was observed before that, towards the close of his life, Dungal retired to the monastery of Bobbio, to which he bequeathed his books. From Bobbio they were transferred to Milan, in 1606, by Cardinal Frederic Borromeo, and are now in the Ambrosian Library of that city. Among them were three Antiphonaries, one of which seems to have been the famous Bangor Antiphonary. Dungal, no doubt, procured these ancient rituals in order to quote them against Claudius in support of the Catholic doctrine. Muratori adds, that in one of the MS. are inscribed these words:—

"Sancte Columba tibi Scotto tuus incola Dungal
Tradidit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beentur,
Qui leges ergo Deus pretium sit muneris, oro."

Columba, as Lanigan observes, was the real name of Columbanus, the founder of Bobbio, and in all probability, when Dungal calls himself an *incola* of the saint, he rather means fellow-countryman, than inmate of his monastery.[1]

We cannot stay to criticise the poetry of Dungal. His best poem is an elaborate eulogy on Charlemagne, written in hexameter. Critics have questioned if Dungal were the author; the style, however, even the opening lines of the poem, compared with the first lines of the epitaph which he wrote on himself, leave no doubt that the "Irish Exile" was Dungal. The smaller poems that survive, are written in elegiac metre, and display considerable taste, although not much imagination.

There is every reason to think that Dungal, who died about the year 834, was buried in the crypts of Bobbio. He sleeps well with the friendly saints of Erin; and we earnestly join in his own humble prayer, that he may live for ever with those saints in heaven, even as their dust has long commingled in their far-off graves under the shadows of the Appenines.

"Te precor Omnipotens quadrati conditor orbis
Dungalus ut vigeat miles ubique tuus,
Sidereum ut valeat rite comprendere Olympum
Cum sanctis vitamque participare queat."

J. Healy.

[1] Some critics have doubted if Dungal, the recluse of St. Denys, who wrote the letter on the double eclipse of the sun, were the same as Dungal of Pavia. But there is not a shadow of proof offered in support of their theory; hence, to refute it is to fight with a shadow. The unusual name, the similarity of style, the testimony of the learned, the phrase ex quo (tempore) in hanc terram (Italiam) advenerim, all point to the identity of Dungal in Paris and in Italy.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

Obligation of Preaching.

Does a Parish Priest who, in obedience to a Diocesan Statute binding under pain of censure, preaches *tribus saltem Dominicis uniuscujusque mensis* thereby fulfil the obligation of preaching imposed by the Council of Trent?—A Subscriber.

In reply to this question, we have only to remind our esteemed Correspondent that the Council of Trent commands Parish Priests to preach *per se, vel alios idoneos, si legitime impediti fuerint, diebus saltem Dominicis, et Festis solemnioribus.* The precept of the Council is, therefore, more extensive than the Diocesan Statute to which our Correspondent refers. The reason is that such a Statute is intended, as the theologians express it, "non ad *finiendam* obligationem sed ad eam *sollicitandam.*" Hence, although by preaching on three Sundays in the month and thereby complying with the letter of the Statute, a Parish Priest would escape the censure, and perhaps mortal sin, still he would not thereby fulfil the obligation as laid down in the second Chapter (De Ref.) of the fifth Session of the Council of Trent.

II.

Obligation of Curates to Preach.

Are Curates in this country bound, as strictly, with regard to preaching, as Parish Priests are?

Speaking of the obligations of Curates, the Statutes of the Synod of Maynooth state "Sciant Vicarii, sicut pastoralis officii participes constituuntur, ita et pastoralis curae et sollicitudinis, se quoque participes fieri: ideoque ipsis etiam obligationem incumbere *praedicandi*, sacramenta administrandi," etc. We have already seen that Parish Priests are bound to instruct the faithful committed to their care "*per se, vel alios idoneos, si legitime impediti fuerint.*"

Curates, therefore, are bound, in this country, to discharge the obligation of preaching delegated to them by legitimate authority, in the same way, and under the same sanction, as Parish Priests.

III.

May the *Benedictio Mulieris post Partum* ever be given to a Protestant mother who asks for it? If not, may some other prayer be used?

We know of no authority which would render the

practice to which our Correspondent refers allowable. The practical course to adopt in the peculiar circumstances which he mentions, would be to consult the Bishop of the Diocese. To use an unauthorized prayer or blessing on such occasions would be to our minds very objectionable. If the blessing of the Church cannot be honestly given, it ought to be honestly refused.

IV.

Abstinence to be observed on Fast Days throughout the Year by those who are exempt from fasting *ratione aetatis vel laboris.*

Are persons who are exempt from fasting *ratione aetatis vel laboris* bound to any stricter abstinence outside Lent than in Lent?

Taking this question to regard the general Ecclesiastical law, apart from local law or custom, we answer in the negative. What the Indult of the Bishop does for such persons during Lent, the general law of the Church does for them on fast days outside Lent.

V.

In cases of sickness amongst the poor who are unable to procure medical assistance, may the Confessor declare them to be exempt from the law of fasting *ratione infirmitatis?*

He may. But in cases of doubt he should try, if practicable, to get a medical opinion on the condition of his penitents.

VI.

Effect of Erroneous belief on Marriage.

When persons believe in the legality of "*divortium a vinculo*," how can their consent be reconciled with the indissolubility, which is "*de essentia matrimonii?*" What about a mixed marriage under such circumstances?

In the following extract from the *Diocesan Synod* of Ben. XIV. (Lib. xiii., cap. 22, n. vii.), the difference between the effects of merely erroneous *belief* regarding "*divortium a vinculo*" on the one hand, and an express *condition* introduced into the contract on the other hand, is clearly set forth. We regret that our available space demands the utmost brevity:—

"Quod si expressa illa conditio de matrimonio ob adulterium dissolvendo apposita minime fuerit, quantumvis contrahentes in eo fuerint errore, ut matrimonii vinculum per adulterium dissolvi

posset, nihilominus locus est praesumptioni, ut dum matrimonium, prout a Christo institutum fuit, inire voluerunt, illud omnino perpetuum, ac interveniente etiam adulterio, insolubile contrahere voluerint; praevalente nimirum generali, quam diximus, voluntate de matrimonio juxta Christi institutionem ineundo, eaque privatum illum errorem quodam modo absorbente : quo fit ut matrimonium ita contractum, validum firmum maneat."

This distinction obviously applies as well to the case of mixed marriages, as to the case in which both parties are non-Catholics. ED. I. E. R.

LITURGY.

I.

Is it absolutely necessary as a condition for gaining the Indulgences of the Quarante Ore that the Blessed Sacrament should be exposed day and night for forty hours continuously?

1. Will you kindly tell me, whether the Indulgences of the Quarante Ore can be gained, even when the Blessed Sacrament is not kept exposed during the night?

2. What is the general rule?

3. Is there any special privilege in this country?

The general rule is that, to gain the indulgences of the Quarante Ore, the Blessed Sacrament should be kept exposed day and night for the forty hours continuously. This was expressly prescribed by Clement VIII. when instituting this devotion: "ut diu noctuque quavis hora, toto vertente anno, sine intermissione, Orationis incensum Domino dirigatur." The necessity of this condition was affirmed again and again. The Congregation of Indulgences declared on the 13th of September, 1672:— "nemini posthac concedendum esse Indulgentiam qui expositionem Sanctissimi non celebraverit cum eo qui dictus est modo, nimirum, cum oratione quadraginta horarum *nunquam intermissa*."

The Congregation of Rites[1] also decided that there should be no interruption of the Exposition, and the Instructio Clementina refers in two places[1] to this as a necessary condition for the Quarante Ore.[2]

[1] "Non licere in Orationibus Quadraginta Horarum reponere Augustissimum Sacramentum tempore Noctis, et contrariam consuetudinem abolendam esse," 7th Sept., 1658.

[2] § § ix., x., xxxiii.

But if there is a sufficiently grave reason (and it is for the bishop to judge of its sufficiency) to justify the interruption of the Exposition by night, Gardellini holds that the Indulgences of the Quarante Ore are attached to the Exposition by day only. Benedict XIV., in his constitution *Accepimus* lays this down clearly. His words are "Porro id necessario requiritur ad consequendas eas Indulgentias, quae fidelibus conferuntur qui, dum precantur in illis Ecclesiis, ubi Divina Mysteria spatio continuo quadraginta horarum exposita publice sunt. Etenim id omnino praecipitur in hac Indulgentia concedenda quae a quadraginta horis continuis nomen accepit. *Equidem, veteris disciplinae severitate remissa, nunc eadem Indulgentia concedi intelligitur, etiamsi Sacramentum Eucharistiae per horas quadraginta continuas gravissimis de causis minime prostet, modo tamen horis diurnis semper expositum relinquatur.*"

This extract occurs in a letter which Benedict XIV. wrote to the bishop of Worms in reply to an inquiry which he had made : namely, whether the indulgence attached to a visit to a church could be gained, even though the Blessed Sacrament was not exposed there. The Pope answers that the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament is not necessary unless specially prescribed as a condition for gaining the indulgence. Then turning aside to illustrate what he had said, he reminds the bishop that the continuous Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for forty hours is a necessary condition for the Indulgences of the Quarante Ore, except when the interruption by night is justified by very urgent necessity, and even this concession is, he asserts, a relaxation of the previous more strict discipline respecting this devotion. It is manifest that in this place the Pope does not grant a privilege to the diocese of Worms, inasmuch as the Quarante Ore was not the question submitted for decision, but he declares the meaning of the general law regarding the Forty Hours and in what circumstances the Exposition may be interrupted without a loss of the Indulgence. Gardellini, in his Commentary on the Instructio Clementina says, that there can be no doubt that this is the correct meaning of this passage of Benedict XIV. "Verumtamen, quia quandoque ita comparatae sunt circumstantiae ac talis tantique momenti possunt occurrere causae, ut opportunum maxime et fortasse etiam necessarium videatur Praesulibus, de nocte Sacramentum recondi ac perennem Orationem intercipi, ne propterea populus spirit-

uali illo bono privetur, Benedictus XIV. in sua Constitutione, "*Accepimus*," *eandem plenariam Indulgentiam lucrari posse declaravit, etiamsi noctu interrumpatur Oratio.*" Instruct. Clement. § xxxiii., 6.

Our country enjoys no privilege in this matter. In Canada and the United States they have the privilege of interrupting the exposition by night without thereby losing the indulgences attached to the Forty Hours' Exposition. We are aware that the late secretary to the Propaganda, Cardinal Franchi, in a letter addressed to Cardinal Cullen relating to the decrees of the Maynooth Synod, encourages the Irish bishops to apply to the Pope through the Propaganda for this privilege, in order to facilitate the spread in our country of a devotion so impressive and salutary.

II.

The Prayer of the B. Virgin to be sung after the Litany.

What prayer is to be sung by the celebrant at the conclusion of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin on the occasion of Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament ?

Before expressing an opinion on this question, it may be of advantage to state that the prayer is not necessary to gain the indulgence attached to the Litany: neither the versicle nor prayer forms a part of the indulgenced Litany. In the latest and most approved edition of the Raccolta[1] no versicle or prayer is given after the Litany, and Maurel states expressly that it is not required for the indulgence.

But returning to the question proposed, we are aware that there prevailed a diversity of direction on this point. In many books highly approved, such as Lecoffre's Antiphonarium, it is usual to print after the Litany of the Blessed Virgin the prayer *Gratiam tuam.* But there has appeared lately a book of the very highest authority, the Roman Ritual printed by Pustet at Ratisbon, every leaf of which was revised and approved by the Congregation of Rites, and in this book the Litany of the Blessed Virgin is followed, not by the *Gratiam tuam*, but by the *Concede nos famulos tuos.* This seems to us to decide the question. The versicle given in this Ritual is the *Ora pro nobis*, and there is no note or rubric added requiring a change of the versicle and prayer with the different seasons.

[1] American Translation of Edition published by S. Cong. of Propaganda in 1877.

III.

There may be more than one Font in the same Parish.

Is it lawful to have two or more baptismal fonts in a parish, *e.g.*, one in each church ?

Yes, this is lawful, and, in our opinion, to be strongly recommended when the parochial churches are far apart from each other.

We know that baptism is to be conferred only in the church, except in certain cases of necessity explained in our Maynooth Synod. Now, many parishes in Ireland are so extensive that it would be unreasonable and highly dangerous to require those who live in the remote parts of the parish to bring the tender infants for baptism to the principal church which may be many miles distant. But the subsidiary parochial church is tolerably near them, and accordingly it happens that it is quite usual in this country to confer baptism regularly as well in the outlying as in the principal church of the parish.

Now, there ought to be a baptismal font in every church in which baptism is usually conferred. "Curandum eis ut Fontes baptismales sub clavi, in unaquaque Ecclesia, ubi baptismi sacramentum ordinarie ministratur, quam primum erigantur."[1]

In connection with this question respecting the baptismal font, we wish to quote two decisions of the Congregation of Rites, one to confirm the opinion we advanced in the last number of the RECORD,[2] namely, that the function of blessing the font with the Holy Saturday rite should not be performed unless it is followed by the Holy Saturday Mass; the other to correct a statement also made in the last number, viz., that the blessing of the font may be performed by one priest, and the Mass celebrated by another on Holy Saturday. To separate the functions in this way is the privilege of Prelates, and does not extend to mere priests. The priest who blesses the font on Holy Saturday must also celebrate the Mass. We give the decisions of the Congregation :—

"1. An Episcopus possit prohibere morem nonnullorum Parochorum in Sabbato Sancto, et in Vigilia Pentecostis Baptismalem Fontem benedicendi, quin Missam per se ipsos celebrent? et an teneatur?

[1] *Ex Decretis Concil. Baltimor. Prov. Primi.*
[2] April 1882, page 245.

"2. Utrum immemorabilis et universalis consuetudo a Parochis servata quin Missam celebrent, benedicendi Candelas, Cineres, et Ramos olivarum in diebus Purificationis B. M. Virginis, Feria quarta Cinerum et Dominica Palmarum, censenda sit legitima? Et saltem an tolerari possit?

"S. R. C. resp.—Juxta alias decreta non licere, et Benedictiones, de quibus in precibus, peragendas esse per celebrantem.

"1 *Sept.* 1838 (4838)."

IV.

The Ceremony of sprinkling Holy Water in Churches.

Is there an obligation of blessing and sprinkling Holy Water on Sundays in every public church, whether it be the principal one in the parish or not?

The rubric in the Missal[1] orders the blessing and sprinkling of Holy Water on Sunday. It does not distinguish between principal and subsidiary parochial churches. A decree of the Congregation of Rites rules that it is to be left to the prudence of the bishop to decide whether this ceremony is to be performed in non-parochial churches.

An in Ecclesiis non parochialibus liceat aquam benedicere, et aspersionis caeremoniam Dominicis diebus peragere?

S.R.C. resp: "Plurimum de prudentia Ordinarii confisa, ejusdem arbitrio singula praedicta indulgenda dimisit.—22*nd November*, 1659."

V.

The "Benedictio in articulo Mortis."

In order to gain the plenary indulgence attached to the *Benedictio in articulo Mortis*, is it necessary for the sick person to recite prayers for the Pope's intention, as it is for gaining plenary indulgences generally?

No, this is not necessary. There is no such condition prescribed for this plenary indulgence. Consult O'Kane's *Notes on the Rubrics*, chapter xvii.

The Benedictio Mulieris post partum.

1. Can the ceremony of blessing women after child-birth be administered to two or more simultaneously, just as a number of persons may be invested together in the Scapular of Mount Carmel by using a plural form? 2. What is to be said about the custom of performing the entire ceremony at the Communion rails?

1. We have not seen the first question raised in any commentary, old or new, on the Ritual, and we should not

[1] See *Ordo ad faciendam aquam benedictam*, at end of Missal.

on our own authority encourage an interpretation at variance with the letter of the ritual rubric. Indeed the blessing is so short, that very little time or trouble could be spared by saying over two or more persons the few prayers that could possibly admit of being used in the plural.

2. O'Kane, in his work on the Ritual, has answered this question at Nos. 562, 567 (1st Edition).

VI.

The number of pellets of cotton required for Extreme Unction.

In administering Extreme Unction, is there any obligation to use as many pellets of cotton as there are parts anointed, or would one or two be sufficient?

The rubric of the ritual expressly says that there is to be a fresh or new piece of cotton for each anointing: *tergat loca inuncta novo globulo bombacii.* Consult O'Kane, paragraph 929.

VII.

The Blessing of Salt for the Sick.

There has prevailed in this diocese from time immemorial a custom of blessing salt for the sick. It is also used for sick cattle. The form used for blessing the salt is that found in the *Ordo ad faciendam Aquam Benedictam.* One would fancy that the two blessings given there—one for the salt and another for the water—should be more efficacious, and that it is Holy Water that ought to be sent. Yet the result of the custom is that the people will not be content to take Holy Water for the purpose, it is the blessed salt they want.

Can this custom be tolerated?

We can find no trace of this special custom in any commentator, ancient or modern, on the chapter *de Benedictionibus.* The use of Holy Water for the purposes mentioned would seem to be more in keeping with the practice of the Church, inasmuch as we know that the faithful were wont from the earliest times to carry Holy Water to their homes to sprinkle it on themselves, their houses, fields, and crops. Even at the present time the ritual form of blessing the objects you mention terminates with the sprinkling of Holy Water.

But why should we not rather use for these purposes the forms of blessing which the Church has approved? In a Roman Ritual published by Pustet of Ratisbon only last year, there is an appendix containing blessings for almost

every object, and every one of these forms of blessing has been examined and approved by the Congregation of Rites. Among them we have blessings *Adulti aegrotantis, pro pluribus Infirmis, Mulieris praegnantis in periculis partus, Infantis, Puerorum aegrotantium, Casei et Butyri, Volucrum, Apum, Pecorum et Jumentorum, Equorum et Animalium, Animalium peste vel alio morbo laborantium, Pecorum et Jumentorum gravi infirmitate vexatorum.* Of course these suppose the presence of the priest who is to pronounce the blessing over the person or thing.

In dealing with old-established customs, such as the one you describe, we should proceed with great prudence. Your custom is not directly opposed to any rubric of the ritual. It is then from your bishop you are to take counsel as to how you should act in this matter.

If the custom is to continue we would suggest that a more suitable form of blessing than the one you use would be the *Benedictio ad quodcunque comestibile* given in the Roman Ritual. Here the purpose of the blessing is "ut (creatura ista) sit remedium salutare generi humano, et . . . ut quicunque ex ea sumpserint, corporis sanitatem et animae tutelam percipiant."

In the Ratisbon Roman Ritual there is a special blessing for the salt and hay to be used by cattle: "Benedictio Salis vel Avenae pro Animalibus."

R. Browne.

DOCUMENT.

Incense not to be used at a Missa Cantata.

The Congregation of Rites, in reply to a question from France, has very recently re-affirmed the following decision that incense cannot be used at Missae Cantatae, unless in virtue of an Apostolic Indult granting this privilege.

A Reverendissimo hodierno Episcopo Salfordiensi quum a S. R. Congregatione exquisitum fuerit: An liceat absque speciali Apostolico indulto in Missa quae celebratur cum cantu, sed sine adsistentia sacrorum ministrorum, thurificationes peragere?

S. R. Congregation referente subscripto secretario respondit: *Negative*, juxta alias decreta. Atque ita respondit et rescripsit.

D. Card. Bartolimus, S.R C., Praefectus.
Placidus Ralli, S.R.C., Secretarius,

Die 7 Julii, 1880.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Alzog's History of the Church, Translated. Vol. 4. 8vo. Dublin: Gill & Son, 1882.

The fourth and concluding volume of the Dublin Reprint of the English Translation, by Pabisch and Byrne, of Alzog's Manual of Church History, has just been issued by the eminent publishing firm of Gill & Son. In our notice, in the Record,[1] of the first three volumes, we felt it necessary briefly to introduce both the German author and his American translators, to such of our readers as possibly might not have had a previous acquaintance with them. On the same occasion, we felt it to be our duty to acknowledge, in the name of a large class interested in the study of Church History, obligations to the Dublin publishers.

The appearance of the fourth volume affords us the opportunity of recalling with pleasure the estimate then formed of the distinguished Author, and of renewing our thanks to Messrs. Gill & Son for zeal and enterprise in the advancement of an important branch of literature. But the praise then accorded to the American translators must now, we regret to say, be qualified. The commendations of the Archbishops of Cincinnati and Baltimore, and the feeling, which none but narrow-minded critics will condemn, that it would be ungenerous to expose small defects in the execution of the arduous task of accurate translation, for the first time, of a voluminous and, from the nature of the subject, a difficult work, imposed upon us a reserve which it would be criminal any longer to maintain. As we perused the rich contents of this fourth volume, and rejoiced that its treasures of knowledge were thrown open to millions by the rare industry of two over-worked men, great was our sorrow at discovering, not merely a blot or a blemish, but a pestilent spot which well-nigh might mar the entire work. This is strong language, but can language be too strong to denounce the following sentence, for which the American translators are alone responsible, for it is not found in the original. At page 251, section 414, second paragraph, we find: "It is but proper to remark, in justice to this august body, that the delegates enjoyed and exercised the fullest freedom of debate, and that, unlike the Fathers of the Vatican Council, they had no tyrannical restrictions placed upon their proceedings." The "august body!" who are they? The Society of Freethinkers of Milan. And the "tyrannical restrictions" imposed on the Fathers of the Vatican Council! Do the translators so soon forget that, at page 246, they inform us that at the close of the Eighty-fifth General Congregation of the Vatican Council, on the 13th of July, 1870, the Cardinal President read a protest against the numerous misrepresentations and falsehoods, circulated concerning the Council, in the newspapers of every tongue and in anonymous pamphlets.

[1] 1st November, 1880.

How Messrs. Pabisch and Byrne could have disfigured the text of the great Alzog by such a silly and libellous interpolation is passing strange.

Though there can be no justification of such careless, nay reckless, misrepresentation of the author, whom they undertook to make known to an English-speaking public, two solutions of the puzzle may be conjectured. Possibly the interpolated passage is directed, however injudiciously, in irony against "Freethinkers," who attempted "the foolish task of holding at Naples, in opposition to the Vatican, a counter-council, which came to an inglorious end, without accomplishing anything." Or it may be that what was prepared as a *note*, to indicate and reprobate the sentiment of some unscrupulous and vindictive writer, was carried, through an oversight, into the *text*. With the Dublin publisher we have no expression of thanks, already acknowledged, to recall. From Rev. Thomas S. Byrne some explanation is demanded. Should a second edition be called for, we beg to suggest to Messrs Gill & Son the necessity of securing the supervision of some competent person, to eliminate from the English Version of Alzog's Church History many errors, some slight, some serious, one, at least, such as we have been noticing, of a most damaging character.

Though the American translators have to account for mistakes other than those we have noticed; yet should we be very ungenerous were we not to admit their strong claims upon our gratitude in having contributed, by their Translation of Alzog's Manual, to the knowledge and appreciation of the most important events of which history preserves the record. We feel assured that any lapses for which Messrs. Pabisch and Byrne may be held accountable, are wholly unintentional, and that the work performed by them, notwithstanding its imperfections, was undertaken with the purest motives, and with perfect submission to the authority of the Supreme Pastor of the Church. As one of the translators has passed away, we can only appeal to the survivor to rectify the passage to which we have called attention, and remove certain other blemishes which can, without very nice scrutiny, be detected in the otherwise excellent and valuable work in which he has had so large a share.

We have received for Review the following Books:—

From James Millar, New York—

Reminiscences of Childhood at Inverkeithing, or Life at a Lazaretto. By James Simson.

From Messrs. Gill & Son—

Irish Pleasantry and Fun. Sixth Part.

The Children's Mass, with Morning and Evening Prayers, Catholic Hymns, and Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament. Compiled by Rev. C. Maher, Cathedral, Marlborough-street, Dublin.

From Messrs. Burns & Oates—

The Dublin Review. April, 1882.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1882.

LIVES OF THE IRISH SAINTS.[1]

WE have received the third volume of Father O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints," which brings down the work to the end of March. This is the largest and most interesting of the volumes hitherto published. It contains more than 1,000 pages of closely-printed matter, and besides the Life of St. Patrick, which of course is the longest and most important in the series, it also contains numerous Lives of other Saints greatly renowned in ancient Ireland, to a few of which we wish to call our readers' attention.

This volume opens with the Life of St. David of Wales, who, at first sight, might seem to have little connection with our country. There can, however, be no doubt that very intimate relations anciently existed between Cambria and Hibernia, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. The two peoples were allied in race and language; considerable commercial intercourse existed between them; according to many high authorities St. Patrick himself was born near Menevia, and thus Wales would have been instrumental in giving the light of faith to our forefathers. This circumstance would of itself go far to explain the familiar and friendly intercourse that existed between the two countries, particularly during the lifetime of St. David and Gildas the Wise. Colgan tells us that St. David's mother was of Irish birth, and it is not unlikely that he himself, if not born in Ireland, at least lived for some time in Leinster with his mother's family. When he founded his celebrated monastery on the wild headland in Pembrokeshire that first meets the western

[1] By Rev. John O'Hanlon. Dublin: Duffy.

billows, Irish scholars crowded its holy cloisters. Amongst others we read of St. Aidan of Ferns, who there transcribed the Gospel of St. John, which an angel finished in letters of gold, and, down to the time of Gerald Barry, was so zealously guarded in its golden shrine that no human eye might look upon the sacred relic within.

Another Irish disciple of St. David was St. Finian of Clonard, who may be called the Head Master of the Irish Saints. If not a disciple of St. David, he certainly paid him a visit and lived for some time with him as an intimate friend. Thus it came to pass that David of Wales was looked upon as an Irish Saint, that his name is set down in most of the Calendars of the Irish Saints, as in the Codex Kilkenniensis, where his life is given at length, and that we find him honoured as the Patron of Naas in Kildare, whose new church of St. David rivals in architectural beauty the old priory of Great Connell, founded by Meyler FitzHenry, and dedicated to Our Lady and to St. David.

Readers of Tennyson will remember in the "Passing of Arthur" how the three fair queens with crowns of gold put forth their hands, and took the wounded king, sore smitten through the helm, and placed him in a dusky barge, and bore him

> "To the island-valley of Avilion;
> Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
> Nor even wind blows loudly: but it lies
> Deep meadowed, happy, fair with orchard lawns,
> And bowery meadows crowned with summer sea,
> Where I will heal me of my grievous wound."

Father O'Hanlon's account of Arthur's death, taken from Speed and Stowe, although not so poetic, is hardly less interesting. He was nephew of St. David, and was mortally wounded by Mordred in a battle fought in 542 near the river Kemelen in Cornubia. He was taken from the field of battle to the island of Avilion, at Glastonbury, that the wound might if possible be healed. But it was a fatal stroke, and so the king died during the spring, and was, on the 21st of May, 542, interred by the monks of Glastonbury in their own churchyard. His queen Guenevera was buried beside him. The grave was undisturbed for 648 years, until King Henry II. "caused the ground to be digged, and at seven foot depth was found a huge broad stone, wherein a leaden cross was fastened, and in that side that lay downward, in rude and barbarous letters (as rudely set and contrived) this inscription written

on that side of the lead that was towards the stone: HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTHURIUS IN INSULA AVALONIA."

The cross of lead, with this inscription, was for a long time preserved at Glastonbury—it is said by Stowe—until the time of Henry VIII. Giraldus Cambrensis, according to the same author, was an eye-witness of the exhumation. Henry of Blois, he says, nephew of the king, Henry II., then abbot of Glastonbury, directed the removal of the bones into the new church, "and there in a faire Tombe of Marble his (Arthur's) body was laid, and his Queene's at his feet."

This same Glastonbury was anciently called Glas-nan-Gaedhel, or Glassia Hibernorum, on account of the number of Irish students who frequented it from the time of St. David, but more especially in the time of King Ina, who, at the beginning of the eighth century, established many rich foundations for their maintenance.

At March the 8th, Father O'Hanlon gives a full and interesting life of St. Senan of Iniscathy, in the Lower Shannon. The name of this saint is familiar to many persons from Moore's poem on "St. Senanus and the Lady;" but the poet is hardly fair to either one or the other—he makes the saint too stern and the lady too worldly-minded. Father O'Hanlon tells the tale more faithfully. When Senan dwelt with his monks in Scattery Island, his cousin, St. Cannera, guided by an angel, came to pay him a visit. The saint, aware of her purpose, which he knew to be holy, came to the shore of the island to meet her, and told her that the rule of the monastery forbade all visits of women within the enclosure. She urged her request in vain—only to be allowed to receive the Holy Communion; the saint advised her to return and seek his mother's house, where she would be kindly received. She consented, but as a last favour asked that her body might be buried in the holy island. The saint granted her urgent request, on condition that she consented to be buried not within the churchyard of the monastery, but on the very edge of the shore. "It is enough," she said; so she was buried there, and the swelling waves, even at highest tide, never flowed over the sacred spot, which is still pointed out to the visitor. This story is told in the metrical life of the saint which must be more than 600 years old, for the author declares that St. Senan's successors were bishops of Iniscathy in his own time, and we know that it ceased to be an Episcopal See

towards the close of the twelfth century. The dialogue between the two saints is very quaint and lively, as the following stanzas show:—

St. Senan : Cui praesul; quod foeminis
Commune est cum monachis
Nec te nec ullum alium,
Admittemus in insulam.
The Lady : Tunc illa ad episcopum,
Si meum credis Spiritum
Posse Christum suscipere
Quid me repellas corpore?
St. Senan : Credo, inquit, hoc optime,
Sed nulli unquam foeminae
Huc ingressum concedimus,
Esto salvet te Dominus.
Redi iterum ad Saeculum
Ne sis nobis in scandalum:
Etsi es casto pectore
Sexum habes in corpore.

In the same metrical life of St. Senan there is a curious story[1] told of how St. Dermit of Inisclothram, in Lough Ree, sent a *casula* to his friend Saint Senan on Scattery Island by the simple process of committing it to the river, which bore it not only safe but quite dry all the way to the Lower Shannon.

St. Senan, not to be outdone, sent his gift in return *up* the stream to St. Dermit.

Tres salis petras illico
Remisit Diermitio
Modo magis mirabili
Dum credit eas flumini
Et contra cursum fluvii
Fecit eas sursum niti.

It was certainly a much more wonderful thing to send these three pieces of salt on the *surface* of the stream up the river, and *undissolved*, than to send the casula down the stream; at least, except the Shannon flowed backward for a time as we read happened in 1586, according to the Four Masters, "when the stream of the Shannon turned back to Lough Ree, and was so for 24 hours in presence of all that were in the town of Athlone."

St. Senan seems above all things to have sought after perfect seclusion from the world. Hence he never remained long on the mainland, but always sought some quiet island

[1] Father O'Hanlon omits this somewhat improbable tale.

where he might be secure from the turmoil and danger of the world. We find him at first taking refuge in Inisconirthe of Hy-Kinsellagh, which is taken to have been a small island in the Slaney that gives its name to the town of Enniscorthy. Then he went to visit St. David of Wales, and after his return established himself in Iniscara, not far from Cork on the river Lee. Afterwards he successively established himself in Inis-Cuinge in the Lower Shannon, then in Inis-more at the mouth of the river Fergus, next at Enniskerry off the coast of Clare, and finally at Iniscathy.

The successors of St. Senan of Iniscathy claimed and exercised episcopal jurisdiction not only over the island itself but also over a considerable portion of Clare on the north, and of Limerick on the south side of the Lower Shannon. At the close of the twelfth century, however, this ancient See was divided, part having been given to Killaloe, part to Limerick, and a small portion towards the south-west, was annexed to Ardfert. No one knows, even now, for certain to what See the Island itself belongs. The Bishops of Limerick have claimed it as their own territory for many centuries, but the Rev. Sylvester Malone, in a Paper written for the Royal Archæological Association in 1874, puts forward many arguments in favour of the jurisdiction of Killaloe over St. Senan's Island, and as far as we know the controversy has not yet been settled.

In the tenth century the Danes, driven from Limerick, established themselves on the Lower Shannon with their ships and wives and families, having also much gold and silver, and many sacred vessels, plundered from the Irish churches. During this occupation of Iniscathy the island seems to have suffered much from these marauders.

Father O'Hanlon gives 431 pages of the present volume to the life of our national Apostle, and no one who reads it will say that it is too much. There is no question of any importance connected with the life of the saint which he does not discuss, and few, we think, will be inclined to question the general correctness of his conclusions. We only regret that he frequently leaves it uncertain what opinion he adopts himself.

On the vexed question of St. Patrick's birth-place Father O'Hanlon inclines to join those who say that he was born in the district of Strathclyde. But he puts all the other theories before the reader in great fulness, and leaves him to form his own opinion. We agree with Father O'Hanlon that the weight of authority, as well as of

intrinsic evidence, favours the Caledonians. The data for ascertaining the locality are chiefly four. We know from our Apostle's Confessions that his father belonged to a place called *Bonaven Taberniae*, near to which he had a villa called *Enon*, if however this be the true reading and not "*enim*." It is besides stated in the Irish Life by his own disciple, St. Fiech, that he was born in *Nempthur*. We also know from himself that his parents lived, when he was a boy, in Britain—*in Brittaniis*—and that his father was some kind of a Roman provincial official. With these certain data it might seem at first sight easy to determine the exact place of his birth, yet the authorities are strangely divided; even the various readings of the above names in the MSS. are almost innumerable, which of itself is one great cause of the difference of opinion amongst the critics, and Father O'Hanlon has by no means settled the question. Lanigan is in favour of Therouenne near Boulogne, where, as Pliny the Younger informs us, a colony of Britains dwelt in his time. Mr. Cashel Hoey admits the French birth near Boulogne, not however at Therouenne, but at a place called Desvres where the Romans had a military station called by the Gauls Tabernae Bononiensis, or the Boulogne Camp. Tabernae was corrupted into Divernæ, and this into Desvres. Philologists can prove anything by ingenious corruptions and transpositions, just as Dr. Lanigan got "Therouenne" out of the same "Tabernæ."

The Welsh think St. Patrick was born somewhere near Bristol (indeed Jocelyn expressly says his natal place was near the Irish Sea), if not there, in the vale of Rosina near St. David's, or at any rate somewhere in Wales; and they think that he was buried at Glastonbury about the year 454, for the abbot Patrick of Glastonbury, who died in that year was the genuine Old Patrick, the Primate of Ireland.

Then Colgan, Usher, and a host of other writers, are in favour of the Scottish birth. For all the lives speak of Nempthur, and the scholast of St. Fiech's hymn places Nempthur in North Britain. It was also called Alcluide, or the Clyde Cliff, which would seem to mark out the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, where the Romans had a camp—Tabernæ—to defend their frontier against the Picts. St. Patrick's father was a Decurion in this camp, who came with his troops from Gaul, and thus it came to pass that our saint was born on the banks of the Clyde. Bonaven would simply mean river-mouth, *bun-avon*, and so all the

difficulties vanish. Yet Father O'Hanlon observes "that none of these writers on this subject have succeeded in identifying St. Patrick's birth with any single ancient locality about or near Dumbarton, and named in original documents." So the question remains open for the exercise of Irish ingenuity in the future quite as much as in the past.

Father O'Hanlon quotes all the various opinions, but he makes no attempt to determine the year of our saint's death. Was it 453 (according to the Annals of Connaught), or as Lanigan thinks, in 465, or so late as 493, according to the Four Masters, Usher, Colgan, and Ware? He cannot say, only he thinks it more probable that it was after the first half of the fifth century. We think this question, too, is likely to remain an open one, although the weight of authority is undoubtedly in favour of 493, the date given by the Four Masters. Who then was Sen-Patrick, Patrick the Elder, whose death the said Four Masters place in 457. "Some ill-informed writers," says Father O'Hanlon, "treating on the Antiquities of Glastonbury, have confounded our St. Patrick with another Sen-Patrick, who lived long after the time of our Irish Apostle." It is then very strange that the Glastonbury man should be called the Old Patrick. We should be inclined to think this Glastonbury story about Old Patrick is a myth; in the seventh or eighth century, some Irish monk of the name of Patrick was abbot of Glastonbury, and to do honour to themselves, some of the local annalists tried to make out that he was the genuine Apostle of Ireland, and called him Sen-Patrick, to remove any scruple on the matter that might still linger in the minds of the sceptical.

These different opinions regarding our Apostle's birthplace and identity, as well as about the length of his life and the year of his death, have led some pretended critics, like the ignorant and irreverent Ledwich, to question even his existence. But it is unnecessary to reason with such writers. The numberless churches dedicated to his honour, the holy wells that bear his name, the faith of the people, and their abiding love for him whom they fondly regard as their spiritual father, are sufficient proofs that the life and mission of our Apostle were a reality, even if the name of St. Patrick were never written or printed.

One of the most interesting lines in this volume is that of Saint Enda, of Aran-More, at least if read along with that of his sister St. Fanchea (which is the first life in the

first volume) ; for it is to her he owed his conversion. This holy maiden had established her nunnery at Rossory, on the shore of Lough Erne, near Enniskillen. Amongst the virgins under her care was one fair maiden with whom her brother, then Prince of Oriel, fell in love ; and so he asked his sister to allow the young lady to become his wife ; he had the power, too, to enforce his demand if he chose. "Wilt thou have an earthly spouse," said St. Fanchea to the maiden, "or love the heavenly Spouse, who is my delight?" She chose the latter; so thereupon the saint conducted her to an inner chamber and told her to rest herself on the couch. She did so, and shortly after fell asleep in the Lord, and went to meet the heavenly bridegroom. Then St. Fanchea brought her brother Enda and showed him the maiden. "Oh, her face is very pale," said Enda. "Yes," said the saint, "she has gone to her Saviour whom she loved, and the day will come when you, too, must die, and meet the Judge, and your sentence will be eternal death if you change not your life." Enda was greatly moved ; he resolved to renounce the world at once and for ever, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome, whither, after some years, his sister is said to have followed him and brought him back again to his native country. But he would not live amongst men of the world ; he would not even build a monastery in the rich land of Tipperary, where his brother-in-law, Ængus, the King of Cashel, offered him a tract of country for the purpose. "No," said he, "but there are three wild and barren islands in the ocean to the west ; they belong to you, and infidels now dwell there. Give me these desert islands, I will go and serve God amongst the infidel, and, mayhap, I shall win their souls to Christ." The request was granted, and thus St. Enda came to live in Aran-More about 480.

There is on Irish soil no spot so sacred as Aran-More of St. Enda. It is filled with the dust of countless saints. The old churches that still bear their names are to be found in every corner of the island : holy wells, and saints' graves, and stations for penance, and broken crosses cover the habitable spots that are to be found only on the north coast. For the greater part of the island is nothing but gray splintery limestone, that crops up everywhere—quite naked it is for the most part, beaten bare by the fierce blasts of the Atlantic heavy with spray, that cut the very lichens from the rock ; but here and there in the deep clefts, and round the corners of sandy beaches towards the

north, there are patches of sweet and wholesome herbage where a small breed of black cattle and sheep thrive wonderfully well.

To the south-west, however, it is all rock, quite naked, dark, and rugged, rising up 200 feet above the waves that beat for ever against this awful caverned sea-wall.

Not an inviting place even for saints; but Enda came to do penance, and he kept his word. He built himself a little church and cell, whose ruins still remain where the Village of Killeany, or Kil-Enda (Enna), still stands. There he prayed to God with incessant ardour, he lived on roots, and shell-fish gathered from the rocks; he slept on the naked floor of his cell, and he heeded not the biting wintry blasts, nor the dripping rain, nor the bitter cold. And during the long summer's day he wandered alone by steep cliff or sandy beach always in communion with God. He saw His mighty presence in the bold mountains that meet the sea in the west, he heard His voice in the ocean's roar, he felt His power more than all when he looked over that ultimate sea, stretching far and wide, and remembered His words:—"I have set my bounds around it and made for it bars and doors, and I said: Hither thou shalt come and shalt go no further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves."

No wonder that the fame of Enda's penitential life soon spread abroad and attracted crowds of holy men who longed to place themselves under his guidance. Aran-More was all given up to the saints—the infidels were converted and gave it to God and St. Enda. But the number of monks was so great that he founded no less than ten separate communities in different parts of the island. Under his own immediate care he had 150 holy men, who imitated his penance and humility. Each had his own little cell within a common enclosure; but they assembled together morn and noon and eventide to sing the praises of God in the same Church. They seem to have cultivated little patches of ground, but their food for the most part was "whatever the seas or seasons bore," and they took no anxious thought for the future, they lived only for God. If the remains of their churches and cells and tombs did not yet exist, no one would credit how this barren island became so celebrated a school of saints. The islanders yet point out one grave in which 27 saints are buried! It was this Aran of St. Enda that made our early saints so love to build their cells in the holy islands of our lakes and coasts.

Thither came St. Brendan from Tralee before he undertook those Atlantic voyages for seven years that have made his name so famous.

Hearing how blessed Enda lived apart,
Amid the Sacred caves of Aran-More;
And how, beneath his eye, spread like a chart,
Lay all the Isles of that remotest shore;
And how he had collected in his mind
All that was known to man of the Old Sea,
I left the Hill of Miracles behind,
And sailed from out the shallow sandy Leigh.

Thither, too, came Kiernan, the gentle saint, who for many years ground the corn for Enda's community with his own hands; and when by God's command, made known to him through Enda, he tore himself away from Aran to found the noble monastery by the Shannon's side that bears his name, the tears streamed down his cheeks as he knelt on the strand of Killeany, to get his beloved father's blessing. And thither, too, came Finian of Clonard, and Jarlath of Tuam, and Senan of Iniscathy, and Finian of Moville, and Kevin of Glendalough, and a host of others whom we may not stay to name. Amongst the rest came one whom we cannot omit, the great Columba, the warm-hearted, passionate, loving saint who atoned for one fault by a life-long exile from his native land.

He tells us himself how much he loved Aran:

"Farewell to Aran Isle, farewell;
I steer for Hy; my heart is sore,
The breakers burst, the billows swell,
'Twixt Aran Isle and Alba's shore.
Oh! Aran, sun of all the West,
My heart in thee its grave hath found,
He walks in regions of the blest,
The man that hears thy church bells sound."

'Twas Columba that told how God's angels came down from heaven each day to stand round the altars of holy Aran, while priests whose hearts were white as the sea foam offered up the Great Sacrifice to God. Each day of the week they came in turn—some prince of the hosts of heaven, Gabriel, Michael, Uriel, Sariel, and Ramael; and on Saturday came the Divine Mother herself with the Infant in her arms to bless their churches, their cells, and their fields.

Like its companion volumes, this book is not only highly edifying and instructive, but beautifully printed,

bound, and illustrated. Truly, we marvel at the labour spent in the composition of the text, and even more at the extent and variety of the notes and references. To bring out a volume of this kind in this perfect form must be a work involving considerable expense as well as enormous labour. We know Father O'Hanlon seeks not worldly gain; he works like the Four Masters, "for the glory of God, and the honour of Erin." He felt it to be "a cause of pity and regret, of grief and sorrow, how much the race of the Gael have passed under a cloud and darkness without knowledge or record of the death or obit of saint or virgin, archbishop, bishop, abbot, or other dignitary of the Church;" and he resolved to do his best to remove the cloud that hung over the race of Nial. It is a noble work to do, but the writer should not be a pecuniary sufferer, he deserves the encouragement of every Irishman, and, above all, of every priest. Shame upon us, if we continue in ignorance of the good and great men, who founded the ancient Church of Ireland, and spread her fame for learning and holiness over every land and sea. Double shame on us, if, while men of alien faith and alien blood—Usher and Ware, Archdall and Petrie, Graves and Todd—have in a spirit, too, of love and reverence, done so much to illustrate the Annals of Ireland, and the history of her saints, we of the household of the faith and the children of the Saints, we who worship at the same altars, and whose ashes will mingle with theirs in the same old churchyards—shame upon us if we should be heedless of Ireland's highest glory, and forgetful of her ancient fame:—Si oblitus fuero tui Jerusalem oblivioni detur dextera mea. This ignorance is our own dishonour. Others may not remember, but we should never forget. There ought to be a copy of the "Lives of the Irish Saints" in the house of every priest. He should be fairly familiar with their contents, and he will find them, like the Scripture, "profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice." Such reading is equally useful to the pastor, and, through him, to his flock. It will give him power in the pulpit to illustrate his teaching by examples of which the people will love to hear, for the history of our native saints comes home to their hearts; it will lend a new interest to every hoary ruin, and new charms to the various scenery of our native land, awakening in the mind unbidden thoughts and holiest associations, when we see the round tower, or blessed well, or holy island, or broken cross—almost all that now remains of the ancient glories of Christian Ireland.

"The Primitive Churches of Ireland," says Petrie, "have little in them to interest the mind or attract regard as works of art, yet in their symmetrical simplicity, their dimly lighted nave entered by its central west doorway, and terminated on the other side by its chancel arch, affording to the devout worshipper an unimpeded view of that brighter sanctuary in which were celebrated the Divine Mysteries, which afforded him consolation in this life and hope in the next—in the total absence of everything which could distract his attention—there is an expression of fitness to their purpose too often wanting in modern temples of the highest pretensions; as the artless strains sung to the Creator, which we may believe were daily hymned in these unadorned temples, were calculated from their very simplicity to awaken feelings of deep devotion. . . . But even if they were found to express less of that expression of congruity and fitness, and more of that humbleness so characteristic of a religion not made for the rich, but for the poor and lowly, that mind is but little to be moved which could look with apathy on the remains of national structures, so venerable for their antiquity, and so interesting as being raised in honour of the Creator in the simplest, if not the purest, ages of Christianity."

Surely the broken walls of our ancient churches ought to excite as much enthusiasm, or at least veneration, in the minds of a Catholic priest as of any Protestant layman. But such feelings in most minds are not spontaneous, they must be educated to revere the old churches' ivy-clad walls. And we know of no way better adapted to bring about so desirable an end than the diligent study of the Lives of our Saints.

For the rest, we heartily congratulate the learned and painstaking author of these volumes on the success of his labours. He has already given us in English as much, and even more, than Colgan gave us in Latin. He has deserved well of his Church and of his country; his labours entitle him to a high place in the roll of those illustrious Irishmen, whose greatest pride was to illustrate the history of their native land. His work will always be an authority of highest credit, a rich repertory of information for historian, preacher, scholar, and even poet; and we earnestly hope and pray that his life may be spared to complete this great work, and thus build up an enduring monument to his own fame and to the glory of God and of Ireland.

J. Healy.

THE NUMBERING OF THE HOURS IN ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

IN discussing, in the April number of the RECORD, the Scriptural question as to the Hour of our Lord's Crucifixion, I mentioned that at least in one aspect, that question is to be regarded as forming merely a part of the more general one, What method of numbering has St. John followed, throughout his Gospel, in the designation of the hours of the day to which he refers?

There can be no question as to the method followed by the three other Evangelists. Theirs is the method universally known as the "Jewish" method. Its leading characteristics, as was explained in the Paper referred to, were as follows: (1) the day, that is to say, the period from sunrise to sunset, was divided into twelve hours of equal length; (2) the numbering of the hours, from one to twelve, began at sunrise and went on from sunrise to sunset; and (3) the hours were not of equal length throughout the year, but, measuring invariably a twelfth part of the day, were necessarily longer or shorter at various seasons, in proportion to the length of the day.

Thus, for instance, taking, for facility of exposition, a day occurring on or very near the Equinox, whether in Spring or Autumn, the following Table will represent the corresponding hours of the "Jewish," and of our modern systems:—

JEWISH		Corresponding to the MODERN hour,	
1st hour			6-7 A.M.
2nd	„		7-8 „
3rd	„		8-9 „
4th	„		9-10 „
5th	„		10-11 „
6th	„		11-12 noon
7th	„		12-1 P.M.
8th	„		1-2 „
9th	„		2-3 „
10th	„		3-4 „
11th	„		4-5 „
12th	„		5-6 „

In St. Matthew's Gospel, the instances in which the hours of the day are referred to by their numbers are but two. The first occurs in the Parable of the Labourers

in the Vineyard; the second, in the narrative of our Lord's Crucifixion.

In the former case (St. Matthew xx. 1-16), the hours spoken of are the *third*, the *sixth*, the *ninth*, and the *eleventh*—these being mentioned as the hours at which the Master of the Vineyard went out into the market-place, during the day, to hire the labourers. And in the latter, in the narrative of the Crucifixion, St. Matthew (xxvii. 45) records that the darkness which overspread the heavens, while our Lord was upon the Cross, lasted from the *sixth* hour until the *ninth*.

St. Mark's and St. Luke's references by numbers to the hours of the day, occur only in their narratives of the Crucifixion. St. Luke's text (xxiii. 44) is practically identical with that just quoted from St. Matthew. St. Mark's narrative contains the further statement, determining, as we have seen,[1] the hour of the Crucifixion: "It was the *third* hour, and they crucified Him." (St. Mark, xv. 25.)

As was fully explained in the April number of the RECORD, there is no reason whatever to doubt that the method of numbering followed by those three Evangelists in these passages was that already described as the "Jewish" method.[2]

[1] See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD (third series), Vol. 3, No. 4 (April, 1882), pages 211-220.

[2] Although the point is scarcely relevant to the subject of the present Paper, it may be useful here to insert an additional remark regarding the singular theory, examined at such length in the April Number, that among the Jews, or among any other nation of ancient times, the day was divided into four parts, termed "hours," and numbered respectively, not first, second, third, and fourth, but "first," "third," "sixth," and "ninth." Since the publication of my former Paper, a learned colleague has directed my attention to a passage in Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, Lib. 5), where the usage is mentioned of the praetor's marshal, among the Romans, crying the 3rd hour, noon, and the 9th hour of the day. There can, of course, be no question that for military, as well as for certain civil purposes, public notice of the progress of the day was thus given among the Romans. In a somewhat similar way, in our own times, in many cities, the hours of 9 A.M., mid-day, and 3 o'clock P.M., are indicated by some special signal, as, for instance, I believe, in Dublin, by the chiming of the bells in St. Patrick's Cathedral. But even if we assume—as is not indeed unlikely—that a similar usage, especially in connexion with the Temple service, may have existed among the Jews; this is manifestly different from a recognition of the theory that the Jewish day was thus divided into four parts, each of which, though comprising three hours, was itself designated an "hour," and which were numbered, not, as might naturally be expected, first, second, third, and fourth, but "first," "third," "sixth," and "ninth."

The question as to whether a different method of numbering was followed by St. John, would, in all probability, never have been raised but for the apparent contradiction between his narrative and that of St. Mark, in reference to the hour of the Crucifixion.

"It was the *third* hour, and they crucified Him," are the words of St. Mark; whereas St. John, in describing the proceedings in Pilate's Court, tells us that "it was about the *sixth* hour" when Pilate took his place on the judgment seat before pronouncing the sentence of Crucifixion.

This special and serious difficulty, and the numerous suggestions made by commentators, ancient and modern, with a view to its solution, were most fully discussed in the Paper already quoted.[1] It was there mentioned that many writers, especially in recent times, have adopted a solution of the difficulty based upon the theory that the numbering of the hours followed by St. John, is a different one from that followed by the other Evangelists. It was also mentioned that in the view thus referred to, St. John's "sixth" hour indicates the *sixth* hour reckoned, as in our modern method, *from midnight*, and that by many writers who rely upon this solution of the difficulty, St. John's use of this mode of numbering the hours is explained on the supposition that it was the "Roman" method—the distinctive "Jewish" method having been abandoned, or at least having ceased to be generally understood, at the comparatively late date when St. John's Gospel was written.

On the other hand the existence of any such difference between St. John's method of numbering the hours, and that followed by the other Evangelists, is denied by many writers of the highest authority. The reasoning on which the advocates of the opposing views rely in maintenance of their respective positions is drawn chiefly from an examination of the various texts, with special reference to the nature and circumstances of the events narrated, in those passages of St. John's Gospel in which specific hours of the day are mentioned. In the last number of the RECORD, one of those passages was fully discussed—that in which "the sixth hour" is mentioned in St. John's narrative of the Passion.[2] It now remains to examine in the same sense the other passages in question.

[1] See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD (third series), Vol. 3, No. 4 (April, 1882), pages 221-235.

[2] *Ibid.* pages 221–235.

Dr. Townson, an English divine of the last century, has already been mentioned as the author whose learned dissertation on the subject may be regarded as the fullest and most detailed exposition of the theory that St. John's method of numbering the hours is different from that followed by the other Evangelists. In his dissertation Dr. Townson remarks also, as a noteworthy circumstance, that St. John is the Evangelist in whose Gospel specific hours of the day are most frequently mentioned.

The passages thus brought under examination are four. It may be useful to transcribe them. They are as follow:—

1. In the 1st chapter of his Gospel (i. 35-39), in narrating the calling of St. Andrew, and of the "other disciple," whom commentators are practically agreed in identifying with St. John himself, the Evangelist writes:—

"And the two disciples . . . followed Jesus.

"And Jesus turning, and seeing them following Him, saith to them: What seek you? They said to Him, Rabbi (which is to say, being interpreted, Master), where dwellest Thou? He saith to them, Come and see.

"They came, and saw where He abode, and they stayed with Him that day. Now it was about the *tenth* hour."

2. In his 4th chapter, in the narrative of our Lord's conversation with the Samaritan woman, St. John (iv. 6) tells us that—

"Jesus . . . being wearied with the journey, sat thus on the well. It was about the *sixth* hour."

3. Again, towards the end of the same chapter (iv. 52), in his narrative of the miraculous cure of the Ruler's son who lay sick at Capharnaum, he relates the following incident:—

"The man believed the word that Jesus said to him, and went his way. And as he was going down, his servants met him, and they brought him word, saying, that his son lived.

"He asked therefore of them the hour wherein he grew better. And they said to him: Yesterday, at the *seventh* hour, the fever left him.

"The father therefore knew that it was at the same hour that Jesus said to him: Thy son liveth."

4. The fourth and last passage is that already so fully discussed,[1] in which St. John (xix. 14) narrates that

[1] See Irish Ecclesiastical Record (third series), April, 1882, pages 221–235.

when Pilate, finally overawed by the threats of the Jews, proceeded to pronounce the sentence which was to hand our Lord over to their vengeance,

"He brought Jesus forth; and he sat in the judgment seat . . .

"And it was . . . about the *sixth* hour."

Before proceeding to examine the three first passages with the same fulness of detail with which the fourth has already been dealt with, it will not be out of place to note that the theory of a difference in the numbering of the hours, as between St. John and the other Evangelists, has had to encounter no little prejudice in consequence of its supposed identification with a historical inaccuracy, fairly chargeable, no doubt, to many of its advocates, but distinctly noticed and most satisfactorily removed by Dr. Townson himself.

In a special section of his Dissertation, he undertakes to establish these two points: first, that the usage in question was not in any sense a "Roman" usage, the Roman usage on this point having been, in fact, identical in all respects with that of the Jews; and, secondly, that, without any reference to Roman usage, there are sufficient grounds for supposing that such a method of reckoning the hours was in existence at the time of St. John's writing his Gospel, and might, in fact, not unnaturally have been adopted by him.

Dr. Townson's proof of the first point is no less interesting than it is conclusive. Taking the hours one by one, he adduces from classical authors a long series of passages in each of which some hour of the day is mentioned, and which, in each case, from the nature of the reference, plainly show that among the Romans, as among the Jews, the hours were numbered, not from midnight, or from midday, but from sunrise to sunset.

We may take, for illustration, a few of the passages thus cited.

The *first* hour of the day, then, is spoken of by Horace, in a well-known passage, in a manner plainly inconsistent with the theory that the Roman hours were numbered from midnight, or from midday; and, on the other hand, most fully consistent with the view that the numbering began with sunrise. In contrasting the

calm quiet of a country town with the bustle and the noise of Rome, he says[1]:—

> "Si te grata quies et *primam* somnus *in horam*
> Delectat . . . Ferentinum ire jubebo."

The *second* hour also is mentioned by Horace in a context which manifestly determines the reference to an hour not long after sunrise; for he is speaking of a time previous to the opening of the courts of justice, and these, in Rome, as we know from unquestionable evidence, were opened for business at an early hour of the morning. The passage is as follows[2]:—

> "*Ante secundam*
> "Roscius orabat sibi adesse ad Puteal cras."

In the same sense, Martial, speaking of the time, in the forenoon, when the business of the courts was chiefly conducted, says[3]:—

> "Exercet raucos *tertia* causidicos."

Indeed, almost the entire of this Epigram is worth quoting, as it traces, by the occupations of the principal hours, beginning with the first, the division of the Roman day:—

> "*Prima* salutantes atque *altera* continet hora;
> Exercet raucos *tertia* causidicos.
> *In quietam* varios extendit Roma labores,
> *Sexta* quies lassis. *septima* finis erit.[4]
> "Sufficit in nonam nitidis *octava* palaestris;
> Imperat exstructos frangere *nona* toros,[5]
> Hora libellorum *decima* est, Eupheme, meorum."[6]

So, too, the *sixth* hour is spoken of by Pliny in a context manifestly determining the reference to midday. Speaking of a place under the tropic of Cancer, where, on the day of the summer solstice, the sun is vertical at noon, and there is consequently no shadow cast by an upright object, he says:—"Ipso die solstitii, *sexta* hora, *umbrae in totum absumuntur*."[7]

To bring these references to a close, the testimony of Palladius may be cited, who, in his agricultural work

[1] Epist. i. 17, 6. [2] Satir. ii. 6, 34. [3] Epigrammatum, Lib. iv. Ep. 8.
[4] The "Delphin" note on this line is as follows:—"Circa *sextam* paululum quiescebant Romani: hora vero *septima* omnino ab opere desistebant."
[5] "Id est, *mensae accumbere*." *Ibid.* [6] Epigrammatum, Lib. iv. Ep. 8.
[7] Hist. Nat. Lib. vi. cap. 34.

De Re Rustica, in treating of each month of the year, points out for the guidance of the husbandman a means of ascertaining the hour of the day. His method of doing so, puts it beyond all possibility of question that the Roman method of numbering the hours was identical with that of the Jews. The hour, he says, may be determined by the length of the shadow cast by a long pole. For, as he explains, the shadow, on every day throughout the year, *decreases* from the *first* hour to the *sixth*, when it is shortest; it then *increases*, until it again attains its *greatest length*, at the *twelfth* hour; and, although its length, for the different hours of the day, varies with the season of the year, it is, on every day, of the same length at the 1st hour and at the 11th, at the 2nd hour and at the 10th, at the 3rd hour and at the 9th, and so on.[1]

It is plainly unnecessary to prolong the citation of authorities.[2] But it may be well to add, with Dr. Townson, that the mistake made by so many writers, especially among Scriptural commentators, in supposing that in the Roman usage the numbering of the hours began at midnight, is, to a certain extent, capable of explanation. Among the Romans, the *numbering of the hours* proceeded, as we have seen, not from midnight, but *from sunrise*, and followed the course of the natural day. But the Roman *civil day* began, not with "the first hour," at sunrise, but, as it does with us, *at midnight*. Thus if two events occurred, one a short time before midnight, the other a short time after midnight, they were regarded by the Romans as occurring on *different days*. This, then, may be regarded as furnishing some explanation of the origin of the view, adopted by so many writers, that the numbering also of the hours began at midnight. But it cannot, of course, in any way be regarded as furnishing a solid argument in favour of that view, or as interfering in any degree with the force of the manifestly conclusive evidence on the other side. Among the nations of antiquity, as a rule rather than as an exception, the numbering of the hours began from some other point than the begin-

[1] Palladius, *De Re Rustica*. See the last paragraph of each book, from the 2nd to the 13th, both inclusive.

A reference to the articles *Dies*, *Hora*, *Horologium*, &c., in any Dictionary of Roman Antiquities, as, for instance, Smith's, will suffice to show that the point thus elaborately established by Dr. Townson is one on which scholars are practically unanimous. A few passages from classical writers are sometimes referred to as suggesting a slight difficulty. See, for instance, Langen, *Die letzten Lebenstage Jesu*, No. 16, sect. 38. But these are capable of a satisfactory explanation.

ning of the civil day. Thus, for instance, the Egyptians, who, like the Romans, began their civil day at midnight, also, like the Romans, began the numbering of their hours at sunrise. And in fact, as regards the Romans, we have distinct evidence that, even in referring to the beginning of the civil day, the hour at which it commenced was spoken of, not as the "first," but as the "sixth," hour. "Dies," says Aulus Gellius,[1] "quem Romani civilem appellaverunt, a *sexta* noctis hora oritur."

Having thus shown that the Roman method of numbering the hours was identical with that of the Jews, the learned writer from whose Dissertation I have so freely quoted proceeds to show that, independently of all references to Roman usage, there are sufficient reasons for supposing that a different system, in which the numbering began at midnight, might have been followed by St. John.[2]

For there is very probable evidence that, although not in Rome, elsewhere at least—and indeed in a district with which St. John's relations were close and personal—this method of numbering the hours was then actually in use.

The evidence thus referred to is contained in the Letter of the Church of Smyrna, describing the martyrdom of the Bishop of that See, St. Polycarp, and enclosing the *Acta* or Proceedings of his Martyrdom. This letter was addressed to the neighbouring Church of Philomelium. Now Smyrna and Philomelium are situated in that district of Asia Minor,

[1] *Noct. Attic.* Lib. 3, cap. 2. See also Macrobius, *Saturnal*, Lib. 1, cap. 3.

[2] It is considered by many commentators that at all events in his method of designating *days* St. John adopts the Roman method. The passage relied upon in proof of this occurs in the 20th chapter of his Gospel (St. John xx. 19.) The Evangelist here narrates the appearance of our Lord to the disciples "when it was late *that day*," the day of His resurrection. Now it is clear from a comparison of this passage with St. Luke's narrative (xxiv. 13-40), that this appearance of our Lord did not occur until after the return of the two disciples to whom He appeared at Emmaus, and from verses 29-36 of that narrative it is no less plain that consequently it could not have taken place until an hour or two after sunset. It was then the day *after* that of the resurrection, according to the Jewish mode of distinguishing days. But St. John (xx. 19) speaks of it as having occurred on the *same* day as the resurrection, thus showing that, in this respect at least, he adopted the Roman method of computation.

For some interesting observations on this point see Patrizi, *De Evangeliis*, Lib. 2, Annotationes, n. 213, and Lib. 3, Diss. 49, n. 4, Diss. 50, nn. 23, 24; and a paper by the Very Rev. Dr. Molloy, on the Day of the Last Supper, in a former number of the RECORD (Second Series, vol. 9, July, 1873, pages 451, 452.)

which is known in scriptural and ecclesiastical topography as the district of the Seven Churches—Smyrna being, in fact, one of the seven sees mentioned in the passage of the Apocalypse, from which the designation is taken. "What thou seest write in a book, and send to the seven churches, which are in Asia: to Ephesus, and to Smyrna, and to Pergamus, and to Thyatira, and to Sardis, and to Philadelphia, and to Laodicea." (*Apoc.* i. 11.) Ephesus also, where St. John's Gospel was written, was the city of one of the Seven Churches: it is situated in the same district, and not very distant from Smyrna. Now in the Letter of the Church of Smyrna, written A.D. 164, or not more than about seventy years later than the Gospel of St. John, several references are made to the hours of the day; and these, to say the least, must be regarded as most naturally pointing to the use of a system of numbering in which the first hour began, not at sunrise, but at midnight.[1]

It is unnecessary to detail the various steps of the analysis by which Dr. Townson arrives at the conclusion that this was the method of computation followed in the Letter. For our purpose it is enough to note that in the consideration of the question before us, in view of the evidence thus furnished,—conclusive, or merely probable, as it may be considered to be—not very much weight can be attached to any arguments drawn from the fact that no such method of computation was in use among the Romans. The usage of the Asiatic Greeks in the district of Smyrna must be regarded as much more likely to supply an indication of the usage followed by St. John. And the Letter of the Church of Smyrna furnishes at all events strong grounds for supposing that the usage of the Asiatic Greeks was, in this respect, different from that of the Jews and Romans, and identical with that of modern times.

But passing from these considerations, which, as is obvious, are useful only in so far as they may serve to remove an *a priori* difficulty, let us examine in detail the

[1] The *eighth* hour, for instance, is mentioned in the Letter as the hour of St. Polycarp's martyrdom.

"Dr. Townson," says Greswell (Dissert. 27), "concludes from the detail of previous circumstances that this denotes eight in the morning, not two in the afternoon; and thence infers that the Church of Smyrna observed a computation of hours, the same with the modern: intimations of which fact we have also seen in the Gospel of St. John. Though this conclusion cannot be admitted as certain, yet I think it *much more probable* than the contrary."

passages of St. John's Gospel, transcribed in the earlier portion of this Paper, in which certain hours of the day are designated by their numbers by the Evangelist. I shall set forth, in each case, the chief considerations that have been suggested on either side in favour of the contending views.

The first passage, then, is that which occurs in the first chapter, where the Evangelist, in narrating the calling of the two disciples, having mentioned that they came to where our Lord abode, and "stayed with Him that day," adds that it was then "about the *tenth* hour."

The advocates of the view that St. John's hours are counted, not from sunrise, but from midnight, regard this passage as strongly confirmatory of their opinion. If the hours, they say, were counted from sunrise, then the hour mentioned in this passage is that which corresponds to our 4 o'clock, P.M., or, more accurately speaking, to two hours before sunset. Now with this, neither the words nor the circumstances of the narrative seem to agree. It seems, indeed, to be implied, both by the Evangelist's statement and by his method of making it, that the disciples spent a good part of the day with our Lord at His abode. And, Dr. Townson adds, the following verses (40-42) seem as if added by the Evangelist to intimate as much. For we there read that one of the two disciples, Andrew, sought and found his brother Simon Peter, and brought him also to our Lord. Then follows our Lord's well-known address to the future Chief of His Apostles. And from the fact that it is distinctly stated that St. Peter was the "first" whom Andrew thus found and brought to our Lord, it is suggested as more than probable that he found and brought others also. Now the incidents thus narrated, or referred to, would certainly seem to require for their occurrence very much more than two hours. But only two hours can be assigned to them if "the tenth hour of the day" is to be understood according to the Jewish computation. For, that those incidents occurred on the remaining portion of the day in question is shown by the opening words of the 44th verse, where the commencement of the following day is expressly indicated. "*On the morrow* . . . He findeth Philip." Thus, then, Dr. Townson concludes that "since these things (vv. 40–42) seem to be the transactions of 'some hours,' the most reasonable account of this 'tenth' hour is that it was ten in the morning."

On the other hand, those writers who regard St. John's method of numbering the hours as identical with that adopted by the other Evangelists, very confidently maintain that there is no difficulty whatever in understanding the passage in a sense fully consistent with their view.

In the first place, as they take care to point out, it may well be questioned whether Saint Peter's coming to our Lord is here mentioned by St. John as an incident of this same day. The context, indeed, would seem rather to imply the contrary.[1] And it is quite in keeping with the ordinary method of the Evangelists to suppose that St. Peter's coming to our Lord is here referred to, not as an incident of the day in question, but merely as an incident, the mention of which was naturally suggested by the previous statement regarding St. Andrew, who was St. Peter's brother.[2] Still less are we under any necessity of supposing the occurrence *on that day* of other similar incidents not expressly mentioned, but implied by the Evangelist in the words "he *first* findeth his brother Philip." Indeed it is by no means clear that those words in any way refer to the finding or bringing of other disciples either on that day or subsequently.[3]

And even if there were reason to suppose that St. John's narrative sets forth, or implies, the occurrence, on that day, of incidents requiring for their occurrence, as

[1] "Hoc factum videtur *non eodem die* ac quae sunt in vv. 35-39; nam haec acciderant die jam inclinato, et Andreas manserat apud Christum." PATRIZI. *In Joannem Commentarium.* In loc. (i. 41.)

[2] An instance strikingly parallel is to be met with in the Gospel narratives of the Passion, where the Supper at Bethania is mentioned by St. Matthew (xxvi. 6) and St. Mark (xiv. 3) altogether out of the order of its occurrence, and in connection with the betrayal of our Lord by Judas. It was an incident of the supper that finally determined Judas to the betrayal. Hence although the two events were separated by an interval of several days, they are narrated in immediate sequence.

[3] "Vox illa 'primum' comparationem quandam insinuat.

"Aliqui legunt *prior* seu *primus invenit* . . et tunc sensus est: 'unus illorum discipulorum, qui Andreas dicitur, *prior altero* invenit Simonem;' quasi divisi essent et separati duo illi, et Simonem quaererent, invenit autem eum *prior* frater ejus Andreas, et invento dicit, 'invenimus Messiam.'

"Potest etiam illud 'primum' referri ad Simonem, sitque sensus, 'discedenti Andreae a Christo primus occurrit Simon.'

"Melior et magis proprius est prior sensus." TOLETUS, *In SS. Joannis Evangelium.* In loc. (i. 41.)

Dr. Townson puts it, "some hours," why should it be assumed that the narrative allows for their occurrence only the two remaining hours before sunset? May not St. John's expression, "they remained with Him *that day*," very naturally be understood of the "day," not in the Jewish sense, as terminating at sunset, but in the sense in which the expression would be used by a modern writer, that is to say, of the ordinary *civil day*, from midnight to midnight, as now commonly understood?[1]

Thus, then, even if it be recognised that the Evangelist wished by these words to indicate that this first conference between the future Apostles and their Master was by His gracious condescension prolonged, not merely for "some," but for many hours, all this is fully consistent with the view that it was "about the tenth hour," according to the Jewish mode of computation,—two hours, or somewhat more than two hours, before sunset,—when they went to His abode.

This we may see, for instance, from the narrative of Canon Farrar, whose view, throughout his "Life of Christ," is that St. John's method of numbering the hours does not differ from that of the other Evangelists. His narrative, then, of the incidents narrated in the passage now in question, is as follows:—"They came and saw where Jesus dwelt, and as it was then *four in the afternoon*, stayed there that day, and probably slept there that night; *and before they lay down to sleep* they knew and felt in their inmost hearts that the Kingdom of Heaven had come,"[2] &c., &c. The suggestion of the same writer as to the special reason of St. John's minuteness of detail in mentioning the hour at which the two disciples received the gracious invitation of our Lord, is well worthy of consideration. It seems to remove all necessity for supposing that the hour is mentioned by the Evangelist with a view of indicating that the interview which followed was a prolonged one. "One of these two . . was the narrator, the beloved disciple, the

[1] See page 320, *footnote*.

[2] *The Life of Christ*. Chapter 10. The skill with which the narrative and descriptive portions of Canon Farrar's work are constructed, and the admirable use made of the results of the very latest researches in the topography and sacred archæology of the Holy Land, cannot fail to suggest to a Catholic reader an expression of regret at our want of a similar work, free from the doctrinal drawbacks which unfortunately render Canon Farrar's otherwise instructive and deeply interesting volume unsuited for general use among Catholics.

Evangelist St. John. No wonder that the smallest details, down to the very hour of the day, were treasured in his memory, never to be forgotten, even in extreme old age." And elsewhere, in the same sense, he writes:—"It is St. John who narrates to us the first call of the earliest Apostles, and he relates it with all the minute particulars and graphic touches of one on whose heart and memory each incident had been indelibly impressed."

So far, for the first of the passages in question. In view of the various considerations thus put forward it would seem indeed difficult to regard it as furnishing decisive or even probable evidence in favour of the theory that St. John's method of designating the hours was different from that of the other Evangelists. A similar examination of the second and third passages (*St. John*, iv. 6; iv. 46–53) will probably be regarded as leading to a similar conclusion in reference to them. The variety and importance of the questions to which they give rise render it necessary to defer the consideration of them to the next number of the RECORD.

W. J. WALSH.

MODERN ERRONEOUS SYSTEMS OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

PART II: THE RATIONAL AND PIETISTIC SYSTEMS.

As long as words a different sense will bear,
And each may be his own interpreter
Our airy faith will no foundation find,
The word's a weathercock for ev'ry wind.
DRYDEN'S *Hind and Panther*. Part I.

IN these lines the Theological Poet points to the absurdity and pernicious effects of the Protestant systems of biblical interpretation, with which, according to the plan laid down in a former number, I intend to deal in this paper. It is a ground familiar to every student of Theology. My argument can contain nothing new, but may be put in

a new way, according to the well-known dictum of Vincent of Lerins "eadem tamen quae didicisti, doce, ut cum dicas *nove*, non dicas *nova*." I shall use the epistolary rather than scholastic style, for while careful to avoid irrelevant and extraneous subjects, I may occasionally find it useful or interesting to introduce points which may have a collateral rather than direct bearing on the general argument, and which could not be so appropriately inserted within the lines of strict scholastic argumentation.

The fundamental principle of both systems was the rejection of the *magisterium* of the Church in Scriptural interpretation. On this point both agree. They diverge in the method of supplying its place. The Rational system of Luther, which is that of the Episcopalians and others, supposes that the true sense of Scripture can be discovered by the exercise of *private judgment*, partly because of the evidence of Scriptural meaning in itself, as Luther maintained, and partly by the rules of sacred hermeneutics on which the supporters of the system at present more generally rely.

Calvin, while submitting Sacred Writ to individual interpretation, relied not so much on the power of private judgment or hermeneutical helps, as on some imaginary internal illumination of the Holy Spirit, revealing to each individual its true meaning in all things necessary for salvation. This was more or less the doctrine of the Montanists of the early ages of Christianity as it is now of the Anabaptists, the Quakers, and different classes of Methodists. As regards the Quakers and Methodists this distinction has to be made between their teaching and the Calvinistic system: they push the influence of private inspiration to greater extremes than Calvin did. The fundamental proposition of George Fox, a Leicestershire shoemaker, and founder of the Quakers is, that "The Scriptures are not the adequate primary rule of Faith and Morals, *but a secondary rule subordinate to the Spirit*, from which they have their excellency and certainty." (*Barclay's Apology for the Quakers.*)

The Methodists, founded by John Wesley, and so called because of the regularity or method they observed in praying, reading, fasting, &c., believe in an "*instantaneous illapse of God's spirit into the souls of certain persons*, by which they are convinced of their justification and salvation.' These peculiar tenets of the Quakers and Methodists will come under the arguments by which the Pietistic system is refuted.

In showing the fallacy of these two systems of interpretation, we may use arguments applicable to both, as well as special for each, as both have certain points in common, though differing in others. And in the first place, both rest on a false foundation. Both presuppose, that God's word is contained in the Bible *alone*, that there is no such thing as Divine and Apostolic Traditions, containing not only the revelation consigned to writing, but also Divine Truths, which were never written, and which are necessary to be believed. This connection between the denial of the Church's authority over Scripture, and the rejection of Divine Tradition, is so close, that it is impossible to see how they could be separated. Admit the existence of Tradition, in the sense explained, and the authority of the Church over the Scripture is at once implied. The custody and true exposition of Tradition of its very nature belongs not to an individual, but to a society, which never dies, that is, in our case—to the Church. It would be impossible for an individual, or any number of individuals, to penetrate through the mist of ages, and find out that portion of divine revelation which was not consigned to writing unless it had been preserved and handed down to us by the Church. The words of the woman of Samaria to our Blessed Lord, may be here applied, "Sir, the *well is deep*, and Thou hast nothing to draw with." Except through the Church, we have no way of reaching that revelation which was not written. If then God's word in its entirety is contained in Scripture and Tradition, and the unwritten portion of it, of necessity belongs to the guardianship of the Church, it would be preposterous to suppose that our Blessed Lord wished the deposit to be divided—one part to be given to the Church, and the other handed over to the caprice of individuals. Hence it was, that the so-called Reformers, in casting aside the authority of the Church in Scriptural interpretation, denied at the same time the existence of Divine Tradition, and proclaimed the Bible *alone* the depository of *all* God's word, and the only rule of faith. It is unnecessary for me here to enter into a detailed expansion of all the proofs for the existence of Tradition, nor is it necessary even to touch on them at all in my present position. I may assume it as proved; but a passing allusion to them, without being foreign to the general argument, may be useful, and help to keep before our minds the relations established by Christ between His Church and Revelation.

The Catholic belief in the existence of Tradition is not based on mere abstract reasoning or historic evidence, but on the infallible teaching of the Church. The Council of Trent, Fourth Session, teaches us not only that there are Divine Traditions, but also that they are of the same authority as the written word, and to be received with the same veneration. "Sacrosancta Synodus, Traditiones, tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel oretenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continua successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur."

As our adversaries ignore the infallible teaching of the Church, we cannot urge this argument against them. But let us for a moment place ourselves on a common platform with them, and examine briefly the history of the foundation of the Church, as gleaned from the Scripture and the teaching of antiquity. They cannot object to this method of argument, as they believe in the veracity of the Scriptures, and I use the Fathers not as *theological authorities* but as *faithful witnesses* of the doctrine and discipline of the Church in their respective times. We do not inquire what our Blessed Lord *could* have done, whether He may not, if it so pleased Him, have consigned to writing *all* His Divine Revelation, and given to each convert the book containing it, as the rule and guide of his religious belief; but we seek what He actually *did* when founding His Church. Now we have no record of His having written anything Himself except the sins of the Pharisees with His fingers on the dust. His supposed Epistle to Abgarus, King of Edessa, quoted by Eusebius (Eccl. Hist., Book 1) is generally held to be spurious. It does not even appear that He commanded any of His Apostles to write. He over and over again commissioned them *to teach* and *preach* "Go ye therefore and teach all nations" (*Matt.* xxviii. 19); and again, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature" (*Mark* xvi. 15). In obedience to this voice they went forth, and preached the Gospel in every country, from India to Spain, everywhere establishing churches, and committing their doctrine to faithful men who should be fit to teach others also: "the things that thou hast heard of Me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to those faithful men, who shall be able *to teach others* also" (2 *Tim.* ii. v. 2).

Few of them wrote, and when they did under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, it was to some individual or

particular church, at some special request, or under the pressure of some urgent necessity, without giving directions or providing means of having their Gospels or Epistles communicated to the rest of Christians throughout the world, and hence it happened that the canon of Scripture as it now stands, was not absolutely settled until the end of the fourth century. The Gospel of Saint Matthew, the first written, was not composed before the eighth or tenth year after the Ascension of our Blessed Lord, and that of St. John not before the year 97 or 98, that is, after his return to Ephesus from the Island of Patmos, more than sixty years after the death of Christ, and thirty after the martyrdom of St. Peter. From all these undeniable facts it is manifest that the Church had been already founded, regularly constituted and furnished with all its divine prerogatives, before a word was consigned to writing. It follows, moreover, that the Gospels and Canonical Epistles cannot be considered as regular treatises upon the Christian religion containing a detailed, clear, and entire exposition of Divine truths, "which, if they were written (according to the figurative language of St. John), every one, the world itself would not be able to contain the books that should be written" (c. 21, v. 25). Finally, that the Sacred Books were no more intended to supersede Tradition, than the Ten Commandments given in writing were intended to make void the natural law. In this sense only can we understand St. Paul to the Thessalonians: "Therefore, Brethren, stand fast; and *hold the traditions* which you have learned whether *by word* or by *our* Epistle (2 *Ep.* c. 2, v. 14). What do the words of Saint Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, and disciple of the Apostles, mean, when on his journey to Rome to be devoured by wild beasts, he exhorted the faithful who got access to him, "to guard against the rising heresies, and adhere with the utmost firmness to the *tradition of the Apostles.*" (Eusebius Hist. Book 3, c. 30).

And St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, disciple of Saint Polycarp, the fellow-martyr of St. Ignatius, supplies many clear testimonies of like kind in the twelve books which he wrote against the heresies of his time. "Nothing is more easy to those who seek the truth, than to remark in every church the *tradition* which the Apostles have manifested to all the world" (Book 3, c. 4).

In Book 4, c. 64, we have the following most important and conclusive testimony: "Supposing the Apostles had

not left us the Scriptures, ought we not still to have followed *the ordinance of tradition*, which they consigned to those to whom they committed the Churches? *It is this ordinance of Tradition which many nations of barbarians*, believing in Christ, followed, without the *use of letters or ink.*" St. Chrysostum laid down as an axiom, "It is a tradition of the Church, seek nothing further" (Book 3rd, Com. in St. Matthew).

But why multiply quotations from the early Fathers, when we know the signal failure of the efforts of the Protestant Bishops and Divines, Andrews, Hooker, Pearson, &c., who, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, laboured hard to press the Fathers into their service. We have, moreover, the honest confession of the learned Protestant Casaubon, "That the Fathers are all on the Catholic side;" likewise that of Obrectch, who says that in reading their works, "he was frequently provoked to throw them on the ground, finding them so full of Popery." Apart from Tradition, on what basis can Protestants form their Canon of Scripture? What warranty have they for receiving some books as inspired, and rejecting others? What authority have they for sanctifying the Sunday instead of the Sabbath Day, in the face of the precept of the Old Law: "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy?" We have no mention in Scripture of the transfer of the obligation from one day to the other. It must have come, therefore, from the Tradition of the Church from the Apostolic times.

Enough has been said to enable us without being more diffuse to wind up the argument. Scriptural facts, the records of antiquity, the explicit declarations of learned Protestants, and the Protestant belief in doctrines which are not contained in Scripture, bear unanswerable testimony to the existence of the *unwritten word* of God. But the *non-existence* of Tradition, or the *unwritten word*, is the foundation of the Lutheran and Calvinistic systems of Scriptural interpretation. Therefore, as an edifice deprived of its foundation falls to the ground, so these two systems resting on a false hypothesis, cannot subsist, nor be regarded as the work of the Divine Founder of Christianity. The force of the argument is increased, and the position of the supporters of these systems becomes more incongruous, when we remember that the avowed aim of the reformers was to restore the Church to the rule, practice, and purity of the Apostolic ages, from which, they alleged, it had departed.

Surely the rule and practice of the Apostolic times, and the succeeding centuries, according to the testimony of the Fathers above quoted, were not the private interpretation of the Scriptures—they were not the rule of those barbarous nations, believers in Christ, of whom St. Irenaeus speaks, who had not the use of letters or ink.

But let us suppose for argument sake, that all Divine revelation is contained in the Bible, can the systems of *private judgment* or *internal illumination* be accepted as the divinely ordained instrument of interpretation and rule of faith? Can we suppose that our Blessed Lord in a matter of such paramount importance, as the possession of the true faith, willed a means, which He foresaw, would for many centuries at least, be attainable only by the few, and be beyond the reach of the countless millions? Can we believe that, for the fourteen hundred years before the invention of the art of printing, He intended private interpretation of the Bible, either in the Lutheran or Calvinistic sense, to be the rule of faith, when the *Bibles* themselves were very scarce and expensive, and consequently beyond the reach of all save the wealthy?

Is it admissible, that Christ, foreseeing the large percentage of the faithful, who would never be able to read, intended the reading and individual understanding of the Bible as their rule of faith, and guide to eternity?

Again, the Bible, we all agree, contains a code of laws not easy to be observed, repugnant many of them to the strongest tendencies of our nature, and to be obeyed under penalties of eternal import. Are we to be told that our Saviour left the interpretation of this most important code to the judgment of each individual to be twisted according to the dictates of his whims, prejudices or passions? When have we ever heard or read of a lawgiver, who, after framing a code of laws, neglected to appoint competent judges to decide on their meaning, and to enforce obedience to their decisions? Without such a provision, an Act of Parliament becomes a dead letter; the Statute Book cannot rise up to protest against being misunderstood or misapplied; and on the other hand, no law was ever so accurately worded or clearly defined as not to leave an open to human ingenuity to distort its meaning; hence, said the illustrious Fenelon, "it is better to live without any law, than to have laws, which all men are left to interpret according to their individual opinions or interests."

The arguments hitherto used are equally available for

the refutation of both systems. Let us now examine them separately; and first, the Rational system of Luther. Divested of its technical phraseology, the practical working of the system may be thus simply stated. Every follower of this system substantially says: "The Bible is the word of God, not the Bible uninterpreted, for thus it is mute, but the Bible as interpreted by the rightful interpreter. The Bible as interpreted by my Bishop, or by my Parson, *may* or *may not* be the word of God—the Bible as interpreted by the early Fathers *may* or *may not* be the word of God; but the Bible as interpreted *by myself*, that is surely the word of God, an infallible rule of faith and guide to salvation. This is private judgment in Biblical interpretation reduced to practice. Let us examine it. The principle of private judgment as a guide in Revelation in general, is *a priori* absurd and impracticable. *Absurd*, for Revelation precisely because it is Revelation must come to us not from discussion but from teaching. We may reasonably use our private judgment in examining the credentials and authority of the teacher, but it would be both absurd and unreasonable to make our individual judgment the examiner and criterion of what has or has not been revealed. It is *impracticable*, taking human society as it is actually constituted. Adding together the ignorant, those who are destitute of elementary instruction—those, too, whose thinking powers are untrained, and consequently unfit for instituting inquiry—and the very large section, who, though in some degree competent, are by nature or habits disinclined or prevented by the daily avocations of life from entering into such an investigation, and under these circumstances to make private judgment and inquiry a religious guide, would be impracticable, because in direct opposition to the actual constitution of human society. The truth of these propositions becomes still more manifest when we examine the exercise of private judgment in that portion of Revelation contained in Holy Writ. This we purpose to do in the next number of the RECORD.

DENIS HALLINAN, D.D.

GERALD BARRY AND HIS LATE EDITORS.—VII.

The Proceedings before Innocent III.; Various Authorities on the term "Judices."

NOW that Mr. Brewer's views have spread, the literary public must not be expected to give them up without a struggle. Men feel strong in finding themselves in harmony with Brewer, and Green, and Morley, and they will not lightly yield up a position so respectably fortified. They must be expected to cling to their already conceived opinions, not, indeed, with a dishonest, but with a somewhat selfish tenacity. Like the imaginary hero of the Protestant fable, they must be expected to object to giving up their old Mumpsimus for our new Sumpsimus. Nothing but very thorough demonstration will be able now to bring them over to our views. As for the authority of Theiner, lately brought forward by us, it will cost them little trouble to get rid of that. People will set up Mr. Brewer against him—the editor of London against the editor of Rome—the mediæval knowledge of a reader at the Rolls against that of a Librarian of the Vatican. They will proceed further: they will attack Theiner himself; and, to confess the truth, poor Theiner has laid himself open to very damaging assaults. He was unquestionably a man of erudition; but he, by no means, seems to have been one of those able and critical-minded men who know how to make a thoroughly good use of erudition. It appears only too plain that he was unfortunately ready to set down headlong what he saw, or thought he saw, and explain it straightway, in an off-hand manner, that a little reflection would have shown to be ridiculous.

Among the letters of Honorius, which we have been speaking of, there occurs one in which the Pope exhorts the Irish to assist the English king by contributions. This letter is numbered LX. by Theiner; it is dated the tenth year of Honorius's Pontificate. Now Honorius assumed the tiara in exactly the same year as Henry III. the crown of England; and the unusually long reign of Henry, which commenced when the monarch was a lad, continued for even scores of years beyond the one short decade during which Pope Honorius sat in St. Peter's Chair. There was no other English king contemporary with Honorius as Pope, after the first months of his Pontificate. Henry is, of

course, the English king whom Honorius, in the tenth and last year of his high incumbency, calls upon the Irish to assist. But Theiner finds the king's name designated in the Pope's letter by an initial only; he takes the initial to be a K, and not a H; he at once decides that what he thinks a K, must stand for the Latin of his German *Karl;* he concludes that the English king's name was Charles, and without more ado he states in Latin, as the argument of the letter, that Pope Honorius calls on the Irish prelates to collect a subsidy for King Charles of England! "Praelatis Hiberniae ut collectam faciant in subsidium Caroli Anglorum regis," is the argument set down by Theiner for the letter; and the reader will notice that he spells the name with C, not K.

In these islands it is only Mr. Dick in a novel that transplants a King Charles of England outside the seventeenth century; and foreigners are generally supposed to know the story of the ill-fated Charles I., much as our own countrymen know that of Louis XVI. Theiner cannot have been ignorant that the first Charles of England was put to death under Cromwell, only two centuries ago. Yet so careless was he, or so unable to make ready use of his vast stores of information, that, on the strength of what seemed a K in a letter, he supposes a King Charles of England living in the thirteenth century, and represents Pope Honorius as appealing in his favour to the Irish bishops! After making so ridiculous an exhibition of himself as this, it is vain to expect a prejudiced public to respect him as an authority on any important point.

An unprejudiced public might indeed be expected to distinguish. It might be hoped, not unreasonably, that it would see, firstly, that it is one thing to describe the main drift of a document before one's eyes, and another to explain who the persons are whom the document refers to without giving names in full; secondly, that in the case before us, Theiner clearly perceives the main drift of the documents, for he carefully and correctly notices in his titles where "Judices" are to examine and report and where they are to decide a question; thirdly, in fine, that once he thus manifestly understood the true nature of the proceedings, his constantly applying indiscriminately the title Judges, while he discriminates so perfectly the duties to be performed, is in itself strong ground for holding that the title can scarcely be a solecism in Church Law, whether applied to commissioners appointed to decide a suit, or to

a court opened merely to take evidence and forward it officially. After all, Theiner was as much accustomed to ecclesiastical language, as an attorney of our own time to the proper law terms of our national tribunals. And if his terminology supplies, as it unquestionably does, an easy interpretation of what otherwise is a puzzle in Giraldus, an unprejudiced public might, we think, be expected to hail it as an explanation of sufficient weight.

From the public, however, of Mr. Green and Mr. Morley we expect nothing of the kind. That public will indeed scout the authority of a man who made such an exhibition of himself as poor Theiner, with regard to English history. Mr. Brewer has never gone so ridiculously astray. It is true indeed, in a marginal note to the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book *De Invectionibus*, he informs the patient reader that the Emperor Henry, whom Giraldus in the text describes as having imprisoned both his natural father and his spiritual father, Pope Paschal II., was the celebrated Henry IV.—a mistake which, we think, Theiner would not have made. But though Henry IV. was a child when his father died, and though it was undoubtedly his son, Henry V., who imprisoned both Pope Paschal and him, and though Henry V., the husband of the famous Empress Maud, might be expected to have special claims on the acquaintance of English historical writers, still we think, on the whole, Mr. Brewer's offence at worst looks venial when compared to Theiner's; and it is just possible that Mr. Brewer's Henry IV. may have been a slip of the pen for Henry V., or may be a misprint.

It is quite impossible to explain away in the same manner the unlucky Theiner's K and *Caroli*, and we feel that we had better not venture to bring him forward as an authority; but we are determined to defend, as strongly as we can, his view concerning *Judices*. We believe it is well worth while to set forth at full length the powerfully convincing grounds which are at hand to prove that, like Theiner in our own times, Cambrensis could properly apply the title of judges to Courts of Commissioners, authorised simply to take evidence and to report. We believe that this point is of the utmost importance for the vindication of the fair fame of Innocent. If this be once established, the proceedings in Gerald's double suit are easily understood, and appear most natural, instead of most perplexing. And once they cease to perplex, and appear natural, there is an end of Mr. Brewer's, or Mr. Green's, or Mr.

Morley's charges, or insinuations, or doubts, concerning the thoroughly straightforward honesty of Pope Innocent III. Those charges, those insinuations, those doubts, have found their place in the minds of ignorant, or prejudiced, but we believe honourable gentlemen, from its appearing that, without intelligible reasons, at one time Gerald's business was to be tried at Rome, at another in South Britain; then again at Rome, and then anew in his distant native island. Once it is understood that the real trial all along went on at Rome, and that the work in South Britain, with regard to the main suits, was limited to taking evidence, the action of Innocent, during the four years' law proceedings, will easily be seen, and, we doubt not, frankly acknowledged to have been quite pertinent and right. We proceed, therefore, to establish "painfully," one great point, that there is no reason whatsoever why the word "Judices," in Giraldus, should be considered to mean necessarily a court with power to decide, rather than commissioners appointed to examine and report; and this, even though at the same time we find the simpler title "*Auditores*," applied to cardinals.

We must candidly acknowledge that the title *Auditores* is admitted to be theoretically the proper title for such officials as we hold Gerald's South British *Judices* to have been. The legal *Auditores* are, in theory, properly Commissioners for hearing more or less of the evidence in a suit which they have not power to decide. On the other hand Judges or *Judices* are properly, we certainly believe, in theory, those who, not only hear a case in court, but decide it and pass sentence. But we maintain and are prepared to demonstrate, that this theoretical distinction is not, and was not in the days of Innocent, by any means uniformly observed in practice. There is, undeniably, looseness in the usage of the terms.

We offer the following extract from an authority on Canon Law, as a proof that we are, in the first place, right unquestionably with regard to the double meaning of *Auditores*. The passage is taken from the beginning of the eleventh chapter of the second part of Bouix's "Tractatus de Judiciis Ecclesiasticis":—

> Ex iis qui Auditorum nomine variis in curiis designantur, alii sunt veri ac proprie dicti judices, ac proinde non nisi improprio quodam sensu Auditores nuncupantur: alii vero a judicibus ordinariis essentialiter differunt; et hi stricto sensu veniunt sub Auditorum vocabulo. Ad priorem classem referuntur Auditor

camerae apostolicae et Auditores Rotae : . . . De . . . proprie dictis Auditoribus, idest, qui a judicibus contradistinguuntur, generalem notionem sic tradit Schmalzgrueber (in tit. 1, libri 2 Decretalium, n. 15): "Auditorum usus praecipue est in curia romana et apud legatos Sedis Apostolicae. Sunt quibus vel tota causa vel certus causae articulus examinandus committitur, eo fine, ut post diligens examen super hoc institutum, rem omnem exponant judici, ejusque decisioni relinquant."

Habent illi quidem jurisdictionem in cognoscendo, ita ut partes ad audientiam citare, testes et probationes admittere possint, etc. In decidendo autem et sententiando jurisdictionem non habent, nisi hoc ipsis specialiter a Principali delegetur.

It must be admitted that this passage shows very clearly that canonists are acquainted with two kinds of Auditores, and that the title is applied to some officials who hold court with full power of decision, and to some who hold court without it. We think it well to bring this forward here in order to show clearly how it must be confessed at the outset that the theoretical distinction between Auditores and Judices is by no means observed with perfect strictness. But unfortunately the peculiar laxity, which we are thus able to point out from the first, is not the precise laxity we want to prove. We aim at showing laxity in the use of the term Judices, not Auditores.

Neither we nor Barry's editors maintain that the *Auditores* of whom he speaks were real judges in the full sense of the word. On the contrary, all must agree that they were *Auditores* most properly so called. It is with regard to the officials called *Judices* that difference arises; and the passage brought forward, though it shows that the word *Auditores* was loosely used, by no means proves the same for *Judices*, however it may undermine the force of the original theoretical distinction between the terms.

We must candidly confess that our canonist does not here point out that the word *Judices* as well as *Auditores* is used in a lax no less than in a strict sense. He might, however, most properly have done so, as we shall instantly proceed to show.

In the first place, we need only point to the case of "Conservatores," which is an extremely strong one, patent to every student of Canon Law, as a manifest instance of lax usage of the term "Judge" or *Judex* in ecclesiastical jurisprudence. We have merely, in fact, to give the definition of the term supplied by Bouix himself, in the

First Part of the work already quoted, sect. iv., cap. 1., § vi. ; it is as follows, and will satisfy even a non-ecclesiastical reader :—

"Conservator dicitur *judex* delegatus seu deputatus a Papa, ad defendendos aliquos ab injuriis damnis et violentiis manifestis, *absque judiciali causae cognitione.*"

In another of his learned and very able works, Dr. Bouix supplies us with a further text to enable us to establish the decidedly manifold meaning attaching to the word *Judex*. In his "Tractatus de Curiâ Romanâ," when speaking (Part ii., cap. vii., § ii., 20) of the Congregation of Cardinals entitled the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, he tells us that it

"Habet *judicem relatorem*, cui incumbit, pro causis criminalibus quae ad Sacram Congregationem in gradu appellationis deferuntur, ad congregatos Cardinales causae statum referre ut Eminentissimi Patres perspicere valeant, num episcopalis curiae sententia confirmanda sit an vero infirmanda aut reformanda. In iis criminalibus causis intervenit etiam Procurator generalis fisci ad defendendam curiae episcopalis sententiam."

It is clear that while this latter official supports the decision of the court below, the *Judex Relator* has simply to report to the real judges of appeal, the Cardinals, on the merits of the whole. This *Judex Relator* must be distinguished from an *Eminentissimus Relator*, he is no cardinal, no real judge himself. He is simply one of the stable regular officials of the "Eminentissimi Patres," who, we see, are in a stricter sense of the word the Judges. Thus in the *Annuario Pontificio* for 1866, amongst the Sacred Congregations and in the description of that for "Vescovi e Regulari" (pp. 299, 300) after the list of the Cardinals, who were its Prefect and members, after the list enumerating Secretaries and Auditors, after the list of Consultors, we come at last on the list of "Officiali," and there we have the name and title.

Vincenzo Avv. Cav. Del Grande. *Giudice Relatore.* Similarly in the *Gerarchia Cattolica* for 1873, after Cardinals and Consultors, Secretaries and Auditors of the same Congregation, we find again (p. 515) "Signor Vincenzo Avv. Cav. Del Grande. *Giudice Relatore.*" Though not so great an official, yet so far as the use of terms goes, the Judge Relator is as good an example on the one side as an Auditor of the Rota on the other. Hence it is as true that the title Judex is occasionally given where there is no real judge,

as it is that the title is sometimes denied where the reality exists, in Canon Law. *Judex* no less than *Auditor*, is taken in a lax as well as a strict sense.

This is, indeed, clearly proved by what we have quoted from Dr. Bouix himself. But we want something more. It is not enough for us to find that the term *Judex* is used laxly. We want, moreover, authority for its being used laxly precisely in the circumstance in which it appears used by Giraldus. We desire authority for calling men *Judices*, not only when they are Conservators of a University or mere critical Report-makers to a special Congregation, but precisely when they are Commissioners for receiving evidence, such as Gerald's Judges are acknowledged on all hands to have been, and Commissioners without power to decide, such as we have shown they must positively have been, if Gerald's narrative is to be intelligible. We seek for some authority far more explicit than what we find in Dr. Bouix, for maintaining that the title of Judges was given to two kinds of Papal Commissioners in law proceedings, not only to those Commissioners who had power to hear cases and decide them, but also to those who had only power to hear and report what they had heard. Authority for maintaining the existence of this usage we happily find, and in most grave and learned works.

We find it alike, in Moroni's huge Ecclesiastical Dictionary, and in Du Cange, as edited by the Benedictines. In both works Papal Commissioners appointed to hear evidence without deciding are formally entitled *Judges*. We find in Moroni under "Delegato," "*giudici commessi* dal papa *per informare* o per giudicare sono delegati nella giurisdizione contenziosa." And in Du Cange we have the following explanation :—

> Dativus *Judex*, idem qui jurisconsultis Datus. Delegatus, cui "litis *cognitio* VEL *pronunciatio* vel etiam utrumque commissum est."

These two quotations are certainly a most valuable assistance in our argument, but there is something to be desired still. Some of our readers may have an unpleasant recollection of how fallible Du Cange was found about the Camerarius of Scotland, and at all events it is important to show that the usage we find maintained in Moroni and Du Cange, as well as by Theiner, was actually that of the age of Giraldus and Innocent the Third.

J. J. O'CARROLL, S.J.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

Obligation of Preaching.

With regard to the obligation of preaching, kindly state what omission would constitute a "*gravis materia*," and whether a Priest who preached only three times in the month, in obedience to a Diocesan Statute, would avoid grievous sin. In your answer to a previous question, you leave this point doubtful by saying, "and perhaps mortal sin." I beg to direct your attention to No. 192, *Statutes of Maynooth Synod.*

A Subscriber.

The reason why this point was left doubtful is because it is impossible to lay down a rule which will decide every case. In determining the obligation of individuals in this matter, we must take into account the various circumstances which serve to modify the general principle. All we can do is to state the rule or principle, and then leave the application of it to be determined according to the circumstances of the individual case. We may take the statement of the rule as it is thus briefly put by Bouix (*De Parocho*, cap. ix. n. 10): "Est sententia communiter recepta, graviter peccare parochum, qui sive *per unum mensem continuum* sive *per tres menses non continuos*, nec per se, nec per alios praedicat."

Now, a Parish Priest who preaches only three times in a month will at the end of the year have failed to preach, in round numbers, on sixteen Sundays. But these Sundays, with the weeks to which they belong, would at least constitute what the theologians mean by the *tres menses non continui*. Consequently, adopting the rule as above laid down by Bouix, which is, as he states, *communiter recepta*, such a Parish Priest, in the absence of some excusing cause, would have been guilty of a grave neglect of this most important duty of instructing the people committed to his care.

But it is obvious that in a missionary country like Ireland, and in the circumstances in which very many Parish Priests in Ireland are placed, it would not be difficult to find an excusing cause sufficiently grave to exempt from grievous sin, one who is faithful in preaching at least three times in the month, and who has usually many opportunities, besides the Sunday sermons, for giving instruction of a useful and practical nature.

II.

Mass in a Private House.

1. Does a person satisfy the obligation of hearing Mass on Sunday by assisting at it in a private house?

2. When a Bishop permits a Priest to say Mass in his own house on a Sunday, or in a private house, owing, for instance, to the recent death of a member of the family, may the Bishop limit the number of persons who satisfy the obligation of hearing Mass, so as to include only the immediate friends and domestics?

We cannot give a more satisfactory answer to these questions than by quoting the words of a very distinguished Irish Bishop, to whom, as the questions regard the exercise of episcopal authority, we deemed it proper to submit them. He says, "As regards the questions proposed by your Correspondent, there is no doubt on my mind that in this country a person fulfils the obligation of hearing Mass on Sundays, &c., by hearing it in a private house. So far as such laws of the Church are concerned, Ireland has for three centuries enjoyed all the privileges of a Missionary Church, and hence the strict theological rules about hearing Mass do not apply to us.

"I do not wish to speak so decidedly or so authoritatively on the second question, viz., as to the case in which Mass is said on Sunday at a private house, but with the Bishop's declaration that none but the immediate family and household will satisfy the obligation by assisting at it.

"I would take great interest in hearing the case argued by two good theologians holding opposite opinions.

"I have met a good many persons, who in the second case proposed by your Correspondent, would affirm that the obligation of hearing Mass was not fulfilled, but I invariably found that they rested this opinion on the general rules of the Church, and that they disagreed with me in replying to the first question proposed."

III.

Sacerdos non Jejunus.

A Priest has to duplicate on Sunday, but through inadvertence he has taken the ablutions at the first Mass. There is no other Priest to supply his place, and if he does not say the second Mass, hundreds will be deprived of an opportunity of hearing Mass. What is he to do?

Our Correspondent has not stated all the circumstances which have to be taken into account in answering his question. He has not stated whether the violation of

the fast is supposed to be public or private. Nor has he stated whether the omission of the second Mass would be attended with public scandal or not. It is almost unnecessary to observe that in discussing this question, the theologians include under the word *scandal* much more than the word technically means. They include "obmurmuratio ex parte populi," "susurratio," "sinistra suspicio populi," "temeraria judicia," "justa indignatio," "ridiculi sarcasmi," and "dicteria laedentia famam sacerdotis."[1]

Now (1) if the violation of the fast has been public, or is likely to become public, these evil consequences would be more likely to follow from saying the second Mass than from omitting it. Consequently, though a few theologians may be cited on the other side, we believe that the question does not become a practical one unless we suppose the accidental violation of the fast to have been strictly private. If, then, the violation of the fast is public, the Priest should announce to the people that in consequence of what has occurred he is prevented from celebrating a second Mass. He might then conveniently substitute for the Mass some devotional exercises, and allay anxiety by stating that the people are for the present Sunday excused from the obligation of hearing Mass.

2. If the violation of the fast has been strictly private, and if grave public scandal would arise from the omission of the Mass, we believe that if there be no other means of preventing that grave scandal, the Priest would be justified—if not bound—to celebrate the Mass even though he be non jejunus.

3. Even though the violation of the fast be private, still if no grave public scandal would arise from the omission of the Mass, it is, according to Gury (Casus Conscientiae, De Euch. n. 300), the common teaching of theologians that the Mass should be omitted. In other words, the mere desire to afford an opportunity of hearing Mass to an ordinary congregation is not a sufficient reason to justify a Priest who is not fasting in saying Mass. "Attamen sola ratio curandi ut populus missam audiat, non sufficit juxta communem sententiam ad celebrandum, jejunio violato, quia praestat ut populus missa privetur quam ut sacerdos celebret non jejunus." (Gury l.c.)

[1] Vid. Ferraris (Verb. Missa Art. XI. n. 24-7), La Croix (De Euch. Lib. VI., P. I. n. 582), Gobat (Tom. I., tr. 4, Casu 19, n. 239) Tann. D. IV., d. 5, q. 8, n. 64.

In order to determine whether scandal is likely to arise from the omission of the Mass the circumstances of each case must be considered. In cities and large towns it would be much more likely to arise than in rural districts where the priest is well known to each member of his flock.

IV.

Pious Legacies.

A testator has bequeathed a large sum of money to the church of a certain parish in the following terms :—" I leave the Catholic Church of A. the sum of £* * *, of which amount £* * * is to be expended in Masses, after my demise, for the repose of my soul."

May I ask you to answer the following questions regarding this bequest :—

1. Must the prescribed Masses be Masses *De Requiem*, or will Masses conformable to the office of the day fulfil the obligation ?

2. As the property from which this sum of £* * * is to come was the joint property of husband and wife, may the Masses be offered for both conjointly ? The wife died suddenly, soon after her husband, and without making any will.

3. To whom does the administration of the pious bequest belong ? Is it to the pastor of the particular church named in the will, or to the bishop of the diocese ?

4. If the pastor of that parish undertook to say the Masses without being asked to do so by the bishop of the diocese, has he a right to the *honoraria* corresponding with the number of Masses he has said, or to those he may choose to say hereafter ?

In reply to our esteemed Correspondent's question, the following answers seem to us to embody the theological principle applicable to each case :—

1. The prescribed Masses need not necessarily be *Requiem* Masses.

When the testator did not *expressly* stipulate that the Masses should be *Requiem* Masses, or Masses celebrated at a privileged altar, the ordinary Mass, conformable to the office of the day, will be sufficient to satisfy the obligation. This may be seen from various decisions given by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, *e.g.*, 3rd June, 1662, No. 2,024 : 3rd March, 1761, No. 4,150 ; and 12th September, 1840.

2. All difficulty regarding the *application* of the Masses may be solved by offering them in accordance with the intention of the testator. In this way his wife will not be deprived of any spiritual favour to which she had any claim arising from joint possession of the property. Or the

celebrant may offer the Masses for the testator's wife *salva intentione testatoris.*

3. We believe that the administration of this, and of all similar pious bequests, is vested in the bishop of the diocese, and not in the pastor of the parish.

Our Correspondent is doubtless aware that in the 8th chapter of the 22nd Session *(De Reform.)* of the Council of Trent, bishops are empowered to act as delegates of the Holy See in administering pious bequests: "Episcopi etiam tanquam Sedis Apostolicae delegati, in casibus a jure concessis, omnium piarum dispositionum tam in ultima voluntate, quam inter vivos, sint executores." *(l.c.)*

Even in cases in which the testator may have appointed an executor of the pious bequest, if the executor or his delegate fails to carry out the pious intention of the testator, the administration of the pious legacy devolves on the bishop. This is true, even though the testator expressly provided in his will, or otherwise, that the bishop should not have any part in the administration of the legacy. Gregory IX., in the chapter *Tua nobis*, expressly provided for this case in the phrase which is so often quoted by Canonists in treating of this matter, "*licet etiam a testatoribus id contingeret interdici.*"

The reasonableness of this provision of the Canon Law, which at first sight might seem to interfere unduly with the liberty of testators, is thus given by Benedict XIV. (Cap. Ult. Lib. xiii. De Synodo Dioces.):—"Propterea quod nequeat privata testatoris dispositio generalem Canonis, vel legis sanctionem immutare, ejusque effectum impedire. . . nec aliud datum est pii operis fundatori, quam ut certum aliquem designare, ac constituere valeat executorem, seu etiam huic concreditum munus segniter obeunti alium subrogare; tunc enim Episcopus interponere se nequit, nisi cum substitutus quoque segnis, ac negligens deprehendatur; sed hoc demum casu ad Episcopum devolvetur onus, ac cura exequendi, quod alii neglexerunt."

In the case which we are considering, as the pastor of the parish was not named executor of the charitable bequest, its administration belongs to the bishop of the diocese.

4. In regard to the *honoraria* corresponding with the number of Masses already said, on his own responsibility, by the pastor of the parish, it appears to us that in the circumstances he has an equitable though not a legal claim to the full amount of these *honoraria.* ED. I.E.R.

LITURGY.

I.

The Law regarding the Churches and Chapels in which the Blessed Sacrament may be reserved.

1. Is the bishop authorised to allow the Blessed Sacrament to be kept in a poor-house chapel set apart exclusively for religious worship? The chapel is in the charge of nuns; one being matron, the other two being hospital nurses.

2. Is the bishop authorised to allow the Blessed Sacrament to be kept in the house or private oratory of a religious congregation of men, viz., Christian, Presentation, or Patrician Brothers, in which Mass is never said? M. C.

Before expressing our opinion on the questions proposed it will be useful to recall the nature of the general law determining the churches in which the Blessed Sacrament may be continuously reserved.

We know from ecclesiastical history that in the first ages of the Church the faithful who assisted at Mass were wont to get from the priest several particles of the Blessed Sacrament which they reverently carried to their homes for the purpose of administering the Holy Communion to themselves from time to time with their own hands.[1] This practice was rendered necessary by the fierce persecutions of those times, when the faithful could not assemble frequently and in large numbers in their places of worship to receive the Communion from the hands of the priest without imminent danger of having themselves seized and the holy mysteries sacrilegiously interrupted. But this custom, which was tolerated in the days of persecution, was continued, more particularly in the East, long after peace was given to the Church, and culminated in an abuse. The Churches of the West began to legislate against it in the fourth century. In 381 the Council of Sarragossa decreed: "Eucharistiam si quis probatur acceptam in ecclesia non consumpsisse, anathema sit in perpetuum." And in the year 400 the Council of Toledo declared: "Si quis autem acceptam a Sacerdote Eucharistiam non sumpserit, velut sacrilegus propellatur." This discipline spread from Spain to the other countries of Europe, but slowly, as we may infer from the following enactment passed in the 7th

[1] Martene. *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. I. cap. v. art. 1, n. 3 and fol. Chardon. *Histoire des Sacraments.*

century at a Council of Rouen: "Eos (laicos) propria manu (sacerdos) communicet; nulli autem laico aut foeminae Eucharistiam in manibus ponat, sed tantum in os ejus. Si quis hoc transgressus fuerit, quia Deum omnipotentem contemnit, et quantum in ipso est inhonorat, ab altari removeatur."[1]

It is certain that at the beginning of the 13th century it was part of the general discipline of the Church to reserve the Blessed Sacrament in churches only. For at this time, in 1213, we find the Fathers of the Fourth Council of Lateran making the following rule: "Statuimus ut in cunctis ecclesiis Chrisma et Eucharistia sub fideli custodia, clavibus adhibitis, conserventur: ne possit ad illa temeraria manus extendi."

The chief reason alleged for reserving the Blessed Eucharist even in churches is that the Viaticum may be in readiness at all times for the sick.[2] Now, as the duty of administering the Viaticum is ordinarily restricted to the pastors of the people, the early canonists understood the decree of this Council to apply to parochial churches exclusively, though the Council itself does not expressly make any distinction as to the kind of church in which it is to be reserved. "Cum in hac decretali," writes Giraldi, "statuatur ut in cunctis ecclesiis Chrisma et Eucharistia conserventur, hoc est intelligendum de parochialibus duntaxat, de quibus hic vere sermo est, cum ideo utrumque conservari debeat, ut a parocho fidelibus sibi subditis administrari possit, ad quem ex dispositione saltem juris communis id spectat. In ecclesiis autem non parochialibus asservari non potest absque Sedis Apostolicae beneplacito."[3] And Cardinal Petra, whose writings on this subject have elicited the warm commendation of Benedict XIV. in his Constitution, *Quamvis justo*, says, "In coeteris ecclesiis non parochialibus nullo modo licitum est sanctissimum asservare, nisi cum licentia Sedis Apostolicae, quum Ordinario non sit permissum contra canones ire."[4] This, too, was the practical teaching of the Roman Congregations. In 1609, the Congregation of the Council declared that it is not in the power of a bishop to allow the Blessed Sacrament to be reserved in a non-parochial church merely for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity of visiting and adoring

[1] Apud Melanges Theologiques, vol. iv. page 211.
[2] Canon. *Presbyter.* 93, *dist.* 2, *de consecratione.*
[3] *Exposito juris Pontificii.* Tom. I. sect. 620.
[4] *Commentaria ad Constitut. Apostol.* Constit. I. Urbani IV.

it;[1] and in 1703 the Congregation of Rites decided that the Blessed Sacrament could not be kept in the churches of Confraternities unless an Apostolic Indult allowing this privilege was obtained.[2]

But if there existed any doubt as to the nature of the law on this matter before the time of Benedict XIV., it was removed by the unmistakable declaration made by this Pontiff in his Constitution *Quamvis justo*, dated 30th of April, 1749. He says that the general law restricts to parochial churches the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, and that it is unlawful to keep it continuously in non-parochial churches, unless in virtue of an Apostolic Indult or of an immemorial custom which creates the presumption that the practice originated from an Apostolic Indult. The words of Benedict XIV. are: "Juxta canonicam disciplinam sacrosancta Eucharistia in ecclesiis, quae parochiales non sunt, retinere non potest, absque praesidio Apostolici Indulti, vel immemoriabilis consuetudinis, quae hujusmodi Indulti praesumptionem inducit."

This being the law, it is plain that a bishop, as such, has no power to allow the Blessed Sacrament to be continuously reserved in other places than parochial or quasi-parochial churches; for this he should have special faculties, that is, a general Apostolic Indult.

But what are we to understand by a parochial church in this matter; what churches are comprehended under this name? It will help us to understand the answers of the Roman Congregations and of the canonists to this question, if we bear in mind that the chief end of preserving the Blessed Sacrament is to have the Viaticum in readiness for the sick, and also to enable the pastor to give communion to those of his people who were hindered from

[1] "An Episcopus possit concedere ecclesiae non parochiali, ut in ea retineatur Sanctissimum Sacramentum Eucharistiae solum pro adoratione vel requiratur auctoritas Papae?

S.C.C. respondendum esse censuit: Id non posse concedi ab Ordinario loci; sed requiri licentiam sedis Apostolicae."

Apud FERRARIS, *Eucharistia.*

[2] "An in ecclesiis confraternitatum, neque parochialibus, neque regularibus, retineri possit SS. Eucharistiae Sacramentum sine speciali indulto Sedis Apostolicae."

S.R.C. resp.: "*Negative.*" (10. Dec. 1703.)

By "reserving" the Blessed Sacrament is meant the continuous keeping of it by day and night. It is quite a different thing to allow it to be kept in a chapel or oratory for the space of a passing devotion, or for only a few days for some definite legitimate purpose. This is wholly in the power of the bishop to grant.

attending at Mass, but are otherwise disposed to receive Holy Communion.

Under the designation "parochial church" are included:

1. The principal church of the parish. There is an obligation to keep the Blessed Sacrament here, unless for grave reasons it is deemed to be expedient not to do so.[1]

2. The cathedral church, because, as the canonists say, it is regarded as the first parish church of the diocese.[2]

3. The churches of Regulars, because as Schmalzgrueber and Cardinal De Petra explain, they are practically the parochial church of the religious, and ought to have the Viaticum in readiness for the sick inmates[3] of the community. The religious, however, cannot by common law, that is to say, without an Apostolic Indult, reserve the Blessed Sacrament in their domestic oratory or in that of their country-house.[4]

4. The chapel of communities of Nuns canonically erected, where the nuns make solemn vows and are bound to observe the rules of canonical enclosure. The privilege is by common law extended to these chapels, because they too stand in the place of the parish church for the Nuns, whose chaplain is practically their pastor.[5] "Confessarius," writes Cajetan, "est monialium parochus; in illis enim exercet omnia jura parochialia."[6] Communities which are not canonically erected do not enjoy this right from the general law.[7]

5. Outlying churches which are at a considerable distance from the principal one, and which for all practical purposes are used as the parochial church of the surrounding district. In them the Sunday Mass is said, the Sacraments are administered, the Gospel preached, and nearly all the

[1] S.C.C. 10th January, 1665. 19th Aug. 1752. Rit. Rom. *de Euch.*

[2] "Dicuntur primae parochiae diocesis." Schmalzgruber. S. Alphonsus lib. VI. n. 424.

[3] "Permittitur etiam asservari Sacramentum in ecclesiis regularium, propter necessitatem praebendi ibidem communionem infirmis." S. Alphonsus, *ibid.*

[4] S.C.C. 3rd September, 1707. Card. Petra. *Ibid.*

[5] "Moniales SS. Annunciationis de Bastia supplicarunt pro facultate asservandi in earum ecclesia SS. Eucharistiam.

S.R.C. resp.: "Aut monasterium est canonice erectum et non indiget: aut non, et non est approbandum." (16. April, 1644.)

[6] *Confessarius Monialium*, part II., cap. 3, quest. 11.

[7] S.C.C., 19 Augt., 1702. 26 Jul., 1708. Benedict XIV., Constitutio *Quamvis justo.* See Ferraris, Bibliotheca Canon. *Eucharistia.*

functions special to the parochial church are performed. This is the common teaching of canonists. It is, however, a necessary con lition that the priest should live close by the church, to provide for the safety and reverence of the Blessed Sacrament.

6. Canonists usually include the chapels of hospitals, because in such places the Viaticum is frequently required for the sick inmates. "Idem est dicendum (potest Eucharistia conservari)," writes Craisson, "de oratoriis hospitalium ubi frequentissime infirmi sunt administrandi et quae habentur ut ecclesiae quasi-parochiales." We think that this case would be much more readily admitted in countries where the Blessed Sacrament is carried processionally to the sick, than with us who are still allowed to carry it privately.

7. Canonists also usually include the chapels of colleges having boarders, for these are also taken to be in this matter quasi-parochial churches for the inmates. "Idem pariter dicendum de Oratoriis Collegiorum in quibus sunt convictores," writes Craisson.[2] And Ferraris[3] quotes a decision of the Congregation of the Council to the same effect.

We have now enumerated the churches and chapels in which the Blessed Sacrament may be reserved in accordance with the general law. To reserve it elsewhere an Apostolic Indult is necessary. The bishop, as such, has no power to grant this permission; he requires for this special faculties, that is, an Apostolic delegation. It is, however, the privilege and duty of the bishop to declare in regard to a particular church or chapel whether it is necessary or expedient that the Blessed Sacrament should be reserved there for the good of the people; but he cannot allow it to be reserved merely for the purpose of providing facilities for adorers to visit the Blessed Sacrament. For this an Apostolic Indult is necessary.

From all we have said, our opinion as to the answer to be given to the questions proposed by our revered Correspondent may be easily inferred.

First, we think that the bishop has no power to give permission to the Christian, or Patrician, or Presentation Brothers to reserve the Blessed Sacrament in their domestic Oratories, unless he has received special faculties for this purpose. It is not in any sense necessary that it should be kept there—*per modum Viatici.*

Manuale juris canonici, vol. iii., n. 3583. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

Secondly, for the same reason we think it is not in the power of the bishop to allow it to be reserved in the poor-house chapel merely to give the nuns and others an opportunity of visiting the Blessed Sacrament. It may perhaps be allowed to be reserved there as Viaticum for the sick, as in the chapel of a hospital.[1]

We cannot say what are the special faculties of our bishops, but the fact that any of them allows the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in any case not covered by the general law, is a sufficiently clear indication that he has special faculties for this purpose, or has learnt that the community in question has received an Indult from Rome granting the privilege.

II.

The Absolution of the Dead in connection with Low Mass.

Is it lawful to give the Absolution after a low requiem Mass?

Yes, it is allowed immediately *after* a private requiem Mass,[2] but not after a Mass of the day or of the feast, even though in this latter case suitable black vestments are used for the function of the Absolution. The Congregation decided this question:

"Utrum Absolutio pro Defunctis, finita Missa, fieri possit tantummodo quando dicta fuit Missa *de requie*, vel utrum fieri etiam possit in paramentis tamen nigris quando dicitur Missa de festo duplici, cujus fructus defunctis applicatur."

S.R.C. resp.: "Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam."—23 June, 1853 (5188.)

[1] As recently as the year 1866, the following Indult was granted to the Bishop of Arras, *ad septennium, de speciali gratia*, which indicates clearly enough the mind of Rome as to the necessity of special faculties to justify the bishop in allowing the Blessed Sacrament to be reserved in such places as those mentioned in the questions given above:—

Reverendissime Domine uti Frater, Preces quibus Amplitudo tua ab hac Sancta Sede Apostolica implorabat ut in sacellis Virginum, diversis religiosis Congregationibus addictarum, quae in ista Atrebatensi dioecesi infirmus in nosocomiis, orphanis et juventutis educationi et eruditioni sedulo inserviunt, asservari valeat sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum SS. D. N. Pius IX., referente substituto Secretariæ Cong. S. Rituum clementer excipiens, *de speciali gratia* annuit ut Amplitudo Tua ad proximum *septennium* facultatem tribuere possit asservandi SS. Eucharistiae sacramentum in sacellis domorum religiosarum canonice erectarum, necnon in sacellis nosocomiorum religiosis domibus adnexis in diocesis Atrebatensi, dummodo in iisdem sacellis sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium quotidie celebretur, saltem una lampas ante SS. Eucharistiam die noctuque colluceat, tabernaculi clavis penes sacerdotem custodiatur, ac reliqua serventur quae ab Ecclesiae legibus praescribuntur quoad custodiam et cultum SS. Sacramento praestandum.—13th Sept. 1866.

[2] MARTINUCCI, tom. iii., cap. xi., n. 11, 12.

Though the Absolution for the dead is allowed to follow immediately a Requiem Mass only, because in this close connection it is regarded as an accessory of the function, yet if celebrated apart from the Mass or before it, the Absolution is allowed on every day in the year.

The Church even strongly recommends that it should never be omitted on the occasion of the burial of one of the faithful, even when the office for the dead and the requiem Mass cannot be celebrated.[1]

When the Absolution is performed *extra Missam*, it is not to be celebrated solemnly with deacon and sub-deacon in their vestments, but privately, the priest being assisted by chanters, and if chanters are not present, he may repeat all the parts of the function himself.

De Herdt, in his Praxis Liturgica Ritualis Romani, gives the following directions for performing the function of the Absolution in small churches, when it follows private requiem Mass or is celebrated as a distinct ceremony :[2]

Sec. 18. Exequiæ in Minoribus Ecclesiis.

Ad domum defuncti præcedit minister cum aqua benedicta, sequitur crucifer medius inter duos ceroferarios, si habeantur, ultimo incedit parochus superpelliceo et stola nigra indutus. Cantores laici, si comitentur, procedunt ante crucem, nisi forte superpelliceis induantur.

In domo crucifer se sistit ad caput defuncti, parochus ad pedes, et minister de aqua post eum vel a sinistris ejus. Psalmum *De profundis* in domo et *Miserere* in via parochus recitat solus vel alternatim cum ministris. Si cantores habeantur, psalmus *Miserere* etiam cantari potest.

Ad absolutionem tres vel quatuor, si haberi possint, requiruntur ministri, scilicet unus defert crucem, quæ tamen, deficiente ministro, in basi collocari potest, alter ministrat aspersorium, tertius incensum et thuribulum, et quartus, si habeatur, librum tenet et ministrat.

Celebrans ad absolutionem induit pluviale nigrum, si habeatur, et eo deficiente manet in alba cum stola sine casula et manipulo. Si pluviali sit indutus, minister eum comitatur, et pluviale elevat dum funus circuit ; si autem eo non sit indutus, non opus est, ut aliquis in circumeundo eum comitetur.

Parochus alta voce recitat *Non intres in judicium*, et deinde responsorium *Libera me*, nisi sint cantores, qui cantent. Responsorio finito, incensum imponit, et benedicit sine invitatione ad benedictionem, ac immediate dicit *Kyrie eleison*. Infra *Pater noster* circuit feretrum, illudque aspergit, et incensat ut alias.[3]

[1] Rit. Rom. *de Exequiis*. See Cavalieri, Tom. iii., dec., xv. n. 4 et seq.
[2] *Praxis Liturg. Rit. Rom.*, cap. vii. § 18.
[3] Vid. Martinucci, lib. 3, cap. 11.

III.

Communion administered from right to left.

May Holy Communion be administered to a large number of people from right to left, to avoid a great inconvenience which would result from the prescribed manner? B.A.

Yes. Baruffaldus tells us that the principal reason for the rubric which directs the priest to distribute the Holy Communion from left to right is the convenience of this method. "Incipit ad partem epistolae multis de causis, sed praecipua et magis consona rationi est, quia ista pars ad ministrandum est commodior."[1] But if in a particular case this method, instead of being the more convenient, is accompanied with great inconvenience, which can be avoided by proceeding from right to left, plainly this deviation from the letter of the rubric is justified by the circumstances.

It would be well, in such matters, to consult the bishop and receive his approval.

IV.

The Blessing of the Nuptial Ring.

When a gold ring is kept in the sacristy for marrying persons not supplied with one, is it necessary to bless it for each marriage?

No; it is not necessary to bless it a second time. It seems to be opposed to the spirit of the Church to repeat the same blessing over an object that has been already blessed for the same specific purpose, and which has since then suffered no substantial change. Witness the case of the blessed salt used in baptism or in Holy Water, or of the paschal candle to which no addition has been made. Referring to the nuptial ring, De Herdt writes, "Si idem annulus in ordine ad matrimonium fuerit benedictus, ejus benedictio omittitur, et solito modo tantum digito imponitur."[2]

V.

Ought the Nuptial Ring to be Blessed when Renewed?

When a married person wishes to replace a lost ring, should the new one be blessed before use, or does the blessing of the other pass on to it, as in the case of Scapulars?

It would be well to bless this ring with the form of

[1] *Comment. ad Rit. Rom.* tit. xxiv. n. 56.

[2] *Praxis Liturgica Ritualis Romani*, cap. viii. § II. n. 7.

blessing found in the ritual ceremony for marriage. The blessing of the former one does not pass on to it.

"Quando (annulus nuptialis) frangitur, amittitur aut usu teritur, novus benedici potest, eadem formula quae in celebratione matrimonii ponitur: haec enim formula non ita matrimonii celebrationi annexa est, ut alio tempore ad eundem finem adhiberi nequeat."[1]

VI.

Must the Nuptial Ring be of Gold?

Is it necessary that the marriage ring should be of gold?

No; there is no rubric determining the material of the marriage ring. Accordingly it may be of gold or silver, or less valuable metal. The rubricists generally recommend us to follow the custom of the country or place, regard being had to the worldly circumstances and station of the contracting parties.

"Materia annuli per rubricas non determinatur: adeoque indifferens est, ex quacunque conficiatur materia, ex auro, argento, cupro, etc., gemmis vestiatur necne. In ea servari potest consuetudo, et sponsorum facultatis habenda est ratio."[2]

SCIENTIFIC NOTICES.

The Rigidity of the Earth.

WE purpose on the present occasion to consider briefly the second of two papers with which Mr. George Darwin has supplemented those important investigations, which we noticed at the beginning of the present volume, and which have attracted so much attention, not only in the scientific world, but beyond it. The former of these we analysed in a previous number (p. 141-145), as a general Tidal Theory of Evolution; we have now to bring our readers back again from that more extensive survey to the earth, with which the original papers dealt, and under the guidance of Mr. G. Darwin, to consider its rigidity, or, as

[1] De Herdt. *Praxis Liturgica Ritualis Romani*, cap viii. §. II. n. 7.

[2] *Ibid.* See also Baruffaldi, *Ad Rit. Rom. Commentaria*, Tit. xlii. n. 52.

he expresses it, the "Stresses caused in the interior of the Earth by the Weight of Continents and Mountains."

These stresses are the test of the strength and solidity of the materials of which it is composed. To understand the one we must examine the other. What the Earth has to bear must be found out before we can measure its strength; and how it must be constituted will be the outcome of these investigations. Thus may we hope to arrive at something like an accurate knowledge of the internal constitution of the Earth; is it solid all through, or if a shell with a liquid or semi-liquid core, which must be the thickness of that shell? Such an inquiry has, of course, been frequently made before, with more or less success, and with very different conclusions. Mr. Darwin comes to the task with new methods of investigation. Bringing his previous discoveries—for they are indeed nothing less—to bear upon the matter, he says, "I have considered the subject of the solidity and strength of the materials of which the Earth is formed from a point of view from which it does not seem to have been hitherto discussed."

The exterior form of the earth at once suggests an important consideration. "The existence of dry land proves that the Earth's surface is not a figure of equilibrium appropriate for diurnal rotation." This might at first suggest the idea that diurnal rotation would cause the stresses which have to be calculated: but it is not so. It is *pure gravity* which is in question. The centrifugal force at the equator is only $\frac{1}{290}$ of pure gravity even there where it is the greatest. So this may be left out of consideration. "Hence the *interior* of the Earth must be in a state of stress, and as the land does not sink in, nor the sea-bed rise up, the materials of which the Earth is made must be strong enough to bear this stress."

Hence his task is to solve the problem for the case of a homogeneous incompressible elastic sphere; and as he proves that the condition of compressibility makes no material difference in the results, except in one particular case which does not apply, it is really that of the Earth considered as a *solid*. But what if the Earth is formed of a crust with a semi-fluid interior? Mr. Darwin shows that in that case the stresses in that crust must be greater than if the whole mass were solid, and very much greater the thinner that crust may be. In short, it will vary in some unknown proportion depending upon the thickness of that crust.

But now to measure these quantities and their relation to one another.

The strength of an elastic solid is here estimated by the difference between the greatest and least principal stresses, when it is on the point of breaking, or as he calls it, "by the breaking stress-difference." As, for instance, "when a wire or rod is stretched or crushed until it breaks, that is the breaking stress-difference. The measure of the strength of the material is the weight of the breaking load divided by the area of the section of the wire or rod. So we measure it by tons per square inch." Mr. Darwin gives tables of breaking stress-differences for various materials as a preliminary inquiry, which he afterwards turns to good account. Now, to apply this to the Earth. The problem is solved for the class of inequalities called zonal harmonics; these consist of a number of wave-like deformations extending round the globe in parallels of latitude. The number of such surface irregularities is determined by the order of the harmonic. For instance the *second* harmonic considers the case of only a *single* wave, and consists of an elevation at the equator and a depression at the poles; this constitutes the ellipticity of the spheroid. An harmonic of a *high* order may be described as a series of mountain chains, with intervening valleys, running round the globe in parallels of latitude, estimated with reference to the chosen equator.

He works out the case of the *second* harmonic in detail, and shows "that the stress-difference rises to a *maximum* at the *centre* of the globe, and is *constant* all over the surface. And also, that "the central stress-difference is eight times as great as the superficial."

Some very striking results are arrived at by calculating the stress-differences which arise from assigning a given ellipticity to a rotating spheroid of the size and density of the Earth. For instance, if the excess or defect of ellipticity above or below the equilibrium value were $\frac{1}{1000}$, then the stress-difference at the centre would be eight tons per square inch; in which case, if the sphere were made of material as strong as *brass*, it would be just on the point of rupture, *i.e.*, just strong enough to hold together and no more. Again, if the homogeneous Earth, with an ellipticity of $\frac{1}{232}$, were to stop rotating, the stress-difference at the centre would be thirty-three tons per square inch, and then it would rupture if made of any material excepting the finest *steel!*

But passing on from this second harmonic, which implies only one wave-like deformation of the Earth, our author considers harmonic inequalities of higher orders, which is the case of "a series of parallel mountains and valleys, corrugating a mean level surface with an infinite series of parallel ridges and furrows."

It is found that the stress-difference depends only on the *depth* below the mean surface, and is independent of the position of the point considered with regard to ridge and furrow.

Here, again, some striking results are worked out by numerical calculations, which give a great insight into the powers at work and the strength required to resist their destructive influence. "If we take a series of mountains whose crests are about thirteen thousand feet above the intermediate valley bottoms, formed of rock of specific gravity (2·8), then the maximum stress-difference is 2·6 tons per square inch, which is about the tenacity of cast tin." But as the reader must have anticipated, there is another question which, at least as far as throwing light on a most interesting question is concerned, is far more important; and that is, *where* is this stress-difference, this greatest strain upon the Earth applied? We have seen that it depends upon the *depth* below the surface. What is that depth? for upon it depends the thickness of the crust of the Earth, inasmuch as that must extend below this point of maximum strain.

Mr. Darwin tells us that "if the mountain chains are three hundred and fourteen miles apart, the maximum stress-difference is reached at *fifty* miles below the mean surface."

But this is not really the case of the Earth, which, as we shall next see, requires a far greater depth below the surface for the great disturbing force to exert its power and to meet its equal; for it is a case of a harmonic of the *fourth* order.

And thus it is gradually and thoughtfully arrived at.

The case of the harmonics of the fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth orders are then considered: that is to say, the various cases of these wave-like inequalities; and it is shown, that if we suppose them to exist on a sphere of the mean density and dimensions of the Earth, and that the height of the elevation at the equator is in each case five thousand feet above the mean level of the sphere—if, in short, we apply these principles to the known conditions

of the Earth—the maximum stress-difference is about four tons to the square inch in all these cases; but that the point where this maximum strain acts is at a *different depth* in each case. For the Earth, being a case of the fourth harmonic, with three waves in a revolution, it is at 1,150 miles, while at the twelfth it would be only 350 miles below the surface.

In the second part of this paper Mr. Darwin shows "that the great terrestrial inequalities, such as Africa, the Atlantic Ocean, and America, are represented by a harmonic of the fourth order; and that, having regard to the mean density of the Earth being about twice that of superficial rocks, the height of the elevation to be taken is about *five* thousand feet."

What is the outcome of all this? We know that the crushing stress-difference of average granite is four tons per square inch. Whence it is concluded that at *one thousand miles* below the Earth's surface, the materials of the Earth must be at least as strong as granite.

But suppose the calculation is made upon another supposition, viz.:—"that the continent has not the regular wavy character of the zonal harmonics, but consists of an equatorial elevation with the rest of the spheroid approximately spherical." Will this affect the result seriously? No: for we are told "the result is very closely analogous."

One of two conclusions must obviously be drawn, and very striking and significant they are, in the light they throw upon the much debated question of the internal constitution of the Earth.

What are these two between which the choice lies? Either the materials of the earth have about the strength of granite at *one thousand miles* below the surface, or they have a much greater strength nearer the surface. The former of these seems to be the much more probable, and has moreover the advantage of agreeing with, and confirming by an altogether different investigation, the view of Sir William Thomson, that the Earth is *nearly solid throughout its whole mass.*

But how about the lava which volcanoes discharge? whence does it come, and how does it work its way to the surface, if the solid crust of the earth is a thousand miles in thickness. Mr. Darwin just touches upon this—in every sense of the word—burning question at the end of his paper.

"According to this view the lava which issues from Volcanoes arises from the melting of solid rock, existing at a very high temperature, at points where there is a diminution of pressure, or else from comparatively small vesicles of rocks in a molten condition."

This, indeed, seems to be the conclusion at which the greatest and most profound investigators of the day are arriving with respect to the internal constitution of the Earth.

The thin crust of less than twenty-eight miles in thickness, which was supposed to shut up a liquid fire, whose ragings at times found vent through the mouths of volcanoes, now grows, under closer calculation and more rigid scientific investigation, before the mind's eye, into a solid shell of a thousand miles in thickness; or if a quarter of the Earth's whole diameter will not suffice, it expands inwards and onwards until the liquid nucleus, if such there be, is "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined" into so small a central space, that it shrinks well nigh into nothing, at least in comparison with its solid prison walls; until Sir William Thomson—than whom we have scarcely a higher authority in mathematico-physical inquiries—speaks of the Earth as solid nearly throughout its whole mass.

Such, then, is the result arrived at by the application of Mr. Darwin's investigations to the Earth itself. Great principles are diligently applied and laboriously worked out: and each fresh application brings to light new truths, or confirms those which have been already reached in other ways. Our readers cannot fail to see that a great work is going on before their eyes, and so will accept in good part our endeavours to give them some idea of what awaits those among them who will carry on for themselves closer and fuller inquiries.

HENRY BEDFORD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[We have received the following letter from the writer of the Notice of "Alzog's History of the Church" (4th vol.), which appeared in the last number of the RECORD.

This letter has been written in reply to a complaint made by the Publishers regarding the severity of some of the observations contained in the Notice. We feel assured that, on reading his reply, the Publishers will be satisfied that the Reviewer had no other object in view than to write an honest expression of his estimate of the value of the work, and, while giving general praise, to express his regret and disappointment at finding in the Translation some ambiguous and misleading passages, which are not to be found in the original, and which are introduced without any notification of their authorship.]

ED. I. E. R.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

REV. SIR,—The Reviewer of "Alzog's History of the Church" begs to call the Editor's attention to the following further exposition of his views, elicited by a grave but temperate protest made on the 12th instant, by Messrs. M. H. Gill & Son, against the Notice which appeared in the last number of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

The Reviewer does not charge the Translators with having used the words "august body" in their ordinary acceptation, or with having committed themselves to the statement that "tyrannical restrictions" were imposed on the freedom of debate in the Vatican Council. Nothing was further from the Reviewer's intention than to bring such a flagrant charge against the Translators. He does not require to be reminded of the "plain and deliberate expression of the Translators' views on this important subject," as stated in Alzog, vol. iv., p. 239. Knowing that statement, and having numberless proofs, not only of the orthodoxy of the Translators, but also of their filial loyalty to the Sovereign Pontiff, the Reviewer felt bound to declare that the passage which he criticised furnished no ground for casting any imputation on the purity of their motives, or the soundness of their views. He went further, and suggested, as an explanation of what he still regards as much more than a grave blemish, that the language used was meant for irony, or carried, through an oversight, into the text.

The Reviewer, however, sees no grounds for altering his views regarding the passage which he characterized as "not merely a blot or a blemish," but as one that ought to be suppressed on account of its dangerous tendency.

If the Reviewer has used strong language in repudiating the passage found in the translation, but not in the original, it was not from being unconscious that a careful and critical examination of a lengthened context would satisfy any intelligent reader that no sinister import was intended or conveyed But "Alzog's Church History," as a Text Book and Manual, will fall into the hands of many who are impatient—some, perhaps, incapable of careful and critical examination; and for such we cannot but think the passage one full of danger. Nor would familiarity with the style of the Translators be any safeguard. The passage has no parallel that we know of in any other part of the work, nor is irony a figure often employed by the Translators. The Reviewer, before recording his own views, read the passage for several intelligent and competent critics, who unanimously condemned it. In stating that the passage might well-nigh mar the entire work, it was only in the same sense that some defect in the details is said to weaken the general effect of not a few of the most celebrated works of art.

The Reviewer has only to add, that it would pain him deeply if any observations of his should lessen the popularity of a work, which, by endorsing the views expressed in a former notice in the RECORD, he has tried to promote.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Children's Mass: with Morning and Evening Prayers, Catholic Hymns, and Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament. With Music. Compiled by the Rev. C. MAHER, Cathedral, Marlborough-street, Dublin. Dublin, 1882.

This useful little work has the special merit of supplying an undeniable want. Now that the interesting devotion of "The Children's Mass" has taken a permanent place in the parochial arrangements of so many of the cities and towns throughout Ireland, the publication of some such collection of prayers and hymns for the use of the youthful worshippers, was naturally to have been expected from some of the zealous priests by whom the good work has been so successfully organised and maintained. It is matter for congratulation that the task has been undertaken by one so highly qualified in every respect for its successful execution as Father Maher. His well known skill in all matters appertaining to Church Music renders it superfluous for us to assure our readers of the appropriateness of the airs which he has selected for the various hymns, or of the artistic judgment

with which the adaptation of the words has been effected. But it is not out of place to mention that his work is neatly, and, indeed, beautifully, printed. Especially at present it is satisfactory to learn, by so practical a test as the marvellously moderate price at which the publishers have placed it on sale, that even in this special department of musical printing, the combination of excellence and cheapness is so fully within the reach of an author who entrusts his work to the hands of Irish workmen.

As we have no doubt that Fr. Maher's useful handbook will pass through a second, and through many future editions, we would suggest to him the advantage of inserting a few practical hints as to the organisation of the salutary and popular devotion which has inspired his publication. The experience gained by the observation of its actual working in a parish so specially circumstanced as that attached to the Cathedral Church of the diocese of Dublin, and the knowledge thus acquired of the difficulties to be encountered, and of the best means of overcoming all obstacles to success, must surely be well worth communicating as a guide for the direction of many zealous fellow-labourers in the ministry.

W. J. W.

The Dublin Review. London: Burns & Oates.

The current number of the Dublin Review will amply repay perusal. It contains matter to suit a great variety of tastes. Those who take an interest in North Polar expeditions will read with profit and pleasure the first Article on "The Voyage of the *Vega* and its Results." The third Article, on the "Physiological Psychology of St. Thomas," shows the minuteness and the accuracy with which the great Doctor of the Schools investigated physiological and psychological questions. The Article, though short, is very suggestive. "Recent Evidence in support of 1 John v. 7," is the title of the seventh Article. The subject is prominently brought into notice just now in connection with the many faults of omission and of commission with which the "Revised Version of the New Testament" is deservedly charged.

Besides these subjects, there are Articles on "County Administration," "Minor Poets of Modern France," "The Household Books of Lord William Howard," "John Inglesant," "Literature for the Young," and on "The Pope."

Then there are *Science Notices* on "Electricity," "The Faure Accumulator," "Lightning Conductors," "Mr. Darwin on Earthworms," and on "The Chemical Elements."

Under the heading *Notices of Books*, no less than twenty-nine books are briefly reviewed. Many of these books, such as those on "Mental Philosophy," "Fr. Ubaldi's Introduction to the Sacred Scripture," "Fr. Corluy's Commentary on St. John's Gospel," "The Life and Work of Mary Aikenhead and her Friends," are specially interesting to our clerical readers.—Ed.

Panegyric of St. Paul of the Cross. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son

We are very glad to find that the splendid and thoughtful Sermon preached by Father Thomas Burke, O.P., in the Church of St. Paul, Mount Argus, Dublin, on the Festival of St. Paul of the Cross, has been published by Messrs. M. H. Gill & Son. Father Burke's name renders praise of the Sermon superfluous.

Ed.

The Dismal Science. By William Dillon, B.L. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.

What Mr. Dillon, after Carlyle, calls the "Dismal Science," Adam Smith called the "Wealth of Nations;" whence we may fairly infer that the writer of this little volume is no great friend of Political Economy, as a practical Science. In these pages he makes a vigorous onslaught on all political economists, and especially on the English School. He shows that the most eminent authorities contradict each other even in the most important questions; that they cannot agree in the scientific meaning which they annex to the most elementary terms; and that, on the whole, they have reduced things to such a pass that no practical statesman heeds their conclusions.

We commend the perusal of these pages to those who would wish to be furnished with arguments both for and against the "Dismal Science."—J. H.

The Commercial Restraints of Ireland. By John Hely Hutchinson. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

John Hely Hutchinson, for twenty stormy years Provost of Trinity College, was a patriot who feathered his nest well before he began to declaim against the Commercial Restraints imposed on Ireland by English jealousy and greed. His facts, however, are no less true, and his arguments no less cogent, than if he were a man who was prepared to make sacrifices for his country. That kind of patriotism is rare, especially amongst those who boast largely of their own disinterestedness. Hutchinson had as many sinecures as there are days in the week, yet he was an Irishman, and he saw, like every one else around him, that, with all the resources that might make her wealthy, Ireland was the poorest country in Europe. He asks the reason, and he finds that it was wholly English greed and jealousy which destroyed all our native industries by every form of odious restriction. The work takes the shape of a series of letters to the Lord Lieutenant of the day; and though the authorship was at first anonymous, it was an open secret that the letters were written by Hutchinson. There is an interesting life of the Provost given by the Editor, the Rev. W. G. Carroll, Incumbent of St. Bride's.—J. H.

S. Alphonsi M. De Liguori, Liber de Caeremoniis Missae, ex italico idiomate Latine redditus, opportunis notis ac novissimis S.R.C. decretis illustratus, necnon appendicibus auctus. Opera GEORGII SCHOPHER, C.SS.R. Ratisbonae, ex typis Pustet.

We can hardly doubt that this book will be received with a welcome by the clergy generally. In our opinion it deserves a welcome

The groundwork of the book is a treatise on the ceremonies of the Mass composed by St. Alphonsus, when a bishop and seventy years old, for the benefit of the clergy of St. Agatha of the Goths. Any treatise by the great theologian is sure to be sought after by the clergy, and we fancy that many of them will be particularly desirous to have this one in their possession, from a feeling of respect and veneration for the work of a canonized saint on a subject so immediately connected with the priest's own sanctification and the edification of the people as the celebration of the Mass.

St. Alphonsus's treatise, though given in a full and revised translation, is, however, only a part and much the smaller part, of the book before us. Every one would expect that an exposition of the ceremonies of the Mass written in 1768 would need to be illustrated and occasionally amended by the decisions of the Congregation of Rites which have appeared since then. The editor has done this part of his work with great fulness. Indeed we know hardly any small book in which so many decisions of the Sacred Congregation on points connected with the celebration of the Mass are given textually as in this. Moreover, the editor quotes the latest and most approved rubricists whenever reference to them is likely to be of importance.

In addition to the copiously annotated edition of St. Alphonsus's book, the author devotes more than 160 pages to the exposition of really important topics in connection with the Mass. He explains in five chapters, by way of introduction, the nature of the obligation to observe the rubrics of the Missal and the decrees of the Congregation of Rites, the efficacy or various fruits of the Mass, and how to apply it, and the importance and manner of making preparation before, and thanksgiving after, Mass.

He has enriched his book with eight appendices, which are so many full and accurate essays or dissertations, on the following important subjects :—

De Missa conventuali in four chapters; *de Missae parochialis obligatione* in eight chapters; *de Missis votivis* in eight chapters; *de Missis defunctorum* in six chapters; *de obligatione celebrandi Missas votivas de requie; de Missa in aliena ecclesia; de officio duorum capellanorum in Missa privata ab episcopo celebrata;* and *de Missa stationis in festo S. Marci.*

We feel assured that the priests who purchase the book will find it so useful as a work of reference in their many doubts and difficulties regarding the subjects it treats, that they will be thankful for having their attention directed to it. R.B.

Verses on Doctrinal and Devotional Subjects. By Rev. J. Casey, P.P. Dublin: J. Duffy & Sons.

Father Casey is already well known to the public as a didactic poet in whom rigid morality is softened by a vein of satiric good humour. His poems on "Intemperance" and on "Our Thirst for Drink," have done much to forward the holy cause of temperance, and go far to prove that poets do not always derive their inspiration from brimming glasses. He is an apostle in theory and practice of the use of "Sober Lemonade," yet revels in wit, and overflows with good humour, and that, too, in spite of his proximity to a melancholy river whose reedy banks no Naiad ever haunted. In his poem on "Tyndal and Materialism," which is reprinted in the Appendix to the present volume, he makes a bold attack on the baseless speculations of Mr. Tyndall in the regions of higher philosophy. The reader will find in it an able and amusing refutation of the experimentalist who imagines that he can construct a universe out of the cobwebs of his own brain.

In this volume "On Doctrinal and Devotional Subjects," Father Casey addresses himself chiefly to the young. His purpose, which surely is a laudable one, is to write "religious poems suitable for Catholic schools and Catholic firesides." He very truly observes, that poetry will always have great attractions for the young, and we may add, no where more than in Ireland; so he wishes to turn this native love of poetry to good account, by making it the vehicle of communicating sound and accurate religious knowledge which will be thus acquired without labour, and retained without difficulty.

In these poems the writer touches on a great variety of subjects: the feasts of the Church, the mysteries of religion, the maxims of a holy life, and the great truths of eternity; and everywhere, in the words of Cardinal Newman, written to the Author, "the verses have a clear, easy, and musical flow." This is a very great excellence in poems intended for the young; for it is by no means easy to indulge in flights of imagination, and at the same time secure simplicity of style with accuracy of language. We are confident this little volume will be eagerly welcomed in Convent Schools, and we would also recommend it as suitable for prizes and gift-books. Its perusal is sure to be beneficial to all, young and old, for it conveys solid instruction in graceful language. The Author never forgets Dryden's maxim, although, as he truly observes, it is not always borne in mind by poets:

> "Whate'er you write of, pleasant or sublime,
> Always let sense accompany your rhyme."

J. H.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1882.

CONFESSION OF SIN *IN GENERE.*

IT may serve to avoid misapprehension if I state, at the very beginning of this paper, that it does not treat of general confessions, but of those in which the penitent says merely, "I have sinned," or, "I accuse myself of all the sins of my past life." Our ordinary manuals of theology discuss the question whether such confessions are valid and lawful; and though the usual answer is well known, and not difficult to act on, yet the practical nature of the case, and the principles involved, will, I hope, be sufficient apology for calling the attention of confessors to the subject.

I. And first, with regard to the validity. The received doctrine is laid down in Gury's Compendium. The confession will be valid, first, in case of necessity, and secondly, even without necessity, since the essence of the sacrament does not change for different circumstances. Let us consider these answers in order.

1. In case of necessity. All theologians now hold that in this case a confession of sin *in genere*, or any sign by which a penitent manifests to the priest a desire to receive the Sacrament of Penance, is confession sufficient for the validity of the Sacrament. This is the only doctrine consistent with the teaching of the Fathers and Councils, and with the Roman Ritual.[1] There was a time when it

[1] The words of the Ritual are: Quod si inter confitendum vel etiam antequam incipiat confiteri vox et loquela ægro deficiat, nutibus et signis conetur, quoad fieri potest, peccata poenitentis cognoscere, quibus utcunque vel in genere vel in specie cognitis, vel etiam si confitendi desiderium sive per se, sive per alios ostenderit, absolvendus est."—*De Sacram. Poenit.* § *ordo ministrandi.* For other proofs see Vasquez, Quæst. xci., Art. ii., Dub. 1; or any of the longer theologians.

was not so unanimously adopted. De Lugo quotes a good many of his predecessors for the opposite opinion;[1] and in all works written during the 17th century, we find the arguments of these theologians elaborately refuted.

These arguments are principally three. 1° In the first place they say that a confession of sin *in genere* is really no confession at all, inasmuch as it gives no information. What need has any confessor to be told that any one has sinned?

The reply is, that even though the confessor has known beforehand what the penitent confesses, yet such confession is sufficient for the Sacrament. Suppose the penitent has told a priest, outside the tribunal, the story of his life, who will say that such a priest cannot absolve such a man? And yet in that case sacramental confession will not manifest anything new. The fundamental answer is this: A sinner is required to confess his sins for two reasons. He has to make known the state of his soul to the priest, *if necessary;* and, even though it be not necessary, as in the present case, he has to accuse himself. Now a man can accuse himself to a judge who knows all about the crime. We do accuse ourselves to God; and it is a correct form of expression to say that the devils accuse men before God at the judgment seat, although He knows all about the sins of each one.

2° The second objection against our doctrine is sought to be drawn from the Council of Trent,[2] which derives the obligation of integral confession from the nature of the judicial process. But the absolution is always judicial; should not then the confession be always integral?

Again we retort: at least in the case of one who, without any fault, forgets a mortal sin, no theologian would hold that the absolution is invalid. Nay, suppose this case, given by St. Thomas.[3] A man has committed a mortal sin, and cannot remember its species or circumstances. Though he has committed no other sins after Baptism, should he not be absolved? And yet, even then, the absolution is a judicial act.

[1] De Lugo Disp. xvii. n. 7, "Negant plures, Soto, Canus, Abulensis, Ledesma, Navarrus apud Vasquez; Conradus, Medina, Nugnus, Alvarez, Coquetius, Avila, Graffius, Pedraza, Angles, apud Dianam. Horum tamen aliqui concedunt, posse absolvi, si peccatum dixit in genere subalterno, licet non specie infima, ut si confessus est fornicationem. Alii dicunt posse absolvi, si dixit se mortaliter peccasse."

[2] Sess. xiv. cap. v.

[3] In 4, D. 21, Q. 2, art. 1, ad 1.

Once more the fundamental reason is this: The Council of Trent proves, from the judicial nature of the absolution, that an integral confession is necessary. But necessary for what? For the essence of the sacrament? No; for in the case given, the sacrament can be had without such integrity. For the fulfilment of a divine precept? But mere precepts cease to bind in case of necessity; and hence, in this case, should not be taken into account.

There is a third argument more specious than the others; indeed, De Lugo[1] calls it "the most powerful argument" of the adversaries. Take the case of a shipwreck. Those who are in danger make a sign that they would wish to get absolution, and a priest pronounces the form. Are the sins absolved directly or indirectly? If directly, they need not be confessed again, which no one would admit. If indirectly, there must be some one sin confessed *in specie* through which the indirect absolution is obtained. But that is the very thing you deny.

It is curious to remark how much subtlety De Lugo brings to bear on this difficulty. My readers, however, will have to consult him in person, as I can do no more than indicate the substance of his reply. He adopts substantially the solution of Suarez and Coninch, but explains it in a manner peculiar to himself. According to him there is remitted directly, in the case proposed, a certain indefinite degree of guilt, we do not know how much. That direct remission is the foundation of the indirect remission of the remainder. This solution is followed by a good many theologians, amongst them St. Alphonsus,[2] Giribaldi,[3] Lacroix[4] (as probable), Escobar,[5] Michel, and many others.

Now it appears to me that the *præcisio objectiva* of a certain indefinite degree of guilt is more subtle than probable; hence I think the solution of Dicastillo[6] a great deal nearer the truth. It is this. All the sins in the case proposed are directly remitted. Nor does it follow, therefore, that they need not be confessed again. Theologians, it is true, lay it down as a general rule that we are bound to tell in Confession only the mortal sins committed since Baptism and not yet directly remitted in Penance. But this general rule is nothing more than a convenient formula for expressing briefly the general teaching. It is only a

[1] L. c. n. 13. [2] n. 480. [3] Tract. vii. cap. ix. Dub. iii. n. 21.
[4] Lib. vi. pars ii. n. 620. [5] Lib. xv. n. 205.
[6] Disp. vi. Dub. xvii.; and Disp. ix. Dub. ix.

general rule and will bear exceptions, one of which is found in the case before us.[1]

I take it then to be the received opinion that in case of necessity a confession of sin *in genere* will suffice. Is it certain? And can a confessor in the case absolve unconditionally? This used to be a difficulty with the older theologians. De Lugo[2] seems at first sight to require a condition; but taking another passage into account, it is plain he would pronounce the form absolutely. He discusses a little further on[3] the case of a dying man who has sent for the priest but can make no other sign, and teaches that absolution should be given without condition. *A fortiori* in the case before us. Dicastillo[4] agrees with Vasquez in thinking such conditional absolution due to "indiscreet scrupulosity." We may safely take the opinion of St. Alphonsus, who says:[5] "absolute est absolvendus (poenitens) . . . toties . . quoties nova ipse præstat signa doloris."

2. So much for the case of necessity. When there is no necessity Father Gury holds that a general confession of sin is sufficient for the validity of the Sacrament; but he qualifies this opinion by two expressions, to which it may be well to call attention.

One of these expressions is contained in the words "Si materia necessaria, seu in specie declaranda deficiat." No doubt, in discussing this question, the theologians have before their minds principally the case of one who has no necessary matter to confess. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the doctrine does not equally apply to all penitents. Of course, when a man has been guilty of a mortal sin which he has never confessed, and from confessing which he is not now legitimately excused, he will not ordinarily make a valid confession by stating in a general way merely that he has sinned. And why? Because he is bound, *sub gravi*, to confess that particular sin which he had committed; and if he deliberately neglects to do so, he can have no contrition. With regard to confession, however, such a general accusation is undoubtedly all that is required for *the essence* of the Sacrament; so that, if he be supposed to act *bona fide*, to my mind there can-

[1] See also Mayr, Tr. 12, Disp. 2, Quæst. 2, n. 540; and Collet de Poen. cap. 5, n. 442. For another solution see Ariaga, Disp. 36, n. 6; Monschein, Tr. 8, n. 421; Bosco, Disp. 7, sect. 9, n. 103.

[2] L. c. n. 20. [3] Disp. 17, n. 90. [4] l. c. n. 756. [5] n. 480.

not be the slightest doubt as to the validity of the absolution. Else we should have to say, that, though in the case of forgetfulness or necessity, we have all the confession that is required for the essence of the Sacrament, yet, for the same essence, something more is required in the case proposed. I, however, am not inclined to admit that the essence of the Sacrament changes from case to case. This doctrine is well explained by Laymann,[1] who quotes also Suarez, Paludanus, and Coninch.

The other expression to which I refer is the phrase "saltem multo probabilius." Now what is the effect of saying that the opinion is "much more probable?" For on this point the resolution of the whole question depends. Is the doctrine so certain that in ordinary circumstances a confessor would be justified in acting on it?

For the sake of greater clearness let us distinguish two cases: (*a*) mortal sins already confessed, and (*b*) venial sins.

(*a*) When a penitent confesses a sin of his past life, is it sufficient for the validity of the Sacrament to say: "I have sinned," or, "I accuse myself of all the sins of my life?"

For my part, I cannot see why it should not be, *per se*, sufficient; and this brings us to a somewhat lengthier explanation of what I have said concerning the essence of the Sacrament. What does the essence of the Sacrament of Penance require? A confession of sin *in genere*. Why then should anything additional be wanted in the present case? Is it because of a precept? But a precept will not *directly* affect the validity. It may *indirectly* render the Sacrament invalid, inasmuch as, if the penitent deliberately violates a grave precept, he cannot have sufficient sorrow. But at present we are considering what is required *per se* for a valid confession.

The authors of the Vindiciæ Alphonsianæ[2] touch on this question, referring us for a fuller treatment to an article in

[1] Lib. 5, Tr. 6, cap. 8, n. 2; "Specifica et numerica explicatio omnium peccatorum per se et directe non pertinet ad essentiam Sacramenti. . . . Sed potius spectat ad necessitatem præcepti divini; cujus tamen voluntaria transgressio indirecte redundat in defectum Sacramenti (that is, as he explains, for want of sorrow). St. Alphonsus (n. 504) is of the same opinion. He puts himself the case of "rustics and children, who confess *bona fide*, but omit to explain the number and species of their sins," and decides that, for them, such confession is sufficiently valid. He quotes in favour of this teaching, De Lugo, Salmanticenses, Concina, Soto, Adrianus, Bonacina, Gabriel, Dicastillo, Praepositus, Hurtado, Filliucius, Villalabos, &c. It is in this sense also the Thomists explain their opinion on the matter of the Sacrament of Penance.

[2] Ed. Bruxellis, 1874, vol. ii. p. 92.

the "Nouvelle Revue Théologique."[1] The writer of the article referred to holds that confession of sin *in specie* is necessary *per se* even for the validity. He does not advance any proof, but merely promises to do so in the second section of his paper—a section which has never since appeared. He does give some reasons against the lawfulness of so confessing; and, as far as those reasons touch the validity, they may be reduced to three.

The first argument is derived from the nature of the Sacrament. I have already shown how little weight is to be attached to this. For let us ask: does the Sacrament require this specific confession as essential? That would involve a change in the essence of the Sacrament, and is expressly rejected by almost all the theologians whom the writer quotes in favour of his opinion.[2] Is the specific confession required only as more becoming? In that case you rely on a divine precept,—and this is outside the question under consideration.

The second argument is derived from the proposition which Innocent XI. condemned for asserting that it is lawful to follow a probable opinion in the administration of the Sacraments. But surely the reply is manifest. It is denied that there can be any question of the validity of the Sacrament; and we all know that in such cases the condemned proposition does not apply.

There is a third reason, drawn from the practice of the faithful and the danger of exposing the Sacrament to irreverence, owing to the carelessness of confessors. But could not the practice of the faithful be explained very well by supposing a precept binding them to confess some sin *in specie*? And would not the same precept be amply sufficient to guard the integrity of confession in future?

It was not difficult for Father Ballerini to solve the foregoing objections; but we should not therefore conclude that he has proved his own point. What if it were said that,

[1] 1869; vol. i. p. 67, &c.

[2] The validity of the Sacrament is admitted by Suarez, Disp. xxiii. S. i. n. 10; Laymann, Tr. vi. cap. viii. nn. 7, 8; Gobat, Tr. vi. nn. 359-61; Bosco, Disp. 7, sect. 9, concl. 5, n. 114; Augustus Michel, Tr. 4, Pars. 2, S. i., nn. 6 & 9; Mazotta, Tr. 6, D. i. Q. 4, C. 2; Lacroix, n. 623. Vasquez teaches the validity, if anything. The only others quoted in the paper are Louis de Caspe, Gervasius, and Reuter, whom I have not been able to consult.

It is not necessary to add that the validity is admitted by all who teach that nothing more than a generic confession is required even for the lawful administration of the Sacrament.

except in case of necessity, there is a divine precept commanding us to mention some sin *in specie*. You may ask: how can this be shown? From the tradition of the Church as manifested in the writings of theologians. I mention this lest any one should take me to defend everything in Father Ballerini's note. I shall discuss in its own place whether there is such a precept or otherwise.

(*b*) Let us take the second case. When a penitent has only venial sins to confess, is it sufficient for the validity of the Sacrament if he says merely: "I have sinned?"

Here again it is not easy to see why it should not be sufficient. It is not necessary to go through the same argument: the essence of the Sacrament does not change, and a precept does not directly affect the validity.

Yet it is curious to notice the hesitation of theologians in treating this question. And here it may be well to remark that one should not take for granted all that Father Ballerini has in his note. De Lugo, in the passage referred to,[1] does not really extend to venial sins the doctrine he had laid down with regard to the case of necessity. He had been answering that objection about the direct or indirect absolution.[2] He had shown that a certain degree of guilt could be remitted directly, when mortal sins are confessed *in genere*. In n. 17 he teaches that, in the same way, when venial sins are confessed *in genere*, a like degree of guilt may be directly absolved. But he does not teach that such general confession of venial sins is sufficient for the validity of the Sacrament; nor does he, on this point, "extend his doctrine to the case of venial sins." With regard to Suarez it is admitted that he is unwilling to allow his doctrine to be followed in practice; but even Dicastillo does not appear to be at all so certain as is represented in the Roman Editor's note on Gury. This will appear in due time.[3]

What, then, do theologians teach? Let us take Suarez first, as it is from him that most of the others draw the more strict opinion. Father Ballerini gives us quite correctly the doctrine of the great Jesuit theologian. "Fortasse speculative tantum loquendo posset hoc defendi [*i.e.* that confession of venial sins *in genere* is sufficient] . . . . Nihilominus tamen practice negandum hoc est, propter incertitudinem materiæ."[4] And then Suarez goes on to state that, when there is no necessity, a specific confession is required, though in case of necessity a generic confession

[1] L. c. n. 17. [2] Supra, p. 393. [3] Infra, p. 393.
[4] Disp. xxiii. Sect. i. n. 10.

would be sufficient. I am not now called upon to explain how this could be; I only note the hesitation of this great theologian.

It is not necessary to refer again to De Lugo. Were it not, indeed, for that distinction made by Suarez, it would not be difficult to admit that in De Lugo's opinion generic confession is sufficient. But, taking into account that Suarez' distinction must have been before the other's mind, it is not at all certain that De Lugo's expressions[1] are to be understood of one who confesses without necessity.

It does not appear that Vasquez has anywhere treated this question. In one place[2] he does say that a confessor can absolve in case of necessity when there is only a generic confession, "sicut etiam sacerdos absolvere potest aliquem qui tantum confessus esset peccatum in genere, ut verba otiosa, mendacia, etc., et nullum in particulare." This, however, is not decisive, for idle words and lies are not venial sins *in genere*, as Bonacina[3] very well remarks.

Diana,[4] though not usually given to more rigid opinions, agrees with Suarez, and quotes almost his very words. Bonacina adopts the same view. Though he appears to admit speculatively the sufficiency of a general confession of venial sins, yet for practice he says: "Licet non tenemur confiteri peccata venialia, tamen ex suppositione quod velimus confiteri, tenemur materiam omnino certam exhibere."[5] The same opinion is held by Bosco,[6] Aversa,[7] Herincx,[8] Giribaldi,[9] Amort,[10] Laymann, and many others:

[1] L. c. n. 17. [2] Quaest. xci., Art. ii. Dub. i. n. 37.
[3] Disp. v. Quaest. v. Sect. ii. P. ii. § iii. Dif. ii, n. 15.
[4] Tr. vii. R. 4, n. 3.—Curiously enough in another place (Tr. 4, Res. 18), Diana holds the other opinion as sufficiently probable.
[5] L. c. [6] De Poen. Disp. 7, Sect. 9, n. 114, &c.
[7] Q. 10, Sect. 16, § Quarto. [8] Pars iv. Tr. 4, Disp. 3, n. 67.
[9] Tract. vii. Cap. vii. Dub. iv. [10] Tr xiii. § x. Q. i. R. 3.

The teaching of Herincx is remarkable: "Diversi censent id [confessionem venialium in genere] non licere, etsi ego non videam ullum solidum fundamentum."

Amort would find it difficult to reconcile his doctrine with what he tells us a little further on: "In antiqua Ecclesia, antequam introducta fuerat forma absolutionis absoluta, probabiliter confessio generalis erat Sacramentalis in iis qui habebant peccata venialia." If that is true the specific confession must be only of ecclesiastical origin, or the ancient church must have dispensed in a divine precept.

St. Thomas (in 4 Dist. q. 2, a. 1, ad. 1), is quoted by both parties, but proves nothing for either. The Master of Sentences (4 sent. Dist. 21, n. 5) appears to favour the more liberal opinion: "Venialia vero . . . sufficit generaliter confiteri." May he not, however, be understood of confessions in which mortal sins are mentioned?

indeed it may be said to be at least the more common teaching.

Let us turn to Dicastillo who is the leader on the other side. Father Ballerini quotes him quite accurately as against Suarez; for Dicastillo cetainly tells us that, if the liberal doctrine be speculatively certain, it cannot be practically unsafe. He therefore teaches that, *for ordinary circumstances* and *when there is no necessity*, a confession of venial sin *in genere* is all that is required. But what about cases where, indeed, there is no necessity, but where it is all-important that one should have made a valid confession, as at the time of death? In such cases he would wish a penitent to confess some sin *in specie*. So I interpret the following passage, which Father Ballerini does not quote:

"Mihi tamen illud prius satis probabile apparet, nempe sufficere confessionem illam in genere, etiamsi possit veniale in particulari confiteri; quia ea ipso quod *probabile sit eam esse materiam sufficientem*, et ex alio capite non esse necessariam materiam, non video cur non possit licite eam adhiberi tantum. *In sacramentis enim quae nullo modo sunt de necessitate salutis*, quale est de solis venialibus in tali casu, non videtur ita necessarium adhiberi materiam omnino certam ut obligetur quis sub culpa maxime mortali. Nam ad hoc, ut quis prudenter operetur, *satis est quod adhibeat materiam probabilem. Hæc autem est valde probabilis.*"[1]

That may be all very true; but when, as in the case of a dying man, a valid sacrament is of the greatest importance, I for one should not like to depend merely on a probably valid confession, especially since its validity could so easily be made certain. Hence it appears to me that, putting all things together, Dicastillo will not authorise one to teach that the confession of venial sin *in genere* is certainly valid.

St. Alphonsus[2] does not say exactly whether the confession in the case proposed is certainly either valid or invalid; he merely advises the confessor to get the penitent to confess some sin *in specie*. Tamburini[3] cites Dicastillo with approval. Father Ballerini is more advanced than either.

There is only one other, Lacroix, whom I shall examine; and I do so because he lays down his views more explicitly than, perhaps, any other. He tells us in n. 623, that, even when there is no necessity, a confession of venial sin *in*

[1] N. 761. [2] Homo Ap. Tr. ult. 9; cf. Prax. n. 71, in fine.
[3] Meth. Conf., cap. x., n. 17.

genere will suffice for the validity of the Sacrament, and that such is the more common opinion of theologians. And yet in n. 622 he had said that such a confession is not lawful; giving as his reason that it is against the practice of the Church, and because something more is required by the judicial nature of the absolution. Now, since the general confession is sufficient for the validity, it can become unlawful only by reason of a positive precept. What is the evidence for the existence of such a precept? We shall see a little further on.

I have written at such length that, perhaps, my readers will require to be reminded of what the question is. It is this: When there is no necessity, is the confession of sin *in genere* sufficient for the validity of the Sacrament? It will be seen that theologians are not so explicit when they treat of the confession of mortal sins already remitted, as when treating of the confession of venial sins. But from what has been said this observation naturally arises; if they hesitate so much in allowing us to confess venial sins *in genere*, why should they not equally hesitate in allowing us to confess in the same general way mortal sins already remitted? Hence I consider that the two cases should be treated alike. Now there are two ways of explaining this hesitation. One is, that explicit confession is required *directly* by a precept, and only *indirectly* affects the validity of the Sacrament. The other is, that it is required for the validity of the Sacrament *directly*. Whatever may be said of the first explanation, I think it will be manifest that the second cannot stand; there is no theologian who defends it. Accordingly I answer the question proposed by saying that confession of sin *in genere* is, in the case, and not taking contrition into account, quite sufficient for the validity of the Sacrament.

Here a person will naturally ask, how I can represent an opinion as certain which Suarez and the great body of theologians who follow him think only more probable? For why do those writers refuse to allow this doctrine to be followed in practice? "Propter incertitudinem materiæ."

The answer will appear from what has been stated in the beginning of this article. It will be remembered[1] that Soto and a number of the older theologians taught that, even in case of necessity, a confession of sin *in genere* would not suffice for the validity of the Sacrament. At present no one thinks their opinion probable; but it

[1] Cf. supra, p. 386.

was not so in the time of Suarez. If, in case of necessity, there was a doubt about the validity of such a confession, it is no wonder that there was equal doubt when there was no necessity at all. But since all now hold that there can be no question of the validity in case of necessity, the ground is cut from under the difficulty; and I am quite convinced that, if Suarez were to come back again, we should hear no more from him of the "incertitudo materiæ."

II.—But what about the lawfulness of so confessing? In other words, can a confessor absolve a penitent, who, in ordinary circumstances, and without being in any necessity, confesses his sins only *in genere?* I am not now dealing with counsels; for every one admits that *it is well* to mention some sin *in specie*. But is there an obligation to do so?

The question turns in what I have already explained. If there is a divine precept binding us so to confess—why then we are bound. If there is no such precept, we are free. Is there such a precept?

The evidence is already before us, and each one can judge for himself. In my opinion the Council of Trent does not deal with the question at all. Neither can we argue from the practice of the faithful, for that could easily have risen from the counsel given by all writers. The only other proof is the teaching of theologians; and I must admit, that to my mind the opinion in favour of the obligation is not shown to be at all so common as it is sometimes represented.

I am not called upon to discuss the authority of theologians in a question of this kind. If any one wishes to examine the question, let him read the 17th Thesis of Cardinal Franzelin's admirable book on Tradition. It is fully admitted on all sides that, when theologians are fairly agreed about the truth of any doctrine, such agreement is not to be thought of little account.

Well, there is a certain doctrine with regard to which theologians are pretty unanimous. They teach that, when a man is dying in a strange land, and, from ignorance of the language of the country, cannot make himself understood, if he is not certain of having contrition, he is bound to confess through an interpreter at least some one sin *in specie*.[1]

[1] See, for example, Suarez, Disp. 36, S. 6, n. 5; Vasquez, Q. 91. a. 4, d. 3, n. 5, &c.; Diana, Tr. 3, Res. 80, n. 5; S. Alph., n. 479.

From this it is argued that the great body of theologians maintain the existence of a divine precept binding us, if we confess at all, to mention some special sin when it is possible to do so. No doubt such a precept would sufficiently explain how the same writers who admit the validity of a generic confession in the case, can deny its lawfulness.

But Father Ballerini[1] is ready with another explanation. He thinks that, as the dying man is not sure of his contrition, he is bound to go to confession. Father Ballerini admits further that, according to the common teaching of the older theologians, the penitent cannot be absolved unless he is willing to confess some sin *in specie* through an interpreter. But why? Because the older theologians, whilst admitting the validity of a generic confession, had not made up their minds as to the certainty of that opinion. They thought it probable that, after all, such confession might not be sufficient; and hence, in the case proposed, the penitent would be bound to supply certainly valid matter for absolution.

Well, the validity of generic confession is now certain: it would be recognised as such by those old theologians, could they come back again. Are we not justified, therefore, in assuming that, as the premises are changed, the conclusion also should be different? and that, if Suarez or Laymann held with us the certain validity of generic confession, they never would have imposed an obligation of mentioning a sin *in specie*?

Let us extend this a little. Take an ordinary confession in which the penitent has no mortal sin to confess. Theologians, headed by Suarez, more commonly admit an obligation of telling some venial sin *in specie*. Dicastillo and others hold the contrary, as we have seen, but against the more common opinion. What is the reasoning of Suarez? It is this: speculatively, the generic confession is sufficiently valid; but practically the penitent is bound to confess *in specie*, "propter incertitudinem materiæ." Surely, if Suarez thought a generic confession certainly valid, he would have come to the very contradictory conclusion.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean to decide that this explanation of Father Ballerini's is correct; but, until you show that it is untenable, you will not be justified

[1] Note on Gury, n. 504, Q. 9.

in asserting that, according to the common teaching of theologians, penitents are bound to confess some venial sin *in specie*.

What, then, should a confessor do? I think it will be useful to distinguish different cases.

1. If the penitent can be easily got to mention some sin *in specie generica*, I should certainly ask him to do so. This much at least is due to the opinion formerly the more common.

2. But if, because of the ignorance or stupidity of the penitent, he cannot be easily got to mention some such sin, I should not hesitate to absolve him absolutely in the ordinary cases, and provided he were otherwise disposed.[1]

3. If, however, the penitent were in danger of death, I should be more careful to get him to mention some sin *in specie*, lest *by any chance* specific confession should be required for the validity of the Sacrament. I should absolve him, nevertheless, absolutely, if there were no hope of getting more than a generic confession.

4. With regard to children, this practical observation may be useful. Children often mention in confession what is not sinful at all. Again, when they do tell what is in itself sinful, it often happens that is not so in them, from want of advertence. And yet we know that they have committed some venial sins in their past life. Would it not be well, then, to get them to confess in a general way all the sins of their life? Thus the confessor may be sure that the Sacrament will not be invalid, at least from want of confession.

One other remark and I have done. It often happens that penitents, in confessing sins already remitted, make use of some such expression as the following: I accuse myself of sins against charity in my past life. Now it appears to me that such a confession is not without its danger. If indeed the penitent means to accuse himself of *all* the sins he ever committed against charity, there is no difficulty. But if, as often happens, the penitent has no definite sins before his mind, whilst, on the other hand, he does not intend to confess *all*, the danger is manifest.

For, many theologians hold that such a confession is not sufficiently determinate. If a priest were to pronounce the words of consecration over eleven Hosts, intending to consecrate only ten of the number, the Rubrics

[1] See St. Alph., n. 504.

of the Missal[1] tell that there would be no consecration. In the same way, according to these authors, if a confessor pronounces the words of absolution over sins the number of which is not determined, there will be no absolution. Dicastillo argues at great length in favour of this opinion.[2] On the other hand, many writers hold that it is not necessary to determine the number of sins. There is no argument from the Rubrics; for the word "this" in the form of the Eucharist manifestly requires a determination, whilst no such word is found in the form of Penance. Again, they say, if one owes a hundred pounds and pays ten, not determining which, who would say that there is no payment? But absolution is only the cancelling of debt. In the same way, if a person, for ten crimes of the same kind, had incurred ten excommunications, and had got absolution from two, not determining which, no one would say that he should get absolution anew from the whole ten. This is the view of Lacroix[3] and De Lugo,[4] with many others.

We need not expect to decide the question; but we should take care that penitents do not come to the ground between the two stools. It may not be thought necessary or advisable to call attention to the matter when explaining the Sacrament of Penance to the people. In the confessional we should adopt the safer opinion.

W. MacDonald.

THE NUMBERING OF THE HOURS IN ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.—II.

THE second passage in this Gospel in which an hour of the day is designated by its number occurs in the beginning of the 4th chapter, where we read that it was about "the sixth hour," when our Lord sat by Jacob's well, outside the Samaritan city of Sichar.

Was this the "sixth hour" according to the Jewish computation, in other words, the hour of noon? Or was it the "sixth hour," counted, as in our modern computation, from midnight or from midday, that is to say, 6 o'clock, whether morning or evening?

[1] De Defect. tit. vii., n. 1.
[2] De Poenit. Disp. vi., Dub. xvii.
[3] N. 621.
[4] Disp. xiv., n. 142.

Dr. Townson and those who with him adopt the view suggested in the latter question, appeal with confidence to the evidence furnished by Eastern usage. From the earliest times down to our own day, the women, not only in Judea, but generally throughout the East, have been accustomed to go out from the towns and villages, to draw water from the neighbouring wells, not at midday, but in the morning and in the evening. Hence, says Dr. Townson, in examining St. John's statement that it was the "sixth hour" when our Lord sat by the well and spoke with the woman who had come from the city to draw water, "it is not very probable that midday was the hour intended. Among the Eastern nations, exact observers of ancient usages, the women had stated times of going to draw water from the wells. This they did, not in the heat of the day, but in the cool of the morning or the evening."

Apart from the evidence to be derived from the usage itself, maintained, as it has been, with unvaried uniformity down to the present day, much light is thrown upon the question by the references to this usage in more than one passage of Scripture.

Thus, for instance, that the morning was one of the times at which the women went out to draw water, is inferred from an incident in the narrative of Saul's search for his father's asses. With the servant who accompanied him, he came to Ramatha, the city of Samuel, and determined to consult the seer, "and when they went up the ascent to the city, *they found maids coming out to draw water.*"[1] And the hour of the incident thus mentioned seems to be fixed by the following verses,[2] from which it appears that it was then very early in the morning, while preparations were being made for a sacrifice, apparently a morning sacrifice, which Samuel was about to offer.

That the evening also was a time at which the women thus came to draw water, is evident from the 24th Chapter of Genesis. We there read, in the narrative of the journey of Eliezer into Mesopotamia, to bring back a wife for Isaac, the son of Abraham, his master, that Eliezer "went on to Mesopotamia, to the city of Nachor; and when he had made the camels lie down without the town, near a well of water, *in the evening*, at the time *when women are wont to come out to draw water* . . he said, O Lord, the God

[1] 1 Kings, ix. 11. [2] Ibid. vv. 12-14.

of my master, Abraham . . Behold, I stand nigh the spring of water, *and the daughters of the inhabitants of this city will come out to draw water*," &c., &c.[1]

Thus, then, it is inferred that the "sixth hour," mentioned by St. John, cannot have been the hour of midday, the "sixth hour" of the Jews, and must therefore have been the sixth hour in the modern sense of the term, that is to say, six o'clock, morning or evening.[2]

Plausible as this reasoning is, it is manifestly far from conclusive. The very usage referred to is relied upon, and apparently with reason, by the advocates of the opposite view. If, they ask, the hour indicated by the Evangelist was any such hour as six o'clock, morning or evening, when according to Eastern usage the women of the city would have come out to draw water from the well, could it have happened that but one woman should have come, and that the long conference with her, and the subsequent incidents, narrated by St. John, could have taken place, as they manifestly did, without interruption? And, on the other hand, it should not seem strange that this woman should have come there at an unusual hour. For, as they add, from the few incidents of her personal history revealed by the Gospel narrative of our Lord's discourse, it may without difficulty be inferred that reasons were not wanting why "the woman of Samaria" who came to the well on this occasion should have chosen for doing so a time when the place would be comparatively deserted.

Again we may usefully refer to the narrative of Canon Farrar. "Starting early in the morning, to enjoy as many as possible of the cool hours for travelling, He stopped at length for rest and refreshment in the neighbourhood of Sychar. . . . It was the hour of noon, and weary as He was with the long journey, and possibly also with the extreme heat, our Lord sat 'thus' on the well . . . His disciples . . had left Him, to buy in the neighbouring city

[1] Genesis, xxiv., 10-13.

[2] Greswell, who adopts Dr. Townson's opinion as to St. John's method of designating the hours, considers that it was the evening, rather than the morning, "sixth hour," when our Lord arrived at the well. Some other commentators, however, by whom this view, as to the computation of hours, is adopted, prefer to suppose that six o'clock in the morning is the hour here indicated. The fact that St. John's expression is, in this view of his method of designating the hours, thus necessarily ambiguous, is a point not to be lost sight of in the consideration of the general question as to his method of numbering the hours.

what was necessary for their wants. . . . His solitude was broken by the approach of a woman. In a May noon in Palestine it is probable that the heat may be indeed intense,[1] but it is not too intense to admit of moving about; and this woman, either from accident, or, possibly, because she was in no good repute, *and therefore would avoid the hour when the well would be thronged by all the women of the city*, was coming to draw water."

[1] As to the part of the year in which this incident occurred, two views prevail among commentators. Some place it in or about December; others, in or about May.

The advocates of both opinions are substantially agreed that a note of time is to be found in those words of our Lord's discourse to His disciples on this occasion, after their return from the city:—"Do you not say: There are yet four months, and then the harvest cometh? Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes, and see the countries; for they are white already to harvest." (St. John iv. 35.)

Two widely differing interpretations of this passage have, however, been put put forward. According to one of these, the words "there are yet four months, and then the harvest cometh," are to be understood as containing the note of time, and consequently as indicating the month of December, four months before the barley harvest in April, as the time of this incident. In this view, the subsequent statement as to the fields being "white to harvest," must of course be understood merely in a metaphorical sense, referring to the spiritual harvest which it was to be the mission of the Apostles and disciples to gather in.

In the other view, the statement as to the fields being then "white to harvest," is to be regarded as fixing the time of this incident. If this interpretation be followed, it is clear, from other considerations, that the harvest referred to must have been the wheat harvest, which in Palestine is a few weeks later than the barley harvest, so that the reference should then be understood as indicating the month of May. In this view, the previous words, as to the "four months" before the harvest, must obviously be understood, not as a statement of fact, but in some other sense.

A most interesting exposition of the question thus raised will be found in the volume of F. Coleridge's *Life of our Life*, on the Mmistry of St. John Baptist. F. Coleridge adopts the latter of the two views just stated. In common with the great majority of the commentators by whom the passage is so understood, he regards the words as to the "four months" as a proverbial expression. "Our Lord does not say, There are yet four months, . . . but, *Do not you say*, or . . . have you not a saying, There are four months, and then harvest cometh." Four months was the common interval between seed time and harvest in the Holy Land. "The fields white unto harvest before their eyes suggested an immediate reaping, in which sower and reaper would be one. But it was not to be so. The harvest was yet, as the proverb said, four months off. And when it came He was to be gone, and they were to be in His place, inheriting His labours and reaping the fruit of His Passion, without which there could be no harvest of souls." *The Ministry of St. John Baptist.* Note 7 (Second Edition, pp. 328–340).

The third and last remaining passage is that in which St. John (iv. 49–53) narrates the miraculous cure of the ruler's son.

"The ruler saith to him: Lord, come down before that my son die.

"Jesus saith to him: Go thy way, thy son liveth.

"The man believed the word which Jesus said to him, and went his way. And as he was going down, his servants met him: and they brought word, saying, that his son lived.

"He asked therefore of them the hour in which he grew better. And they said to him: Yesterday, at the seventh hour, the fever left him. The father therefore knew, that it was at the same hour that Jesus said to him, Thy son liveth."

What hour, then, is it that is thus designated by the Evangelist? Is it the seventh hour according to the Jewish mode of computation, that is to say, the first hour after noon? Or is it the seventh hour according to the modern, and so-called "Roman," computation, that is to say, seven o'clock morning or evening?

Dr. Townson's statement in support of his view is as follows. The "seventh hour" thus designated by the Evangelist cannot have been so early as one o'clock, P.M., and must therefore have been the "seventh" hour in the modern mode of computation, and consequently seven o'clock in the evening. For, as he proceeds to explain, the distance of Cana, where our Lord then was, from Capharnaum, where the ruler's son lay at the point of death, was not more than about twenty-five miles—five or six hours' journey,—perhaps even less. If, then, the hour at which the anxious father was assured by our Lord of the miraculous cure of his son, was so early in the day as one o'clock, P.M., it is difficult to suppose that paternal affection, animated by the hope of finding his son restored to health, should not have prompted him immediately to set out for home. And if age or infirmities had rendered him unable thus to undertake the short journey during the remaining hours of that day, surely his family, when they saw the miracle that had been wrought, would, instead of waiting until next day, immediately have sent off a messenger who with good speed might have brought the news to Cana that night. But neither was done. It was not, then, until the next day that the welcome intelligence reached the anxious father. Then, on his way to Capharnaum, his servants met him,

bringing him the news that his son was restored to health, and that "*yesterday*, at the seventh hour, the fever left him." What other inference, Dr. Townson asks, can we draw from this narrative, but that "the seventh hour," at which, as the father was thus assured, the miracle had been wrought, was not "the seventh hour" in the sense of the Jewish computation, and was consequently the seventh hour in the modern sense, and thus seven o'clock in the evening?

The reasoning thus set forth may no doubt be regarded as presenting a somewhat formidable difficulty in the way of those who consider that St. John's mode of designating the hours is the "Jewish" mode, followed by the other Evangelists. But the difficulty is far from being an insuperable one. "This argument," says the late Bishop of Kerry, referring, in his Note on this passage,[1] to the line of reasoning just now set forth, "has, we think, very little force; because the Ruler, believing the word of our Lord, may not have been uneasy, and because the difficulties of such a journey are unknown to us. From this passage, therefore, no decisive argument can be adduced to show how St. John computed time."

Before examining in detail the view thus suggested, it may be useful to notice another view of the case, plainly not devoid of probability, which has been put forward by some recent writers. How, they ask, does it appear from the Gospel narrative that the ruler did not return home immediately after his interview with our Lord? Let us suppose that the interview took place, and that the miracle was wrought, at the "seventh hour" in the Jewish sense, that is to say, at the seventh hour from sunrise, or, as we should call it, "one o'clock." What difficulty is here involved? *After sunset the same evening* the Jews would have commenced *a new day;* and thus the "seventh hour" at which the miracle had taken place would be to them as one o'clock *the day before*, or "the seventh hour, *yesterday*." In this view of the case the difficulty disappears even though an interval of only five or six hours intervened between the words spoken by our Lord and their confirmation by the servants.[2]

[1] *The Epistles and Gospels of the Sundays throughout the Year, with Notes, critical and explanatory.* Notes on St. John iv. 46-53. (20th Sunday after Pentecost).

[2] This view is well set forth in the *New Testament Commentary for English Readers* (*in loc.*), edited by Dr. Ellicott, the (Protestant) Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.

As against this view it is, however, to be borne in mind that, although the Jewish *festival* days were, for religious and ceremonial purposes, regarded as beginning at sunset, it is probable enough that the ordinary *civil* day of the Jews, as in our modern mode of computation, began not at sunset but at midnight.[1] It is by no means clear, therefore, that we should be justified in relying on Jewish usage as warranting the inference that when the servants spoke of "the seventh hour *yesterday*," they were speaking, after sunset, on the day of the miracle, and referring to an earlier hour, in the afternoon, of that same day.

Passing over, then, this view of the case, and assuming, as we are asked to do, that the father was not met by his servants on his homeward journey until *the next day*, in the ordinary modern sense of the expression, we shall still find, in the direction indicated by Dr. M'Carthy's Note, abundant reason for hesitating to regard St. John's narrative as furnishing any evidence that his method of designating the hours differed from that of the other Evangelists.

As regards the difficulties of the journey, and consequently the estimate to be formed of the likelihood of its being undertaken in the afternoon, it is of importance to bear in mind that neither the site of Caphernaum nor that of Cana can now be determined with anything approaching to certainty. In the case of Caphernaum,[2] indeed, this uncertainty cannot very notably affect the general result. But as regards Cana, the case is widely different. The two sites in question, now occupied by the Arab villages, Khurbet Kâna, and Kefr Kenna,[3] though not very far apart,

[1] See Dr. Molloy's paper, already referred to. (IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. 9, p. 452, June 1873.)

[2] It is indeed true, as observed by Canon Farrar, that the arguments about the site of Caphernaum "would fill several volumes." Each of the three localities finds supporters. But all three are situated on the northern or north-western shore of the Lake of Galilee, within a very short distance of each other. And as regards the two between which, as is now generally recognised, the choice is really to be made, the time needed for passing from one to the other is not more than three-quarters of an hour. These are the localities now designated *Khan Minyeh*, and *Tell Hum*. The former is situated at the north-west angle of the Lake; the latter, somewhat more to the north.

[3] Khurbet Kâna lies about 9 miles to the north, Kefr Kenna, about 4 miles to the north-east of Nazareth. On some maps the former, on others, the latter, is marked, without any indication of uncertainty, as the site of Cana.

Khurbet Kâna is spoken of by some modern travellers as Kana

as regards mere local distance, are very differently circumstanced as regards facilities of access. And to how large an extent the conclusiveness of Dr. Townson's reasoning, above set forth, must consequently be affected by the existing uncertainty as to the true site of Cana, is evident from the following description, given by a recent traveller. The author of *The Land and the Book* thus describes the difficulties experienced by him in passing from one of those villages to the other. "As we cannot now turn aside to visit the Kâna [Khurbet Kâna] on the other side of the Buttauf [the plain of Zabulon, lying north and north-east of Nazareth], I will give you an account of my ride thither on a former occasion. We obtained our guide from this village [Kefr Kenna], and, as they are hunters, and familiar with every acre of this region, they are the best that can be procured. . . We followed the stream which drains off the water into the Buttauf . . . It was on that day a boisterous brook, in consequence of the heavy rain . . . The day we crossed the Buttauf, *the eastern half of it was a lake*, and the path . . led through the oozy spongy end of it. *It was the most nervous ride I ever made.* For two miles the horses waded through mud and water *to the knees*, along a path *less than two feet wide*, which had been tramped down to a consistency sufficient to arrest the sinking foot for a moment; but if the careless or jaded nag stepped elsewhere, he sank instantly into a quivering quagmire. *After several adventures of this sort*, we 'came to land' just at the foot of Kâna."[1] Plainly, if the difficulties to be encountered by the "Ruler" of Caphernaum on his homeward journey were in any degree similar to those thus described, it is by no means unnatural to suppose that he may have deferred his return until next morning. And that he should have done so must seem all the more probable if we suppose, as we are surely justified in doing, that he had come from Caphernaum to Cana, or at least had made the last portion of the journey thither—perhaps over the very path described by Dr. Thompson—in the hours immediately

el-Jalil. The existence of such a name would no doubt strengthen the case for identifying this with "Cana of Galilee." It is, however, altogether denied by others that any trace is to be found of such a designation. And some of those who regard Kefr Kenna as marking the site of Cana assert, on the other hand, that the name Kenna el-Jalil is sometimes given to it.

[1] *The Land and the Book.* By W. M. Thompson, D.D.

preceding his interview with our Lord. In reference to the point, relied on by Dr. Townson, that, if the return of the ruler were thus delayed, his servants would have been sent on to Cana immediately after the occurrence of the miracle, and would thus have reached Cana on the same night, it may fairly be asked what reason is there to suppose that the precise object of the ruler's journey, or his destination when leaving home, was known by his family in time to allow of this course being taken? May he not, from fear of ridicule in the event of failure in his mission, or for some other reason of which we have no indication, have kept secret both his destination and the purpose of his journey? When absent from Caphernaum, in the direction of Cana, may it not have been his practice, a practice rendered necessary by the condition of the roads or paths, to return home about a certain hour of the day? And what is there improbable in the supposition that it was merely in the hope of meeting him when thus returning, and without any information sufficiently definite to induce them to undertake a long journey in search of him, that the servants had gone out to meet him?

There is, in fine, another aspect of the case, apparently worthy of consideration, which seems, however, to have escaped the attention of the commentators who have examined this question, or, at all events, not to have received from them the attention which from its importance it seems to claim.

It is, then, to be remembered that we have to deal not with a narrative such as that of the calling of the disciples (St. John, i. 39), or of our Lord's interview with the Samaritan woman (iv. 6), or of the Crucifixion (xix. 14), in which the Evangelist, stating for the information of his readers the time at which an event occurred, could be in no way constrained by any law of historical narrative to follow the mode of designating the hours, that was in use, at the time of their occurrence, in the country in which they took place. An Eastern traveller, for instance, of the present day, in describing the events of his journey, is not only justified in adopting our mode of designating the days of the month and the hours of the day, but would scarcely be regarded as a skilful narrator if, without a very clear exposition of the points of difference, he were to follow any other course. The case, however, would be different if, instead of describing for the information of his readers the day or the hour at which an event of his narrative took place, he

were quoting, and to all appearance quoting, *the very words*, of *a conversation between natives of the country* as to the occurrence of the event in question.

Now this is manifestly the case in this passage that we are here examining. The Evangelist does not state, as a matter of narrative, that the miracle was wrought at the seventh hour on the previous day. What he narrates is *a conversation* on this subject *between Jews*—the Jewish "ruler of the synagogue" and his servants. "He asked therefore of them the hour wherein [his son] grew better. And *they said* to him: '*yesterday*, at *the seventh hour* the fever left him.'"

We should not indeed be justified in maintaining that any other interpretation of this narrative would be at variance with the Catholic doctrine of Scriptural Inspiration. But it is at all events safe to assert that the obvious and natural tendency of the narrative as thus set forth, is to convey the impression that this very form of expression was used by the servants themselves. Thus then, on this ground alone, independently ofall other considerations, we should be justified in inferring that the circumstances of the miracle as narrated by the Evangelist are by no means such as to require us to suppose that "the seventh hour" thus mentioned is to be understood in any other sense than the ordinary Jewish sense.

Coming back, then, to the question of the Hour of our Lord's Crucifixion—"quaestio difficilis," as it is so justly described by Maldonatus and by Cardinal Toletus, "quae maxima antiquorum et recentiorum exercuit ingenia"—we need have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that but little aid is contributed towards its solution by the theory that in St. John's Gospel the hours are counted not from sunrise or sunset, but from midday or midnight. For, whatever reliance may be placed on this as an ingenious *a priori* solution of the difficulty, it would be manifestly unwarranted to represent it as deriving any solid support from the evidence furnished by the Gospel itself as to the usage of the Evangelist in this respect.

W. J. Walsh.

ST. ADAMNAN, NINTH ABBOT OF HY.

IN the year 1845, Dr. Ferdinand Keller was poking with a German's pertinacity, through the shelves of the Town Library of Schaffhausen in Switzerland. In a corner of the room he found a high book chest filled with all kinds of old MSS. without title or number of any kind, and at the very bottom of the heap he came upon a dark brown parchment manuscript bound in moth-eaten beech wood, covered with calf skin, carefully clasped in front, and very neatly and curiously sewed at the back. It was a goodly quarto of 68 leaves, with double columns, written on dark coloured goat skin parchment in large heavy drawn letters of the character known as minuscular. Everything about the MSS. showed great antiquity—the cover, the parchment, the lettering, and the ornamentation. Dr. Keller at first thought he had come upon a hitherto undiscovered treasure; but in this he was mistaken. He only recovered a lost treasure and secured its preservation for the learned world. On examination, the MS. turned out to be the oldest and most authentic copy of Adamnan's Life of Saint Columba, made in Iona either during the lifetime of Adamnan himself, or certainly within a few years after his death.

There can be little doubt that this is the identical MS. discovered by Stephen White in the Monastery of Richenau, and published, with some variations, both by Colgan and the Bollandists. How then did it come to pass that it was found in the old book chest of Schaffhausen Library?

The celebrated Benedictine Monastery of Richenau—Augia Dives, or the Rich Meadow—was situated on a pleasant fertile island in the Lake of Constance, an expansion of the Upper Rhine. The Monastery was suppressed in 1798, but it seems that before its suppression most of its literary treasures were carried off, and thus it came to pass that the old Irish MS. was transferred to the neighbouring Town of Schaffhausen, also on the Rhine, where it was consigned to the bottom of the old book chest until the German scholar brought the hidden treasure again to light.

The Monastery of Richenau in the ninth century appears to have had many Irish inmates, and this is not unnatural, for the great Irish Monastery of St. Gall was within a few miles of the shore of Lake Constance, and considerable intercourse would naturally take place between the two

houses. Walafridus Strabo, Abbot of Richenau, from 842 to 849, had been previously Dean of St. Gall, and in his writings shows an intimate knowledge of many things connected with Ireland which he could have learned only from Irishmen.[1] We know, too, from other sources, that crowds of Irishmen came to France and Germany in the beginning of the ninth century, and that many of them brought their books from their schools at home along with them, as Dungal brought the books which he bequeathed to the Monastery of Bobbio. It is thus easy to understand how some of the monks of Iona, driven from home by the Norsemen, who so often plundered the island about the beginning of the ninth century, would migrate to some friendly monastery on the Continent carrying their literary treasure along with them.

There can, however, be no doubt that the Schaffhausen MS. of St. Columba's Life was written in the Island of Hy by one of the Family, so early as the beginning of the eighth century. The character is of that peculiar kind of which we have almost contemporary specimens in the Book of Kells, and the Book of Durrow, and which is now universally acknowledged to be purely Irish; the ornamentation of the chapters, and of the capital letters, is Irish; the orthography is Irish, and what is stranger than all, the Lord's Prayer is written in Greek on the last page of the MS., and in Greek, of which we have other specimens remaining in old Irish MSS. with the same peculiar spelling, in the same semi-uncial character, without accents, and without breathings—a fact which of itself indisputably proves that the Greek tongue was taught and written in the Irish School of Hy 1170 years ago.

The Colophon, or superscription, in rubric, at folio 136, at the end of the life, records, according to the usual custom, the name of the scribe:—"Whoever reads these books on the virtues of St. Columba, let him pray to the Lord for me Dorbbeneus, that after death I may possess eternal life."

In 713, Tighernach records the death of Dorbene, Abbot of Hy, the very year of his election to that high office. There can be no doubt this Dorbene was the writer of the Schaffhausen MS.; there is no mention of any other of the same name in our annals except of one Dorbene,

[1] For instance the details of the martyrdom of St. Blaitmac of Iona by the Danes in 824, which he describes in Latin verse, and may have learned from a fugitive who was perhaps the bearer of this very M.S.

whose son Failan is said to have died in 724. This Dorbene was, as Dr. Reeves thinks, a layman, and, if his son died in 724, he himself in the course of nature must have lived and died before Adamnan. But the abbot who died in 713, would have outlived Adamnan only nine years, and in all probability had been for many years scribe of the monastery, and may have written the book at the dictation of Adamnan himself.

And now, who was Adamnan? Unfortunately we know very little of his early youth. He gives us to understand, at least by implication, that he was born at or near Drumhome, in the barony of Tirhugh, and Co. Donegal. The Church of Drumhome was founded by St. Columba, but St. Adamnan is the patron; and this fact, too, indicates his connection with the locality. There, also, he seems to have spent his earlier years; for it was there, he says, "in my youth, that a very old man called Ferreol, a servant of Christ, who is buried in Drumhome, told me" of a glorious vision which he saw, when fishing in the valley of the Finn, on the night of Columba's death. Scarcely any traces of the old Church of Drumhome now remain; but it was once nobly endowed by the O'Donnells. Even so late as 1609, an Inquisition tells us that "there are in the said parish of Drumhome, four quarters of church land, three quarters of Columbkille's land, each quarter containing six townlands, then in the possession of Lewis O'Cleary, the head of that family which the Four Masters have made illustrious for ever. The old church was finely situated near the shore of the Bay of Donegal, not far from Ballintra, in hearing of the sea, and in view of the bold range of mountains, where the sons of Conall Gulban so long and so nobly defended their ancient freedom.

Adamnan's father, Ronan, was sixth in descent from that same Conall Gulban, and thus belonged to the royal blood of Tirconell; his mother was Ronnat, a daughter of Tirenna, the territory that in ancient times extended from Lough Foyle to Lough Swilly. Thus Adamnan was of the same family as St. Columba himself; for Columba was grandson of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban, and Adamnan was sixth in descent from the same Fergus. He was born in 624, according to the best authorities, just twenty-seven years after Columba's death, and, as we may fairly assume, was in his youth placed under the care of the monks of Drumhome, in whose old churchyard he himself tells us many of the monks of Columba await a happy resurrection.

How long the boy remained in his native Tirhugh, feeding his spirit on the glorious vision of its waves and mountains, we cannot now ascertain. It was at that time the custom for scholars, even of the noblest birth, to visit the great monastic schools of the country, and all the more celebrated masters were surrounded by crowds of eager students, who lived on their wits, and lodged as best as they could, generally in little huts of their own contrivance. A curious story is told of St. Adamnan himself in his youth, which amusingly illustrates what may be called the University life of the time.

Finnachta, afterwards Monarch of Ireland, from 675 to 695, and Adamnan's greatest friend, although of the blood royal, was at first very poor. He had a house and wife, but only one ox and one cow. Now the King of Feara Ros (Carrickmacross) strayed in the neighbourhood of Finnachta's hut, his wife, too, was with him and a crowd of retainers; but they could not find their way home, for the night came on dark, cold, and stormy, so they were forced to take refuge in the hut. Small as it was, the size of the house was greater than its wealth. Finnachta, however, "struck the ox on the head and the cow on the head," and feasted all the king's people sumptuously, so that no one was hungry.

Then the King and Queen of Feara Ross gave large herds of cattle to the generous Finnachta, and made him a great man. Shortly after this time, Finnachta, not yet king, however, was one day coming with a large troop of horse to his sister's house, and as they rode along, they overtook "Adamnan, then a young school-boy, travelling the same road, with a vessel full of milk on his back. Anxious to get out of the way, Adamnan stumbled and fell, spilling all the milk, and breaking the jar to pieces." The cavalcade rather enjoyed the fun, and rode away; but Adamnan pursued them closely, and said: "O, good men, I have reason to be sad, for there are three good school-boys in one house, and they have us as two messengers—for there is always one going about seeking food for the five—and it came to my turn to-day. The gathering I made is scattered, and, what I grieve for far more, the borrowed vessel has been broken, and I have no means to pay for it." But Finnachta declared he would make it all right, and he kept his word. He not only paid for the vessel, but he brought the scholars—clerics they are called—to his own house, and their teacher along with them, he

fitted up the ale-house for their reception, and gave them such abounding good cheer, that the professor, exhilarated by the ale, or filled with the spirit of prophecy, as the annals say, declared that Finnachta would one day become the King of all Ireland, "and Adamnan shall be the head of the wisdom of Erin, and shall become 'soul's friend,' or confessor, to the king."

When Adamnan was duly trained in the wisdom of the Irish schools at home, his thoughts naturally turned to Iona. For that remote islet, surrounded by the stormy waters and under the misty skies of the Hebrides, had long been the religious home of his race and family. It was founded by the great Columba, with twelve companions of his own kith and kin. It was now thronged by crowds of pilgrims and scholars, most of whom still came from the Columbian houses in Donegal, Sligo, and Meath. It was the head and centre of the Columbian Order; and almost all its Abbots hitherto, and for long after, came of the royal race of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban. At this very time, when Adamnan was about twenty-five years old, a cousin of his own, Seghine, fifth Abbot of Hy, ruled the entire Order. So with the south wind blowing fair, we may suppose the young scholar launched his curach on the Foyle, and sweeping past the hills of Inishowen, he would in about twelve hours see Columba's holy island slowly rising from the waves. As his bark approached he would eagerly note all the features of the island—the central ridge, the low moory shores, and narrow strait about a mile wide separating it from the Ross of Mull, on the mainland. With a heart swelling with emotion, he must have stepped on the shore of Port Ronain, and then kneeling prostrate before the Abbot in his wooden cell, he begged to be admitted to the habit of the Order. And we may be sure the venerable Seghine received with open arms the strong-limbed, fair-haired boy, who was sprung of his own ancient line, and born in his own Tirhugh.

Adamnan began his noviciate about 650, and after thirty years' service in the brotherhood, was himself raised to the Abbatial Chair, in 679. We know little of his life during this period, except that it was eminent for virtue and learning. We have undoubted proofs of his success in sacred studies, not only in the works that remain, but also from the testimony of his contemporaries. He was, says Venerable Bede, a virtuous and learned man pre-eminently skilled in Sacred Scripture: "Erat enim vir bonus

et sapiens, et scientia Scripturarum nobilissime instructus." This is high testimony from a high authority. Father H. Ward felt himself justified in saying that Adamnan was thoroughly educated in all the knowledge of his time, liberal, sacred, and ascetical; that he was also skilled in the Greek and Hebrew languages, as well as in the arts, laws, and history written in his native tongue: "Edoctus est omnes liberales, sacras, et asceticas disciplinas, linguas etiam Hebraicam et Græcam; et quicquid patria lingua (in qua tunc pleræque scientiae et Dryadum quae non fuerant damnata dogmata), scriptum est vel artium vel legum vel historiarum."

Yet this learned monk was not above giving his assistance in the manual labour of the monastery. He tells us in his life of St. Columba,[1] how on a certain occasion he and a number of other monks cut down as many oak trees in one of the neighbouring islands, probably Arran, as loaded twelve boats, in order to procure material to repair the monastery; and how, when detained by an adverse wind, St. Columba heard their prayer, and procured for them a favourable breeze to waft them home. This fact, incidentally mentioned, proves that most of the monastic cells were made of oaken boards, which were covered in with a roof of reeds. St. Columba's own hut is represented as *tabulis suffultum*, and we know from other sources that as a protection against the weather these cells were *harundine tecta*. It is in this respect that the "Vita Columbae" is so valuable, because it gives us incidentally not only a graphic picture of the simple and pious lives of the Family of Hy, but also of their food, their clothing, their monastery, and their entire social arrangements.

Although St. Adamnan ruled the monastery of Hy from 679 to his death in 704, he paid several visits to Ireland, and exercised a large influence both on its ecclesiastical and civil polity. This was due partly to his high character for learning and holiness, partly to his position as Supreme Head of the Columbian Houses, and in great measure also to his influence with Finnachta, the High King from 675 to 695. It is not easy to ascertain the exact date of these visits nor the work done on each occasion, but the substantial facts are certain.

In the year 684 one of the generals of the Northumbrian King Ecgfrid, made a descent on Magh-Bregh, that is the

[1] Book II., c. 45.

eastern plain of Meath along the sea shore. They pillaged and slaughtered in the usual fashion, and furthermore carried off many captives male and female. This attack was wholly unprovoked, and as Bede testifies brought down upon the Northumbrian prince the signal chastisement of heaven. In the following year, rashly advancing against the Pictish King Brude, Ecgfrid was slain and his army routed at a place called Dun Nechtain. Thereupon Aldfrid his brother returned from Ireland, where he had been for many years an exile, and succeeded to the throne. Aldfrid during the years he spent in Ireland became intimate with Adamnan; our annalists call him the alumnus, or foster son of Adamnan. Now, that he was raised to the throne, the latter took occasion to pay him a visit, in order to obtain by his friendly offices the release of the captives. Miraculously crossing the Solway Frith, whose rushing tide "the best steed in Saxon land ridden by the best rider could not hope to escape," he came to the Northumbrian Court, at Bamborough, and seems to have been received with open arms by his alumnus, who at once consented to restore the captives, sixty in all, whom shortly after Adamnan brought home to Ireland. But this visit to the English court had other important consequences. When he saw, says Bede, during his stay in our province (probably at Easter) the canonical rites of our church, and was prudently admonished that they who were placed on a little corner at the end of the world should not persevere in their peculiar Paschal observance against the practice of the universal church, he changed his mind and willingly adopted our custom. On the same occasion he visited the monastery of Jarrow where the monks greatly admired the humility and modesty of his demeanour, but were somewhat scandalized at his Irish frontal tonsure from ear to ear, then known as the tonsure of Simon Magus.

On his return to Hy, Adamnan tried to induce his monks to adopt the Roman Paschal observance, but they were so much attached to the practice sanctioned by their great and holy founder that even Adamnan failed to bring about a change. It was not until 716, twelve years after his death, that they finally consented to adopt the Dionysian cycle of nineteen years in fixing Easter Day.

He was more successful in Ireland. On his return thither with the captives in 686, a Synod seems to have been held for the purpose of bringing about this change, to which he himself alludes in his life of St. Columba.

Neither the time nor place of the Synod can be exactly ascertained; it is not unlikely, however, that it took place on the Hill of Tara at the "Rath of the Synods," where tradition still marks out the place of "Adamnan's Tent" and "Adamnan's Cross."[1] Others think it was held a much later date in 696 or 697, when "Adamnan's Canon" was published, to which we shall refer later on. It is certain, however, that Adamnan exerted his great influence thenceforward to introduce the new Paschal observance into Ireland, although he did not perhaps finally succeed until towards the end of his life.

On this occasion Adamnan's visit was not of long duration, but he paid a second visit to Ireland in 692—fourteen years after the death of his predecessor Failbhe, as the Annals say. This time it was a political question that attracted him from Hy. For forty reigns the men of Leinster had been paying the cow-tax, known as the Borumean tribute, to the princes of the Hy Neill race, to which race Adamnan himself belonged. Finnachta, however, the present High King and the old friend of Adamnan, remitted this tribute at the prayer of St. Moling, whom our Annalists represent as having recourse to a curious equivocation to effect his purpose. The king, at the prayer of the saint, consented to remit payment of the tax for "the day and night." "All time," said the Saint, when the king had pledged his royal word to this remission, "is day and night; thou canst never reimpose this tax." In vain the monarch protested that he had no such intention, the Saint kept him to his word, promising him heaven if he kept it, and the reverse if he did not. When Adamnan heard how weakly the king had yielded the ancient rights of the great Hy Neill race, he was somewhat wrathful, and at once sought out the monarch, and asked to see him. The king was playing chess, and told Adamnan's messenger, who asked an interview for the Saint, that he must wait until the game was finished; then he played a second, and was going to play a third, when the Saint threatened him with reading a psalm that would not only shorten his life but exclude him from heaven. Thereupon he came quick enough, and at once Adamnan said, "Is this true that thou hast remitted the Borumha for day and night." "It is true," said the king. "Then it is the same as to remit it for ever, said the Saint, and he "scolded" him in somewhat vigorous

[1] See Petrie's Tara, page 147.

language, and made a song on him on the spot, calling him a foolish, white-haired, toothless king, and using several other epithets the reverse of complimentary.

Of course all this is the work of a northern bard, who puts into the mouth of Adamnan language which he would use himself; nevertheless. there is a substratum of truth in the story highly coloured as it is by poetic fiction. In the end, however, the writer adds :—"Afterwards Finnachta placed his head on the bosom of Adamnan, and Adamnan forgave him for the remission of the Borumha." Shortly after, however, Adamnan was again angry with the king, and foretold "that his life would be short, and that he would fall by fratricide." The Irish life gives the true cause of the anger and the prediction: it was because Finnachta would not exempt from taxes the lands of Columbkille, as he exempted the lands of Patrick, Finnian, and Ciaran. This not unnaturally incensed the Saint against the ungrateful king, whose throne he had helped to maintain. The prediction was soon verified; Finnachta fell by the hand of a cousin in 697.

It was on his return to Hy after this second visit that Adamnan seems to have written the life of Columbkille. Shortly after he paid a third visit to Ireland in 697, and apparently spent the remaining seven years of his life in this country. It was in that year, most probably, was held the Synod of Tara in which the *Cain*, or Canon, of Adamnan, was promulgated. According to a story in the Leabhar Breac there are four great Laws, or "Canons," in Ireland. The Canon of Patrick, not to kill the clergy; the Canon of the nun Dari, not to kill the cows; the Canon of Adamnan, not to kill women; and the Sunday Canon, not to travel on that day. The origin of the Canon of Adamnan was this. He was once travelling through Meath, carrying his mother on his back, when he saw two armies in conflict, and a woman of one party dragging a woman of the other party with an iron reaping hook fixed in her breast. At this cruel and revolting sight Adamnan's mother insisted that her son should promise her to make a law for the people that women should in future be exempted from all battles and hostings. Adamnan promised, and kept his word—in 696 according to the Ulster Annals—"dedit legem innocentium populis." That is he procured the passing of a law exempting women and children—*innocentes*—from any share in the actual conflict or its usual consequences, captivity or death. This fact is substantially true, though considerably embellished

in the details.[1] And Ireland owes the great Abbot a lasting debt of gratitude for procuring the enactment of this law, which was afterwards re-enacted in 727 when the relics of Adamnan were removed from Iona to Ireland and "the law renewed." There are several other Canons probably enacted at a Synod at Armagh about the same time, but this is far the most important of them all.

The life of St. Gerald of Mayo represents Adamnan as governing the monastery of that place, originally founded by the Saxons, for seven years. Tradition also connects the Saint with the Church of Skreen in the Co. Sligo, of which he is the Patron, and was in all propability the Founder. As head of the Columbian Order it was his duty, from time to time, to visit the Columbian Churches in Ireland, of which there were very many, especially in Sligo and Donegal. He may thus have spent a considerable time in Mayo of the Saxons, although the life of St. Gerald is very unsatisfactory evidence of the fact.

We cannot stay to notice the alleged "Cursing" of Irgalach by Adamnan. The story is intrinsically improbable and unsustained by respectable authority. In the last year of his life, 704, he returned to Iona. Although the Monks would not consent to give up St. Columba's Easter, he loved them dearly and wished to bless them before he died. After his noble life he might well rest in peace with the kindred dust of all the saints of Conall Gulban's line that sleep in the Holy Island.

A century later, however, as we have seen, the sacred relics were transferred to Ireland, but it is not known for certain where they were laid.

Adamnan's two most important works are his "Vita Sancti Columbi," and his Book, "De Locis Sanctis."

The Life of St. Columba has been pronounced by Pinkerton to be "the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even through the whole middle ages." Adamnan himself declares that he wrote the book at the earnest request of the Brothers; and that he states nothing except what was already written in the records of the monastery, or what he himself heard from the elder monks, many of whom saw the blessed Columba, and were themselves witnesses of his wonderful works. The entire narrative,

[1] The story of Adamnan's carrying his mother on his back originated in his well-known filial piety.

which is written in fairly good Latin, furnishes ample proof of the truth of this statement. Hence the great value of this Life, not only as an authentic record of the virtues and miracles of St. Columba, but also as a faithful picture of the religious life of those early times by a contemporary writer, so well qualified to sketch it, and who does so, quite unconsciously. The manuscript in the Library of Schaffhausen is of equal authority with the autograph of the saint, if, indeed, it were not actually written at his dictation, so that the most sceptical cannot question the authenticity of this venerable record. The Life was printed from this codex by Colgan in 1647, and by the Bollandists at a later date. But the edition published in 1837 by Dr. W. Reeves, for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, is by far the most valuable. The notes and appendices to this admirable volume render it a perfect mine of wealth for the student of Irish history. The Life was translated into English, and published with short notes by Gill & Son, Dublin, 1878.

Venerable Bede gives us a very full account of the treatise de Locis Sanctis, in the 16th and 17th chapters of the fifth Book of his Ecclesiastical History. It is, he says, a book most useful to the reader (in that age). The author Adamnan received his information about the holy places from Arcuulfus, a Bishop from Gaul, who had himself visited Jerusalem, Constantinople, Alexandria, and all the islands of the sea. When returning home a tempest drove his vessel to the west parts of Britain,[1] where he met Adamnan, probably in Hy, to whom he narrated all the noteworthy scenes he had gone through. Adamnan at once reduced the narrative to writing for the information of his own countrymen. He presented the work to his friend King Aldfrid, through whose liberality copies were multiplied for the benefit of the young, if such be the meaning of Bede's phrase: "Per ejus largitionem etiam minoribus ad legendum contraditus." Bede himself was greatly pleased with the book, from which he inserts several extracts in his own History, concerning Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Mount Olivet, and other places in Palestine. It was published at Ingoldstadt in 1619.

A Life of St. Patrick and various poems have been attributed to Adamnan, but there is no evidence to prove that they are genuine The same may be said of the

[1] Up to the tenth century Britannia included Scotland.

"Vision of Adamnan," a kind of moral discourse in Irish, which purports to relate a wonderful vision of joys of heaven and of the torments of hell as seen and narrated by the saint. The work is certainly very ancient, but contains many things that go far to disprove its own authenticity.

When we consider the life and writings of this great man, as well as the large influence which he exercised on Irish affairs during the latter half of the seventh century, few will be disposed to question his right to take a high place amongst the saints and scholars of the West. He has been justly described in the prologue to the "Vision" as "the noble sage of the Western world." We have already quoted Bede's high testimony to his virtue and learning. The Four Masters emphatically endorse that testimony, and add that "he was tearful, penitent, fond of prayer, diligent and ascetic;" and that he was moreover "learned in the clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures of God."

J. Healy.

THE DENIS FLORENCE MACCARTHY MEMORIAL.

REMEMBERING how easily the world, especially in these bustling times, lets even prominent public men drop out of sight when their time comes to die, one is surprised at the favourable reception which the proposal to honour the memory of Denis Florence MacCarthy, has already met with. He died on last Good Friday, April 7th, 1882; and a committee was soon after formed for securing some suitable memorial of our Irish poet. This committee reckons among its members—Cardinal Newman, Cardinal MacCabe, the Archbishop of Cashel, Lord O'Hagan, Sir C. Gavan Duffy, Aubrey de Vere, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. Dwyer Gray, T. D. Sullivan, M.P., Mr. Lane Joynt, and many other distinguished men, representatives especially of various classes of Irishmen.

The Denis Florence MacCarthy Memorial Committee have barely begun their labours. Almost their earliest efforts have been directed to the publication of a complete and popular edition of Mr. MacCarthy's own works, apart

from his marvellously perfect translations. This will be issued immediately, and will promote the wider recognition of the poet's claims.

What was his work? He was simply a true Irish poet. On the occasion of the Moore Centenary he was hailed as Poet Laureate of Ireland, and he had a valid claim to the title. He devoted his life with unwavering fidelity to the more graceful forms of literature; and he helped to prove anew that there is no more exquisite medium for the expression of the fancies of the brain than the English tongue wielded by Irish genius. His muse sought her inspiration from Irish history, Irish scenery, and Irish feeling. Many arduous years were indeed consecrated to the transfusion of the sacred drama of Spain into the language of Shakespere. But if MacCarthy and Calderon are now names as inseparably united in English literature as Cary and Dante—if Ticknor, the highest authority on Spanish literature, pronounces MacCarthy's version to be "little less than marvellous," and if Longfellow (a poet of closely kindred genius, though of much more world-wide fame), tells his brother poet that he has read his translation "with eagerness and delight"—if one of the consolations of his last months of declining health was to receive, on occasion of Calderon's bi-centenary, an exquisite medal from the Royal Spanish Academy, as a token of the gratitude of Calderon's countrymen: all these conquests on foreign fields, like the Brigade at Fontenoy, only won glory for Ireland.

But it is his Irish strains that will make him for ever a poet. His "heart untravelled fondly turned" to Erin. He cannot see the Bay of Naples without thinking of the Bay of Dublin, his thoughts wander from Misenum to Killiney, and he exclaims:—

> "My native bay, for many a year
> I've loved thee with a trembling fear
> That thou, though dear and very dear
> And beauteous as a vision,
> Shouldst have some rival far away,
> Some matchless wonder of a bay,
> Whose sparkling waters ever play
> 'Neath azure skies elysian."

His wanderings only serve to set such misgivings at rest. Thus are Howth and Killiney and the Vale of Shanganagh and the Pass of Kein-en-eich, and a thousand Irish names embalmed in the aromatic spices of his verse; whilst his

longer poems treat of such themes as the Foray of Con O'Donnell and the Voyage of St. Brendan. The Italian Bell Founder would never have been immortalised by his muse, if the bells themselves had not strayed from Fiesole to St. Mary's Tower in Limerick. A Saxon reviewer in the *Athenæum* of thirty years ago, bestowing great praise on this most interesting poem, accuses the poet of bathos in making the story end on the banks of the Shannon. For a true Irish heart, such as Florence MacCarthy's, this was not bathos, but

"Like noble music with a golden ending."

There is one special praise to which our Laureate is entitled. Their admirers have sometimes to devise excuses for what is blameworthy in men of genius. But with MacCarthy there was no sowing of wild oats. Even in his earlier days, when he interpreted so well the vague, pathetic longings of the young heart that is "weary waiting for the May"—from first to last he never wrote a line that might not be read aloud round the family fireside, even on a Sunday evening.

Such a man must not be forgotten. Ireland, blamed so often for being *incuriosa suorum*, cannot afford to be neglectful of a son like this. An appeal is therefore made to all Irishmen of every class for the means of providing suitably for the preservation of Florence MacCarthy's memory. No political or religious difference can here be an obstacle; for MacCarthy, though one of the ardent and gifted band who have their place in history as "Young Ireland," and who founded the *Nation* and Duffy's "Library of Ireland," had always the widest literary sympathies, and was not a politician at all, but only a poet and *litterateur*.

Not only Ireland at home, but Ireland of the dispersion, will send generous offerings for this purpose. As a slight symptom of MacCarthy's abiding popularity in the United States, it may be mentioned that on last Patrick's Day four New York papers, and perhaps several others, republished his "Shamrock from the Irish shore."

The warm and even affectionate zeal which this enterprise has already evoked, almost before being fairly begun, is a sure omen that, whatever coldness or neglect we may have shown towards other names worthy of honour, and however our poet himself, a man singularly modest and retiring, though most genial and attractive

with those who knew him well, may in life have escaped the plaudits of the world, Ireland is determined to preserve in grateful love and honour the name of Denis Florence MacCarthy.

It is important that such names shall be linked with *Catholic* Ireland. Irish priests perform a work of zea and piety in fostering such undertakings by word and example.[1]

PROGRAMME OF SCHOLARSHIPS FOR PROFICIENCY IN RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE AT ST. COLMAN'S COLLEGE, FERMOY.

THE question of Religious Education in our Catholic Intermediate Colleges and Schools is one of pressing importance at the present time for all who are responsible for its direction or management. Already this question has forced itself on the attention of many priests who have been witnesses of the working of the Intermediate system since its introduction into our country, not because of the earnestness and zeal manifested in the pursuit of this all-important branch of Catholic education, but for precisely the opposite reason. They have seen with regret, and almost with alarm, that secular learning not only occupies the first and chief place in our schools, but has engrossed the time and attention of our masters and pupils to the neglect and, in some instances, almost to the exclusion of religious education. It is now quite a matter of course that the average boy of fifteen or sixteen years of age should know his Latin and Greek grammars from cover to cover, and be able to account for the many allusions to geography and history and mythology in the prescribed parts of his Cæsar and Virgil and Ovid and Xenophon and Lucian. He can repeat hundreds of lines from

[1] We are requested to state that the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J., Upper Gardiner-street, Dublin, who is a member of the D. F. MacCarthy Memorial Committee, will gladly take charge of the subscriptions of any of his brother Priests who may find it more convenient to communicate with him rather than directly with the treasurer, Dr. James Brady, 38, Harcourt-street, Dublin. Any priest can readily enlist the co-operation of many around him.

The Traveller, or *The Deserted Village*, or whole cantos of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, of *Marmion*, or of *The Lady of the Lake*. He is equally well "made up" in Greek, Roman, and English history, in Euclid and Algebra, in Physical Geography and perhaps Chemistry, and in some one or two modern languages. We do not complain of this proficiency in secular knowledge; it is, on the contrary, a source of pleasure and pride to us that our Catholic schools are holding a respectable place in this intellectual race. But what we do complain of and sincerely regret is, to hear from those who have experience of our schools, that this average boy, whose mind is so well stored with secular knowledge, would not deserve an Exhibition or a Prize, or, very probably, even a Pass in an examination on the Catechism. As for systematic religious instruction of a higher kind than is represented by the Catechism—instruction, for instance, in Scriptural history and topography, in the great events of Church history, in the explanation of Catholic dogma and discipline, so as to enable our young Catholic gentleman, when he leaves the Intermediate College, to meet the reasonable doubts suggested to him by his own opening mind, or by his companions who may be from amongst those who are outside the fold of the Church, we fear that such instruction is not attempted in some of our schools. If this be so, the question is indeed one of pressing importance for all concerned.

This state of religious teaching in our schools, however deplorable, should not very much surprise us. It is the natural outcome of the encouragement given by the Intermediate Education Act to the pursuit of secular knowledge, which is now the way to honour and profit for the pupils, if not for their masters; while proficiency in religious knowledge is left unrewarded. It is too much to expect that the young boys will apply themselves earnestly to a branch of education, on which so little store seems to be set in his own College as well as in the Intermediate Act.

What, then, is the remedy for this serious defect? The remedy manifestly is to restore proficiency in religious knowledge to the place of honour from which it has fallen in the mind of the pupils. This can be done only by adapting to it the Intermediate system: we must have our Exhibitions, our Prizes, and our Passes for religious knowledge. Our schools must publish their systematic course of religious instruction, and appoint examiners who are not

connected immediately with the particular school, and publish in their yearly record of Intermediate successes, and at the head of the list, the Exibitioners and Prize-men and Pass-men in the branch of religious knowledge. We confess that we should prefer to see this system organised as one whole for all the Catholic Schools of the country, just on the lines of the Intermediate Education Act. We do not doubt that our priests would gladly subscribe the necessary funds, and in the noble work they would be assisted, beyond doubt, by many generous, thoughtful laymen. There are not many good works of higher merit.

But if this system is not to be worked by all the schools of the country in common, the next best project is for each college and school to stimulate its pupils by rewards of its own. Some time ago we invited attention to the good work in this respect that was being done in St. Malachy's College, Belfast, St. Vincent's College, Castleknock, and in St. Peter's College, Wexford. And we are glad to find that this example has stimulated another important diocesan college to do likewise. The president of St. Colman's College, Fermoy, writes to us, "The Bishop of Cloyne, Most Rev. Dr. MacCarthy, has established in our college scholarships for proficiency in religious knowledge. The idea of such scholarships was suggested to me by some articles which appeared in the RECORD, and especially by a programme of religious scholarships established in the diocesan college of Ferns, which was noticed in the same publication. I enclose a programme."

From this programme we find that in St. Colman's College, Fermoy, there are scholarships to the annual value of £200. They are divided into Entrance Scholarships and Religious Scholarships. The Entrance Scholarships are *eleven* in number, each of £15; four open to freshmen only, three reserved to students who have spent the previous year in the college, and are under sixteen years of age, and four open to both freshmen and old students who are under seventeen years of age. These eleven Scholarships are for proficiency in secular knowledge. The rest of the money is devoted to the scholarships for proficiency in religious knowledge. We have great pleasure in appending this part of the programme, and we hope that the splendid example of the priests and bishop of Cloyne, who have taxed themselves for so meritorious a purpose, will stimulate other dioceses to go and do likewise.

ST. COLMAN'S COLLEGE, FERMOY.

SESSION 1882–83.

SCHOLARSHIPS TO THE VALUE OF £200.

The following Scholarships are offered for competition during the Session 1882–83:—

I.—ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIPS.

* * * * * *

II.—BISHOP'S SCHOLARSHIPS.

FOR PROFICIENCY IN RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

In order to give an additional impulse to Systematic Religious Instruction, His Lordship, the Most Rev. Dr. MacCarthy, Bishop of Cloyne, has been pleased to offer *three* Scholarships for proficiency in Religious Knowledge to be competed for by resident students of St. Colman's College, during the Session 1882–83, viz.:—

A. One Scholarship, value £10, open to students who shall be *under fifteen* years of age on the 1st day of June, 1883.

B. One Scholarship of £10, open to students who shall be *under sixteen* years of age on 1st day of June, 1883.

C. One Scholarship of £10, open to students who shall be over sixteen, but *under eighteen* years of age on the 1st day of June, 1883.

REGULATIONS AND CONDITIONS.

1. The Examination for these Scholarships will be held in St. Colman's College, Fermoy, on the *second Tuesday in February*, 1883, and all students within the prescribed limits of age *will be obliged to compete.*

2. The Examination will be conducted strictly in accordance with the Intermediate System, the examiners being two priests, *unconnected with the College*, and specially appointed for the purpose by the Bishop.

3. The Subjects for Examination will comprise (*a*) the Text of Butler's Catechism; (*b*) History of the Bible; (*c*) Church History; (*d*) Exposition and Evidences of Catholic Faith.

4. These Scholarships are tenable by *resident* students during the *Summer Term* of the Session 1882-83. Should

any of them, however, be won by students who have already gained Entrance Scholarships, such students will be permitted to hold the "Bishop's Scholarships" in St. Colman's College during the Term commencing September 1st, 1883.

5. In addition to the foregoing, the following *prizes* will be offered to *extern* students of St. Colman's College who shall score the highest marks at the Examination in Religious Knowledge, viz.: for the highest mark gained by a student *under fifteen* years of age, a prize of £1 10*s.*; for the highest mark gained by a Student *under sixteen* years of age, a prize of £2; for the highest mark gained by a Student over sixteen, but *under eighteen* years of age, a prize of £3.

No Student shall be eligible to a Scholarship or a prize for proficiency in Religious Knowledge who fails to score 45 *per cent.* of the maximum number of marks allowed for that subject.

LITURGY.

I.

The term of Paschal Time.

When the statutes of a diocese state that the paschal time terminates on Ascension Day, and the bishop wishes that rule to remain in force, does the paschal time, notwithstanding the bishop's action in the matter, extend to the Octave of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the point fixed by the Indult (4 May, 1851) *Contrariis quibuscunque non obstantibus?*

In these circumstances the paschal time terminates on the Feast of the Ascension. Pius IX. granted to the Irish bishops the privilege of extending it to the Octave of SS. Peter and Paul, but a bishop is not obliged to make use of that privilege. In his wisdom the bishop thinks it better for the interests of religion in his diocese to keep the term of Paschal time as fixed for this country by Paul V., and not to apply the further privilege granted by Pius IX. *Nemo tenetur privilegio uti.*

This is the sense in which the bishops understand the Indult of 1851, as a privilege granted to themselves to facilitate the performance of a duty they owe to their people, and not as a concession made to the people directly or independently of their bishop.

II.

The Form of Baptism for Adults.

The five years granted by the Pope for using the short form in the baptism of adults having expired, has the long form become obligatory under sin?

The long form is now obligatory, as it was before September, 1876, and will continue to be so, until a renewal of the Indult is obtained.

III.

Conditional Baptism, should it be conferred in the following cases?

O'Kane states (174) that if a priest baptizes conditionally without making diligent inquiry, and without a reasonable, not a slight, suspicion of previous improper baptism (454), he would be guilty of sin and incur an irregularity.

(*a*) Sometimes in towns, where a number of children are brought to the church together, the nurse who baptized may not be present or near at hand, and the others tell you there was great hurry and confusion at the time. Will this suffice for conditional baptism?

(*b*) When a nurse says that she dipped her hand in a basin of water each time when naming each of the Three Divine Persons, are the matter and form sufficiently simultaneous?

(*c*) Most midwives wish you to baptize after them. If a not very intelligent one seems to have done all that was necessary (for the priest has questioned her on what she did), but yet is anxious for the conditional repetition, might the priest baptize conditionally on the ground that her anxiety diminished sufficiently the "fide dignis testimoniis" required by the Synod of Maynooth?

Answer to (*a*) The Synod of Maynooth lays down the practical rule by which we are to judge of particular cases as they occur. The bishops tell us to baptize conditionally unless it is certain on credible testimony that the baptism conferred by the nurse or midwife was valid:—"Baptizare sub conditione volumus infantes qui a nutricibus aut obstetricibus in domibus privatis abluti sunt, nisi fide dignis testimoniis constet baptismum fuisse rite collatum." In the absence, then, of certainty of the validity of the baptism by the nurse, the priest is to baptize conditionally. Now this certainty is wanting when we have, as St. Alphonsus phrases it, "probalis suspicio erroris in dato baptismo"—a probable or prudent suspicion that the former baptism was not valid.

In our opinion, the grounds for this probable or prudent suspicion of an invalid baptism are not wanting in the case stated by our respected correspondent. The priest has received no explicit testimony to prove that the baptism was conferred by the nurse. Even positive reason for doubting this is supplied by the witnesses who tell him that there was great hurry and confusion in the house or apartment at the time. He cannot then be certain that the nurse even set about the baptism. And the instances of invalid or at least doubtfully valid baptism, even when there is no doubt that the nurse or midwife undertook to act as minister of the sacrament, are so frequent as to make it a duty on the part of the priest to baptize conditionally in all such cases, unless he is certain of the validity. Of course, in all cases of private baptism, the priest is bound to make an investigation as best he can into the manner in which the sacrament was conferred, before he proceeds to conditional baptism. Accordingly in the particular case we are considering, the conditional baptism should not be given before the priest has endeavoured to confer with the nurse in order to learn from her whether she set about the baptism, and what she did.

Answer to (*b*) We think that in this case the application of the matter and form was sufficiently simultaneous. It must be remembered that not physical but only moral simultaneity is required in the application of the matter and form of baptism.

Answer to (*c*) We are not aware, nor have we heard before now, that such is the wish of nurses generally. In a particular case we should be inclined to think that the persistency of the nurse in requesting the priest to baptize, after he had explained to her the obligation of not repeating the baptism even under condition, if it had been validly conferred by her, raises a sufficiently grave suspicion that she did not do what was required for valid baptism. Such persons, influenced by fear, or anxiety to preserve consistency with previous statements made to some one else, or for other motives, are not unlikely to conceal the truth, while at the same time they are resolved that the infant shall not be deprived of baptism. At all events, the mode of acting described, gives grounds, in our opinion, for this prudent suspicion. Hence we believe that this is a case for conditional baptism.

If, however, you know from your missionary experience that midwives and nurses are wont to insist on re-baptism,

because they erroneously suppose that baptism conferred by a priest has a special virtue which they are unwilling to see lost to the child, in this case we should not take the request made by the midwife to be a sufficient reason *per se* for a conditional baptism.

IV.

May the Viaticum be administered by a Priest who is not vested in Soutane and Surplice?

St. Liguori says, "Ministrare Eucharistiam sine stola et superpelliceo communiter censent Doctores esse mortale ex genere suo." May one notwithstanding conform to the custom of a diocese tacitly approved by the bishop, of administering the last sacraments to the sick with a stole alone, "super vestem communem?" The contrary practice would be generally "valde inconveniens" (O'Kane, 798). Even to send them to the house beforehand is not practicable.

In the circumstances of our country you are still justified in very many instances in following the custom to which you refer, and which is tolerated by the bishops on account of the very great practical difficulty of adhering exactly to the rubric of the ritual. But we ought to conform to the ritual where this great practical difficulty does not exist. What, for instance, prevents a priest from taking with him his surplice and soutane when he drives to a sick call in the country? We fancy, too, that in many other instances this practical difficulty would disappear if the priest provided himself with a very light soutane of cashmere or some such stuff, without sleeves and without lining, and a surplice also of fine, gauzy material. Both would easily fit in one of those small neat leather bags which are now so common, and which would not be inconvenient or unsuitable for the priest to carry in his hand when he walks to a sick-call in the village or its vicinity.

V.

The People should kneel at the Creed when said in Low Mass.

It is a very ancient custom in this and several other dioceses for the people to stand while the priest is saying the Creed at Mass. The posture seems to be a very respectful one, as it is understood to be a token of their profession of faith in the articles of the Creed.

Ought the custom to be allowed to continue?

At the Creed, as at all other parts of the private Mass, except the Gospel, the kneeling posture is the proper one for

the people. At the Gospel alone they stand. In the Missal rubrics we read: "Circumstantes autem in Missis privatis semper genua flectunt, etiam tempore Paschali, praeterquam dum legitur Evangelium."[1] And we know that the Sacred Congregation of Rites, in a decree which was approved by Urban VIII., declared customs contrary to the rubrics of the Roman Missal to be abuses. In trying to abolish a custom which is so ancient and general, and which probably originated from praiseworthy motives, you should proceed slowly and prudently. You should first take counsel with your bishop on the matter, and if he recommends the strict adherence to the rubric, you should then explain to the people the good reasons for the change about to be inaugurated.

VI.

How should the Bishop of the Diocese be saluted when he presides at an Office for the Dead?

1. Should a Bishop presiding at an Office for the Dead in his own diocese be saluted with a genuflection by the priests (not canons) who pass before him on their way to read the lessons?

2. In the same circumstances should the Master of Ceremonies in passing before the Bishop salute him with a genuflection?

3. Does it make a difference if the Office is celebrated at an altar where the Blessed Sacrament is kept? T. F.

1. Yes. The Congregation of Rites decided (12th Sept. 1857), that the ordinary choir salutations are not to be omitted at the Office for the Dead, or at the Tenebræ in Holy Week, except on Good Friday, from the time of the adoration of the Cross till the Mass on Holy Saturday. Now, the Caeremoniale Episcoporum (lib. I. c. xviii. n. 3) lays down the general rule on the manner of saluting a bishop when officiating in his own diocese in these words:

Regulariter quoties ipsi canonici transeunt directe ante altare vel ante episcopum, caput et humeros profunde inclinant; beneficiati autem et caeteri de clero genuflectere debent, transeundo, tam ante altare, quam ante episcopum.

Accordingly we find it expressly stated by the rubricists generally, that the chanters and the clergy, except canons, who proceed to read the lessons salute with a genuflection the diocesan bishop when they pass him by on the way to the lectern. It will suffice to refer to one or two modern

[1] *Rubr. Gen. Mis. par.* i., *tit* xvii., n. 2.

authorities. Martinucci, in his chapter on the Office for the Dead (Book v. cap. xxi.), writes :—

"Cantores, quando cantabitur antiphona, procedent ante altare, genuflectent ad Crucem et ad episcopum."

And again at n. 41 :—

"Dum recitabitur *Pater Noster* a caeremonio invitabitur qui cantare primam lectionem debebit; hic autem de stallo suo discedens coibit cum caeremonio et procedet ante altare, conficiens reverentiam si fuerit canonicus, genuflectionem autem, si Beneficiarius, ad Episcopum et ad Altare, vel prius ad Altare postea ad Episcopum, juxta Altaris Situm, et ante legile consistet."

De Herdt[1] lays down the same rule.

2. Yes; unless the master of ceremonies happens to be a canon.

3. The presence on the altar of the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament does not cause a difference in the mode of saluting the bishop.

VII.

The Missa Quotidiana Defunctorum offered for the Living.

Is it at all allowed to say the *Missa quotidiana defunctorum*, when discharging an ordinary intention for the living? F. M.

1. This is not allowable on a double feast or privileged feria on which the Missa Quotidiana Defunctorum is forbidden.

2. It is not allowable, in case of an express understanding on the part of the donor that the Mass was not to be said in black.

3. But if the day allows a Requiem Mass, and if there is no such express understanding, a priest satisfies his obligation to the donor of the honorarium, and is not consequently obliged to make restitution, by offering the Missa Quotidiana for his intention, even though the intention have regard to the living only.[2] Because the efficacy of one Mass is the same as the efficacy of any other Mass, *ratione sacrificii*. Moreover, it is the common teaching of Theologians that the souls in purgatory can and do assist the faithful on earth by their prayers.

Though the priest who acts in this way satisfies the obligation of justice, there is a certain deordination in

[1] *Praxis Pontificalis*, Tom. I. Lib. I. cap. 18, n. 156.
[2] See Cavalieri, Tom. III. x. n. 20.

saying the Missa defunctorum for the living, inasmuch as the Church has drawn up the special prayers of this Mass as suffrages for the dead.

VIII.

The Second Prayer in the Missa Quotidiana.

In saying the Missa Quotidiana Defunctorum for deceased priests, is it competent for me to say, instead of the second of the three ordinary prayers, a prayer for my deceased father?

O'D.

Yes; the second prayer is changeable, and one is not bound to make in this place the commemoration of the person or persons for whom the Mass is offered.

R. Browne.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

Cincinnati, June 5th, 1882.

Sir—Permit me to call attention to an article of mine published in *The Catholic Review* newspaper, a copy of which I send you, in reply to a criticism of Vol. iv. of Alzog's Church History, which appeared in the May number of *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. The article needs no explanation, and I merely bring it under your notice, leaving to you the character of the reparation that should be made,—Respectfully, Thos. S. Byrne.

We have received from the Rev. Thos. S. Byrne, one of the American "translators" of Alzog's Church History, the foregoing letter which we publish with much pleasure. It refers to an observation made by the writer of the notice of that work, which appeared in our May number.

We regret that we cannot comply with Fr. Byrne's request that we should also insert, as a reply to the observation referred to, his letter on the subject to the Editor of our excellent American contemporary, *The Catholic Review*. We must for two reasons decline to do so.

In the first place, that letter is not addressed to the Editor of the Record, nor was it written for insertion in these pages. It was, as we have stated, addressed to the Editor of an American newspaper. That gentleman in the

exercise of his discretion has published it, prefixing to it, with commendable fairness, the notice so bitterly complained of by Fr. Byrne. We fail to see what claim Fr. Byrne has upon us to secure for it further publicity by transferring it to the pages of the RECORD. Letters addressed to the Editor of the RECORD will always command our respectful attention. We can give no such undertaking in reference to letters addressed to the Editors of other periodicals, and already published by them.

But lest Fr. Byrne should infer from these remarks that a similar letter, if addressed to the Editor of the RECORD, would, as a matter of course, be inserted by us, it may be well to state the second ground on which we feel called upon to decline inserting his letter to the Editor of the American *Review.* The writer of the notice thus replied to by Fr. Byrne is a priest. We do not raise the question whether Fr. Byrne before writing his letter had adverted to the possibility of this being the case. We merely state that it is so as a matter of fact. And Fr. Byrne's letter, both in its general tone, and in many of the expressions that it contains, is such as we could not consent to publish in these pages, as written by one priest and referring to another.

If, however, Fr. Byrne wishes to write a suitable "vindication" of the passage to which attention has been called, and if he addresses that vindication to the Editor of the RECORD, we can assure him that the writer of the notice is quite prepared not only to justify the observations already published, but to point out that a very large measure of indulgence has been extended in these pages not only to the fourth, but also to the preceding volumes of the "Translation" of Alzog's Church History.—ED. I. E. R.

II.

MASS IN A PRIVATE HOUSE.

Dublin, June 21st, 1882.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—In the last number of your valuable RECORD, a question, or rather two questions of great practical importance were raised by one of your correspondents.

Under the heading "Mass in a private house," it was asked—

1. Does a person satisfy the obligation of hearing Mass on Sunday by assisting at it in a private house?

2. When a Bishop permits a Priest to say Mass in his own house on a Sunday, or in a private house, ... may he limit the number of persons who satisfy the obligation of hearing

Mass, so as to include only the immediate friends and domestics? An answer in the affirmative was given to the first of these questions, by a very distinguished Irish Bishop, on the grounds that Ireland has for three centuries enjoyed all the privileges of a Missionary Church, and hence the strict theological rules about hearing Mass do not apply to us. His Lordship declined to express an opinion on the second question, but manifested a desire that others should discuss this important point. Whilst thoroughly agreeing with his Lordship as to the conclusion arrived at regarding the first question, and not wishing to consider the reason of this conclusion, I am of opinion that the correctness of this view may be made to rest on a broader and firmer basis, and one that will furnish a clue to the solution of the second question also. I have been led to understand that the Precept of hearing Mass on Sundays, &c., is quite independent of any special place; and that consequently, in accordance at least with the present discipline of the Church, the obligation it imposes can be fulfilled in any place whatsoever, unless indeed the Roman Pontiff should deem it well to except some individual place. In fact, I have understood the Precept as enjoining an obligation to hear Mass, without any restriction or limitation as to the place in which it should be heard. In support of this view, I shall adduce the authority of a few moral theologians of the very first rank.

S. Alphonsus Liguori, Lib. 3. Tract. 3, De 3^io^ Præcep. Dec. num. 318, says—"Praeceptum audiendæ missæ impletur quocunque in loco; sive in parochiali, aut Cathedrali, sive in regularium ecclesia, sive in oratoriis privatis, sive extra ecclesiam audiatur. Ratio est quia ecclesia tantum auditionem missæ praecipit, non autem locum. Ergo quovis loco impletur (Ita Salmant.) cum Lugo. Dic. etc. communiter." And later on he says this doctrine is "satis certa." It is indeed true that in the following number, viz. 319, he adheres to the opinion of those who maintain that persons who are not of the household do not fulfil the Precept by hearing Mass in a private Oratory or Chapel; but at the same time, he takes care to admonish his readers that this is because of the special terms in which such Oratories are granted by the Roman Pontiff.

The Indults granting those privileges are usually couched in some such words as the following:—"Volumus ut qui, non sunt de familia, non censeantur liberi ab obligatione audiendi missam in Ecclesia." S. Alphonsus, after Tamburini and others, interprets the word "volumus" as imposing an obligation "etiam de loco, jubendo ut qui non sunt de familia teneantur audire missam, non jam in parochia, sed in ecclesia publica excluso oratoro privato."

Lacroix, a most respectable authority on all questions touching moral subjects, in his Lib. 3. Part. 1^a^, De 3^io^ Præcept., whilst calling the opinion of those who maintain that persons not belonging to the family, do not fulfil their obligation by hearing Mass in private Oratories, *communior, tutior et probabilior*, in No. 629, says of all other places:

"Probabile est satisfieri præcepto, quocunque alio loco etiam profano audiatur missa, v.g. in castris cum militibus, in littore, quando legitur pro navigantibus, licet quis non sit miles, nec de comitatu navigantium, . . . Ratio est, quia quamvis forte restrictio sit de privatis Oratoriis, tamen nulla est de aliis locis: ergo recte stamus Legi communi præcipienti missam, abstrahendo a loco; gratis autem dicit Pasq. q. 1257. præcipi, ut missa ab omnibus audiatur in Ecclesia vel publico Oratorio ab Ecclesia deputato, non tale præceptum nunc non exstat, sed tantum præceptum missæ, quæ reipsa missa est, quocunque loco fiat." Those words bearing on the point under consideration are too clear to require even a passing comment. More explicit still is the great probabilist Tamburini, whose opinions are often quoted by S. Alphonsus with very great respect. "Inquires primo, he says in his Tract 1^us^ De 1° Ecc. Præcep. Cap. iii. ubinam missæ interesse debeo, ut Ecclesiæ præcepto satisfaciam? R. In quacunque Ecclesia, imo, excepta peculiari quadam prohibitione, in quocunque loco; nam quamvis sacri canones vetent celebrari missam in loco non sacro, posito quod ibi sacrum celebretur: tamen nulla lex requirit, ut in loco sacro audiatur." He afterwards proposes to himself the following difficulty: "Dices, nonne in capitulo, *ut Dominicis* de Parochis, et alibi; iidem sacri Canones obligant fideles ad audiendam missam in propria parochia? Resp. Ita quidem erat olim, sed hodie sive ex universali consuetudine, sive ex declaratione Pontificis, abrogata sunt ejusmodi antiqua jura, ita nunc cuilibet integrum fit. ubicumque prædicto præcepto satisfacere."

Those last words from Tamburini plainly indicate that at one time there was an obligation (which was more or less restricted according to times and circumstances) binding the faithful to hear Mass in their parochial Churches. Of this, Pope Benedict XIV. in his great work De Synodo Dioecesana, Lib. xi. Cap. xiv. nn. 7–8, speaks and plainly demonstrates, that the sanctions and constitutions of former ages were abrogated, partially by a universally received and legitimately prescribed custom, and partially by various privileges from time to time granted to religious orders. I might go on quoting other authorities, both Canonists and Theologians, in support of the views thus far advocated; but from the preceding remarks it would seem sufficiently established that though at one time there was an obligation of hearing Mass on Sundays, &c., in parochial Churches, no such obligation has existed for many ages, and that according to the present discipline of the Church, the Precept may be fulfilled in any place, with the solitary exception of private Oratories, which are generally excepted in the Indults by which they are granted.

What, then, is to be thought on the second point? It would seem a foregone conclusion that a negative answer must be given to it, or that a Bishop who permits a Priest to say Mass in a private house on a Sunday cannot limit the number of those who satisfy the

obligation of hearing Mass. Pope Benedict XIV. Cap. x. loc. cit. after laying down as certain that the Precept can be fulfilled in any Church, as well as in the Church of Regulars, who enjoy special privileges adds:—"Non posse hodie Episcopum præcipere suis subditis, ut se sistant missæ parochiali, quia non potest delere consuetudinem, quæ cum vigeat in toto orbe, jam induit naturam juris communis." True it is that the Canonist speaks of satisfying the obligation in what he calls "qualibet Ecclesia," but his reasoning applies to any place as well as to a Church. S. Alphonsus too, loc. cit. N. 322. Resp. 2. "Episcopus non potest censuris, mulctis, aliisque poenis cogere ad audiendam missam in parochia. . . . Ratio autem est, quia ut ait Navarre, Episcopus non potest tollere nec restringere jus commune vel generalem totius orbis consuetudinem."

From this the case would seem a clear one: here we have the Jus Commune brought about by a custom existing everywhere, and under such circumstances Pope Benedict XIV. and S. Alphonsus tell us, that a Bishop can neither abrogate nor restrict it. The Council of Trent, in its 22nd sess. De sacrificio missæ, advises Bishops to admonish (not compel) the faithful to attend frequently in their parochial Churches, at least on Sundays and other greater festivals of the year.

I shall therefore wind up this letter by saying that it is quite within the range of Episcopal authority to prevent the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice in private houses, but once it is celebrated, whether with or without the consent of the Bishop, the faithful who attend thereat on Sundays and Holidays of obligation, fulfil the requirements of this important Precept. Trusting you will excuse this intrusion on your valuable space,—I am yours,

DUB. SAC.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE—ADDRESS TO CARDINAL M'CABE.

ON Sunday 25th June, the desired opportunity of presenting an Address of Congratulation to the Cardinal was afforded to the Students, Professors, and Superiors of Maynooth College. His Eminence had been staying in the College during the past week in connection with the general annual ordinations. The presentation of the Address took place in the Great Hall of the Senior Division of the College in the presence of the whole Academic body. At one o'clock His Eminence, who was accompanied on the occasion by the Most Rev. Dr. Gillooly, Bishop of Elphin,

the Most Rev. Dr. Warren, Bishop of Ferns, and the Most Rev. Dr. Lynch, Coadjutor Bishop of Kildare, was received at the entrance to the spacious hall by the Very Rev. Dr. Walsh, President; the Very Rev. Thomas J. Carr, Vice-President; the Rev. Deans Hammond, Brown, Owens, and O'Leary, the Rev. Professors Murray, Macauley, Healy, O'Donnell, M'Donald, Gargan, Lennon, Hackett, Scannell, and O'Rourke; the Rev. Thomas Farrelly, ex-Bursar, and the Rev. Andrew Boylan, Minister. After the warm manifestations of welcome with which His Eminence was greeted by the Students on entering the hall had ceased,

The President ascended the elevated platform on which the Cardinal and Bishops stood, and read the following address:—

May it Please Your Eminence,—We, the President, Vice-President, Masters, Professors, and Students of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, with sentiments of profound veneration and respect, most cordially unite in congratulating your Eminence on your elevation to the sacred dignity of Cardinal. To the venerable Pontiff now seated on the throne of Peter we owe a deep debt of gratitude for thus granting to Ireland the honour and privilege of being again represented in the highest councils of the Church. By raising you to this eminent dignity, and thus filling the place but recently vacated by your illustrious predecessor, the Holy Father has given a fresh proof of his special affection for his ever faithful Irish children. The honour conferred on the Church of Ireland in your person is surely nowhere more highly appreciated than in this College, where you were taught to cultivate the gifts and virtues that have rendered you worthy of this exalted rank. Your career in College is still well remembered. Your unaffected piety, your love of study, your exact observance of rule, gave sure promise of those fruitful labours by which your life, as Missionary Priest, Vicar-General, Bishop, and Archbishop, has been so eminently distinguished. The sentiments which it was our happiness to express when you came for the first time to visit us as Archbishop of this diocese we still fondly cherish. The dignity which it has pleased the Holy Father to confer upon you, gives your Eminence new claims to our profound respect and affectionate attachment. We can never be unmindful of the unfailing love for the College and the practical interest in its welfare which you have always manifested. We humbly ask your Eminence to impart to us your benediction, and we fervently pray that the Giver of all good gifts may grant you length of days, and continued strength to labour in the future as you have laboured in the past, with equal zeal and with equal success.

His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop replied as follows :—

"I cannot command words to thank, as I could wish, the President, Vice-President, Masters, Professors, and Students of this great seat of Ecclesiastical learning, for the warm congratulations with which they receive me to-day. In the eloquent address just read by your distinguished President, I can easily recognise the words of the mother who once cared me within these walls, and from whom I have received great and unbroken kindness—kindness bestowed on me not only during the few happy years I passed under her fostering care, but also through the many years I have fought that battle of life for which she left nothing undone to prepare me. Would to God I could add that my life during these years corresponded with her just expectations. However, as we all know, a mother's lips are ever prone to eloquence when there is question of the son over whom she watched with solicitude in his early years. The tenderness of a mother's heart, and the strength of a mother's affection, often warp the rectitude of a mother's judgment, and incline her to see in her child the qualities and virtues she wished for, but which in many cases are merely the creation of her own strong love. I fear that my dear Alma Mater is to-day an exemplification of what I mean. My own conscience tells me in words too true to be gainsaid, that neither here nor in the sacred ministry have I repaid the care that mother bestowed on me, and that the faults I have not committed, and the position I have been called to, must be accounted for, not by any merits of mine, but by the accidental circumstances in which I found myself—circumstances I had no part in creating. But, whilst truth compels me to make this confession, it does not forbid me to join most cordially in your expressions of gratitude to the Holy Father who has deigned to give to our loved country a voice in his most sacred councils. Indeed, I can appreciate more fully than others, the extent of that favour, when I remember that he was not deterred from conferring it by the absolute unworthiness of its immediate recipient. The love of the Holy Father for Ireland overshadowed the shortcomings of that individual, who, in other circumstances, could never have arrested the attention of one, so holy, so learned, and so wise as the present illustrious Pontiff. In conclusion, permit me to say, that whilst I was wholly unprepared to hear that a single trace of my course through this great College survived the passage of so many years, the remembrance of kindness received within these walls, in happier years, will ever keep the name of Maynooth fresh and sacred in my mind. Its honour shall be always dear to me. Its interests must ever command the service of all my powers, and if through God's mercy I succeed in saving my immortal soul, I must remember throughout eternity that to the teaching of my Alma Mater, and to the bright example of the President, Vice-President, Masters, Professors, and Students of my day, I am indebted, under God, for the possession of heaven's bliss."

The Cardinal's reply was greeted with renewed demonstrations of applause, which ceased only when His Eminence signified his wish to say a few informal words to express his special thanks to the students for the warmth of the reception they had given him. The remarks which followed were full of admiration for the former students, professors, and superiors of Maynooth, and full of affection for the present representatives of the generation amongst whom the Cardinal had lived, when passing as a student through the College. His Eminence spoke with deep feeling of the Holy Father's love for Ireland, to which he had sent through the Cardinal, his paternal blessing. The scene was deeply impressive when at length students, professors, and superiors knelt to receive His Eminence's benediction, which was imparted to all, not without manifest emotion. His Eminence then, accompanied by the bishops, superiors, and professors of the College, retired from the hall amidst the renewed acclamations of the students.

DOCUMENT.

Important Declaration of the Catholic Hierarchy.

WE desire to preserve a permanent record of the following important Address to the people of Ireland, recently issued by the Bishops assembled in Dublin:—

"In the social crisis through which Ireland is now passing, and which must long and deeply affect moral as well as material interests, you have a right to expect that your Bishops would give you advice and direction, and help to remove those perplexities with which the most enlightened as well as the best disposed are now beset. Pressed by the duty we owe you in this conjuncture, and anxious beyond expression for your temporal as well as for your spiritual welfare, we have considered at our meeting, amongst other subjects, the present condition of our beloved country, and now hasten to communicate to you the result of those deliberations.

"Let us premise that in forming our judgments we have been influenced chiefly by the consideration of your spiritual interests, and have been solely guided by the dictates of conscience and by the ever-just and beneficent law of God. To you, the devoted children of the Catholic Church, enlightened by faith, and obedient to the Divine Precept of seeking first the Kingdom of God and His justice, to you, as to ourselves, it is and must be an undoubted truth that, in all questions, social and political, as well as religious,

the law of God is our supreme and infallible rule; that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right; and that an act which God forbids us to do cannot possibly benefit either ourselves or our country.

"Applying those principles to events every day occurring around us, and to the important questions which now absorb the attention of our people, we see dangers against which we must raise our warning voice, and not a few excesses, which we must deeply lament, and unequivocally condemn.

"It is true that on religious, as well as political grounds, it is the indisputable right of Irishmen to live on their own fertile soil, and be free to employ the resources of their country for their own profit. It is, moreover, the admitted right, and often the duty, of those who suffer oppression, either from individuals or from the State, to seek redress by every lawful means; and to help in obtaining such redress is a noble work of justice and charity. On those grounds it is, that the object of our national movement has had the approval and blessing, not only of your priests and bishops, but of the Sovereign Pontiff himself; and has been applauded in our own and in foreign countries by all men of just and generous minds without distinction of race or creed. It must, however, be well known to you, as indeed it is to the world at large, that in the pursuit of your legitimate aims means have been from time to time employed which are utterly subversive of social order, and opposed to the dictates of justice and charity. It is to those unlawful means we desire to direct your attention, and especially to the following:—

"1st. Refusing to pay just debts when able to pay them.

"2nd. Preventing others from paying their just debts.

"3rd. Injuring the neighbour in his person, his rights, or property.

"4th. Forcibly resisting the law and those charged with its administration, or inciting others to do so.

"5th. Forming secret associations for the promotion of the above or other like objects, or obeying the orders of such condemned associations.

"Under each of these heads numerous offences, all more or less criminal, have been committed, fearfully prominent amongst them being the hideous crime of murder, which even at the moment we address you horrifies the public conscience, disgraces our country, and provokes the anger of the Almighty.

"Against all and each of these offences we solemnly protest in the name of God and of His Church; and we declare it to be your duty to regard as the worst enemy of our creed and country the man who would recommend or justify the commission of any one of them. We solemnly appeal to all our flocks, especially to the youth of both sexes, not only to have no connection with Secret Societies, but to condemn and oppose them as being hostile alike to religion and to social freedom and progress.

"Let us now assure you that the National movement, purged from what is criminal and guarded against what leads to crime, shall have our earnest support and that of our clergy.

"A considerable instalment of justice has within the last few years been given to the tenant farmers of Ireland. To them and to other classes of our countrymen, especially to the labouring class, much more is due; and it is your duty and ours to press our claims until they are conceded.

"In every peaceful and just movement of yours the clergy shall be with you, to guide, and if necessary to restrain you; but you must not expect them to do what in conscience they condemn. They cannot be the sowers of hatred and dissension among their flocks—they cannot under any pretext tolerate, much less countenance, lawlessness and disorder. They will work manfully with and for you, but in the light of day, with lawful arms, and for just and laudable objects; and we feel assured that your filial obedience to their instructions and to the admonitions given in this brief address will bring down the Divine blessing on our country, save it from the evils with which it is threatened, and lead it speedily to prosperity and peace.

"Before concluding, we feel it our duty to declare, without in any sense meaning to excuse the crimes and offences we have condemned, that, in our belief, they would never have occurred had not the people been driven to despair by evictions, and the prospect of evictions, for the non-payment of exorbitant rents; and, furthermore, that the continuance of such evictions, justly designated by the Prime Minister of England as sentences of death, must be a fatal permanent provocative to crime, and that it is the duty of all friends of social order, and especially of the Government, to put an end to them as speedily as possible, and at any cost.

"Earnestly beseeching our loving Lord to bestow on you and on your afflicted country the wisdom, piety, and fortitude of His Divine Spirit, and to teach you to prefer the treasures of His grace to all the goods of this earth, we heartily impart to you our pastoral blessing."

✠ Edward Cardinal M'Cabe
✠ Daniel M'Gettigan
✠ Thomas W. Croke
✠ John MacEvilly
✠ William Delaney
✠ Francis Kelly
✠ J. P. Leahy
✠ James Walshe
✠ Laurence Gillooly
✠ Michael Flannery
✠ Patrick Dorrian
✠ George Butler
✠ Nicholas Conaty
✠ Thomas Nulty
✠ James Donnelly
✠ James Lynch
✠ Patrick Duggan
✠ Hugh Conway
✠ F. J. M'Cormack
✠ James Ryan
✠ Patrick F. Moran
✠ John Power
✠ John M'Carthy
✠ Michael Warren
✠ William Fitzgerald
✠ Bartholomew Woodlock
✠ Michael Logue
✠ Andrew Higgins

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Irish Faith in America. Recollections of a Missionary. Translated from the French by Miss Ella McMahon.

Together with devotional volumes, to be noticed presently, we have received from the same publishers two books of a semi-religious character. One is a Christian story, translated from the French by Anna T. Sadlier; the other "Irish Faith in America," also from a French original. Reserving the former for review on a future occasion, we hasten to notice the latter, and to thank the gifted translator for the service she has rendered the Irish race in placing before the English-speaking public this testimony of an impartial observer, given at a time when the hereditary foes of the Irish name were using every endeavour to blacken, and if possible extinguish it for ever.

Neither Montalambert, nor Lacordaire, nor Dupanloup, nor Mermillod has said kindlier things of Ireland and Ireland's faith at home and abroad than has this good-hearted Frenchman in the pages before us. We know him not, except by his initials "H. L." but if we knew him, and knowing met him, we should eagerly clasp his hand in friendship's warmest bond, perhaps to the extent of making him painfully conscious he has feeling in his hand as well as in his heart. He extols the Irish faith and virtue, sympathises in the sufferings Irishmen have been compelled to endure, roundly denounces the cruel laws which have made it impossible for the tiller of the soil to live in a land, more highly favoured by the Creator, everything considered, than perhaps any other under the sun, and finally touches the shortcomings of the Irish after such a charitable fashion, that verily, like O'Connell's client, we never before could have dreamt we were so innocent.

With him Ireland wears a triple crown: she is an apostolic, a virgin, and a martyr nation. In the school of adversity, at great sacrifices in the temporal order, she has won for herself glorious spiritual distinction. And this is not all. H. L. maintains it was her persecution at home that sent her abroad with the mission of an Evangelist. She was and is an apostolic because a martyr nation. Quoting O'Connell and Bishop Byrne of Little Rock, he holds with the latter that "Providence keeps Ireland in affliction that the inhabitants may leave the country, and by their dispersion sow the seed of Christianity among distant nations." Then follows a beautiful passage, showing how the English policy of suppressing the Irish Language and banishing the Irish race has been used in the designs of God to effectuate exactly the opposite result to what had been intended. "Then let her go her way, this proud Britannia parading her flag and her ships on all seas: let her carry in her vessels to the four quarters of the globe, to her distant colonies, to the extremity of the two Americas, her opium which brutalizes, her

alcohol which burns the body, her mutilated Bible which kills the soul, her minister of the Holy Gospel, with his wife and children, who establishes trading posts under the protection of a powerful consul, who indulges in commerce and sows heresy: she knows not that she bears with her in the Irish the most powerful antidote to all this! And Ireland is the *missionary people;* her vocation is to propagate the *Catholic Faith.*"

Now, this idea of Ireland's apostleship through martyrdom is a very beautiful, and to some extent, a very true theory. But it would be going too far to say that, humanly speaking, Ireland's evangelical office might not have been as efficiently or even more efficiently discharged, had it been her good fortune to remain a free and prosperous country. Then, as now, her surplus population should have gone abroad to America, Australia, &c., and with much better hopes of succeeding as pioneers of the Gospel. Instead of leaving in a state of ignorance, or with a moiety of instruction in matters sacred and profane, enough indeed to enable them to die the death of saints in holy Ireland, but totally insufficient to sustain them amidst the corruption of crowded cities, they would have left armed with a sword and buckler in the shape of religious and secular knowledge which might constitute a powerful defence against every assailant. As a result, there would be at the present day in America fewer bearing Irish names bitterly hostile to the faith with which the name of Ireland is for ever associated. Neither would so many strong men have died of famine at home, or of fever on board the plague-stricken vessel; nor would our exiles have been from poverty compelled to cluster round the coal mines, or in the large cities, leaving the plains of the fertile West to be occupied by the representatives of other nationalities.

But whatever about the past, certain it is that in future for the Celtic race abroad, and for all countries to which Irishmen make their way, it is highly desirable that the Irish at home should be numerous, happy, and educated. A sound heart in a sound body, is what we want to send the streams of life-blood coursing freely in the veins of every member of the Celtic system.

The generosity of Irish faith, the noble faith of Irish servant girls, and the attachment of the Irish to their priests, are favourite themes with the author of this book. Where he speaks of their zeal in defending their faith, and quotes the ever-memorable words of Archbishop Hughes on the occasion of the great anti-Catholic commotion in New York,—"I cannot give you a sword, but I give you a buckler, . . . but if others attack you, fight, suffer, and at need, die, for your faith"—we are forcibly reminded of a similar expression in one of Erckmann-Chatrian's works: "The resigned spirit of honest men is a great misfortune; it inspires scoundrels with courage and does no good whatever."

So far we have been dealing with a pleasant narrative, and, indeed, the author makes no change to the end, except where he

lightly touches on the "national weakness." Even here he is all charity, and we candidly confess we consider him over-indulgent. The Irish people cannot claim exemption from other failings besides the national one, but H. L. rightly thinks that the enemies of Ireland won't fail to keep that side of the picture sufficiently before the public.

We are now at the end of this charming book, and we conclude with the author, that Ireland is, after all, fortunate in not being a wealth-worshipping nation and that she understands progress right—the kingdom of God first, and everything else afterwards.

May she ever remember that the true measure of her success and progress is the number of souls she sends to heaven.

P. O'D.

The Daily Prayer Book; compiled from various sources. Burns & Oates: London, 1882.

Before noticing the volumes which we have received, during the past month, from the Messrs. Benziger Brothers, our attention is arrested by two books—one of Saxon, the other of Irish origin. We desire to say a few words of each, lest we should seem to have overlooked what is worthy of notice nearer home, in our admiration of what is attractive beyond the seas. The *Daily Prayer Book*, published by Messrs. Burns & Oates, and sanctioned by the Archbishop of Westminster, contains many short and useful forms of prayer, and practices of devotion. Amongst the forms given, we are very glad to find the form of *Lay Baptism*. Simple as it is, very many, we fear, are unacquainted with its proper administration, and in time of need are unable to supply what is so essential. No Catholic child should be allowed to grow up without being taught how to administer Lay Baptism in a case of necessity. We know that at least one of our Irish Bishops adopts a very practical means of testing the knowledge of boys and girls on this all-important matter, by getting each child presented for Confirmation actually to go through the ceremony of conferring Lay Baptism. By this means the attention of the children is directed from an early age to the necessity of the Sacrament of Baptism, and a useful stimulus is given for learning accurately how to apply the matter and form of the Sacrament validly. Amongst the prayers we notice, with pleasure, the *Itinerarium*, translated from the Roman Breviary.

Preces Ante et Post Missam. Browne & Nolan.

We are glad that the Very Rev. Translator of the "Ceremonies of Low Mass" has given in a separate form the prayers to be said before and after Mass. The prayers are taken from the Roman Missal, and as such have the highest recommendation. They are neatly printed and in the form of a little book for the convenience of priests

who have to make their preparation or thanksgiving in places where no chart is at hand

It would be as inappropriate as it is unnecessary to say a word in this place of the necessity and importance of suitable preparation for and thanksgiving after Mass.

These important duties can now be discharged by means of this handy little book, not only in chapels where there is no chart, but even in going to, or returning from, the church where Mass is celebrated, if time or opportunity prevent a formal preparation, or thanksgiving, in the place in which the Holy Sàcrifice is usually offered.

Works of Catholic Piety. Published by BENZIGER BROTHERS.

We have received from Benziger Brothers, New York, a welcome packet. It contains five beautiful little books of a purely religious character, possessing the qualities most desirable in manuals of devotion. The matter is useful and well-selected, the manner of putting it neat, almost elegant, while the printing fully sustains the good name of this eminent firm of publishers. The value of the volumes is not diminished by the fact of their being translations from French, German, and Italian originals. When the work of translation is well done, such books suffer little in passing from one language into another.

The largest of them is called "Truths of Salvation, by Rev. J. Pergmayer," translated from the German by a Father of the same society.

The "Truths" are intended to supply the matter of meditation for a retreat, and retreatants have reason to be grateful to the author, and his translator. It may be asked can anything be added to the Spiritual Exercises of S. Ignatius, and it is answered, that the good effects derived from meditating on the Great Truths must largely depend on the method of proposing them being suited to the person who is performing the Exercises. Few find time for the full retreat of four weeks, and for the many who do not, it is a great advantage to have the substance, and indeed the whole matter of the Exercises, arranged, as Father Pergmayer arranges it, under meditations for an abridged retreat of eight days. It were useless to go more into detail. Such a book can be appreciated only by performing the Exercises out of it. We may however add, that a priest could have no more serviceable volume to draw on for his morning meditation.

"*My First Communion: The Happiest Day of my Life.*" Translated from the German of J. N. BUCHMANN, O.S.B. By Rev. RICHARD BRENNAN, LL.D. Second Edition.

Is a spiritual gem of great value. Everything that one might expect to find under the above title is clearly explained in thirty-three beautiful letters, full of illustrations, well conceived and well

executed. Of the child who carefully reads this little volume may be said with a good deal of certainty, what our Lord said of the worthy partakers of his most Sacred Flesh, "non morietur in æternum."

"*Pearls from the Casket of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.*" A Collection of Letters, Maxims, and Practices of the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, Religious of the Order of the Visitation. Edited by ELEANOR C. DONNELLY.

What devotion has contributed more to soften the hearts of sinners, and enkindle the flames of Divine love, than devotion to the most Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, ever burning with love for the weary and heavily-burthened? This devotion to the living Heart of Jesus, burning with love, is as old as the Church, but under God its present hold upon the faithful is due to Blessed Margaret Mary, more than to any other. Let those who wish to be consumed with the holy fire, and long to see it kindled in the hearts of others, read.

"*The Souvenir of the Novitiate.*" Translated from the French by Rev. J. TAYLOR.

Though small in appearance contains well nigh three hundred pages, and is replete with information suited to young religious. Indeed its maxims are a life-guide for all who have left the world and devoted themselves to God; and for young people meditating the generous sacrifice of self, a more useful little treatise can scarce be found. Can non-Catholics believe that religious aspire to such high perfection and continue to give ear to the gross calumnies so industriously circulated?

"*Paradise on Earth opened to All; or, A Religious Vocation the Surest Way in Life.*" Translated from the Italian of Rev. ANTONIO NATALE, S.J.

Is a faithful account of the origin, growth, nature and blessings of the religious life, of the practical rules to be followed in settling the question of a divine call, and the means to persevere in one's vocation. Objections to the maxims laid down are fully discussed and neatly answered. The book contains many useful hints for children, for parents, and even for directors.

The merit of those who are instrumental in the publication of such volumes as those we have noticed can scarcely be over-stated. In an age like ours, when all the persuasiveness of brilliant fancy and graceful diction are almost everywhere employed by an infidel press and a spurious philosophy to sap the foundations of Catholic practice, it is refreshing and encouraging in a high degree to find able devoted men use almost the same weapons to frustrate these insensate efforts. A plain exposition of Catholic teaching on matters of faith is in its way a useful thing to put before the faithful in

clear simple language, but of itself it will not suffice to make their devotion lively or their faith practical. What they most require is attractive reading for their devotional and leisure hours, which will bring conviction that the "yoke is sweet and the burthen light." Now the volumes before us are well suited for this purpose, and, as in America the need of souls for such aid must be great beyond what any one who has never been out of Ireland can easily realise, we hail with particular pleasure their publication in the greatest city of the Western Republic.

In our own country for its opportunities, in England, and particularly in France, noble efforts have been made and are still being made to provide the people at the least expense with good manuals of devotion, as well as with pleasant reading of a Christian character for their holidays and vacant hours; but in this as in every other department, America, we believe, will "lick Europe." Of this Ireland at least cannot feel jealous. The Americans are our kith and our kin, our brothers in the faith, and though far off, one week suffices to bring their choicest products to our shore. Prospere procede alma respublica!—P. O'D.

Stephanie. By Louis Veuillot. Translated from the French by Mrs. Josephine Black. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

Mrs. Black deserves the thanks of the Catholic community for the important service she has rendered to our light literature. We have often to regret that there is nothing wanted so badly as good, readable books; not silly tales, but natural, and withal, Catholic stories. Surely no one will say we require an impossibility; for, have we not already excellent models in *Fabiola*, *Callista*, and many others? To the goodly list we can now add *Stephanie*.

Louis Veuillot does not need any praise of ours. A long life of fearless Catholic journalism has endeared his name to all devout children of the Church. The Editor of the *Univers* has a special claim on Ireland; for it is not long since his paper contained a series of beautiful articles, denouncing her wrongs and advocating their redress. His literary fame is sufficient guarantee that this little story is worth reading. If anything more were required, it is supplied in the Preface by M. R., initials which Irish Catholics have long since learned to reverence and love. The work of translation is excellently done.

We have received for Review the following Books:—

From Messrs. Gill & Son—

Essays on various Subjects, chiefly Roman. By Monsignor Soton, d.d. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co., 1882.

Lectures and Discourses. By the Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, d.d., Bishop of Peoria. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co., 1882.

"*Sister*" *England and the Irish Cinderella.* By J. B. Killen.

From Benziger Brothers—

Irish Faith in America: Recollections of a Missionary. Translated from the French. By Miss Ella McMahon.

Idols; or the Secret of the Rue Chaussée D'Antin. Translated from the French of Raoul De Navery. By Anna T. Sadlier.

Elements of Ecclesiastical Law. By Rev. S. B. Smith, d.d. Fourth Edition. New York: 1881.

The Truths of Salvation.. By Rev. J. Pergmayer, s.j. Translated from the German, by a Father of the same Society New York: 1882.

My First Communion: the happiest day of my life. Translated from the German of Rev. J. N. Buchmann, o.s.b, by Rev. Richard Brennan, ll.d. Second Edition: New York.

Pearls from the Casket of the Sacred Heart of Jesus: A collection of Letters, Maxims, and Practices of the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque. Edited by Eleanor C. Donnelly.

Paradise on Earth opened to All; or a Religious Vocation the Surest Way in Life. Translated from the Italian of Rev. Antonio Natale, s.j.

Souvenir of the Noviciate. Translated from the French. By Rev. Edward J. Taylor.

From Messrs. Burns & Oates—

Half-hours with the Saints and Servants of God. By Charles Kenny. London: 1882.

The Granville History Readers. No. III. History of England from the Wars of the Roses to the present time. Edited by Thomas J. Levesey. London: 1882.

The Catholic Literary Circular: A Monthly Guide for Catholic Readers. May and June, 1882.

Mercy's Conquest: A play in one Act. By Annie Allen. London: 1882.

The Daily Prayer Book. Compiled from various sources.

Life of St. Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome. By Alphonso Capecelatro. Translated by Thomas Alder Pope, M.A., of the Oratory. 2 vols.

Life of St. Lewis Bertrand. By Father Bertrand Wilberforce, Illustrated by Cyril James Davenport.

From the Ave Maria Press, Indiana—

An Essay on Masses for the Dead, and the motives for having them celebrated. By Rev. A. A. Lambing. Notre Dame, Indiana. 1881.

Hibernia: A Monthly Popular Review. June, 1882.

The Catholic Chronicle. Bay City, Michigan.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1882.

LEAVES FROM THE NOTE BOOKS OF AN OLD THEOLOGIAN.—No. II.[1]

Purgatory.

THE following paper is in no way controversial. Putting aside therefore the question at issue between Protestants and Catholics as to the existence of a purgatory, I purpose to touch only those points, the consideration of which should fix the attention of all of us more vividly on our own future, and quicken our charitable sympathies for our departed brethren.

2. Every sin committed by us leaves after it in the soul two evil effects—the guilt or stain of sin ("reatus culpae," "macula peccati,") as an offence against God, the debt of punishment ("reatus poenae") due to the divine justice for that guilt. The punishment due to venial sin is temporary, lasting but for a time: the punishment due to mortal sin is eternal, the everlasting torments of hell. When mortal sin is forgiven, the eternal punishment is also forgiven. But it is an article of Catholic faith that, after the remission of the guilt of sin and of this eternal punishment, there may remain a temporary punishment to be suffered, or, in the words of the Council of Trent (sess. 6, ch. 14; sess. 14, ch. 8, can. 12), that God does not "always remit the whole punishment together with the guilt." That this temporary punishment, especially if due for mortal sin, generally remains, greater or less, is commonly asserted by theologians; and indeed follows very clearly from other points of Catholic doctrine.

[1] See Vol. I., p. 414. (Third Series).

3. This temporary punishment may be wholly, or in part, redeemed and cancelled in this life by pious works, prayer, works of mortification, &c. Until it shall have been entirely cancelled, the soul cannot enter heaven. So, if not cancelled in this life, it must be suffered in the next. And this is purgatory.

4. Purgatory, then, is a place of suffering, in which souls departing in grace pay, before entering heaven, the debt of punishment due for past sins.

5. On the subject of purgatory only two doctrines are solemnly defined as of faith. First, that there is a purgatory in which the debt of temporal punishment due to sin is discharged. Secondly, that the souls detained there are relieved by the suffrages of the faithful, but especially by the holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Besides these two points there are several others of deep interest, on some of which we have absolute certainty, moral certainty, though not the certainty of faith. On others we have a strong probability, on others a simple probability; on others we are left completely in the dark, and cannot form any opinion.

§ 1. *The Position of Purgatory.*

6. According to the common doctrine of theologians, the prison of purgatory is subterraneous, situate somewhere in the bowels of the earth; but in what definite place, whether close to hell, as some theologians hold, or remote from it, is absolutely uncertain. In the ordinary providence of God ("secundum legem communem," St. Thomas), the souls, in going through their term of expiation, are confined to this prison. It is not, however, very improbable, at least it is a perfectly free opinion, that by a special ordinance of God, for special reasons known to Him, some souls undergo their purgatory in certain places on the earth.

§ 2. *The Pains of Purgatory.*

7. These pains, like the pains of hell, are two-fold—the pain of sense ("poena sensus") and the pain of loss ("poena damni"). That the souls in purgatory, as in hell, suffer the torture of real and material fire, though controverted by the Greeks in the Council of Florence, has been always the firm and unanimous doctrine of our theologians. This doctrine, though not defined as of faith, is nevertheless absolutely certain. The denial of it, I have no doubt, would merit at least the theological censure of "temerity."

8. The pain of loss arises from two sources, two priva-

tions of supreme felicity. The first privation is that of the joys of heaven, especially of the beatific vision, which constitutes the essential happiness, *the* happiness, of that realm of bliss. All theologians hold that in the damned this pain of loss is greater than the pain of sense ("praecipua miseria damnatorum," St. Thomas). Though this, as regards the souls in purgatory, is by no means certain, yet their pain of loss is unspeakably excruciating. It is immensely more so than any such pain that can be felt in this life, felt even by souls most holy and most ardently united to God and most longing "to be dissolved and to be with Christ." This in the present life, caged as we are in our prison-house of clay, we cannot comprehend, we cannot realise to ourselves. The soul sees now only through sense, "in a dark manner;" disembodied, it sees things of the spiritual order as they are.

9. The second pain of loss arises from a consideration of wasted time, of merits irrecoverably lost; from a consideration of the innumerable and daily occasions, on which, without trouble and almost without effort, works of merit might have been performed—works, that is, producing in the soul a constant increase of sanctifying grace and a constant right to an ever-growing additional glory and beatitude in heaven, lasting for all eternity—a short prayer, a silent aspiration, a little alms, a slight mortification (see below, n. 29, 30.) But the times without number, in which these easy things might have been done, were thoughtlessly and carelessly allowed to pass away, and the golden fruits that might have been garnered from them lost for ever more. Suarez, with great probability, holds that this pain of loss is the more galling of the two. The former loss will soon be repaired, and the reparation will last eternal, ever fresh and new; but this loss is irreparable, will never be repaired.

10. Lessius ("most learned," as S. Alphonsus justly calls him) holds as very probable that not all the souls, who after death are for a time detained from the beatific vision, suffer also the punishment of fire. This may be well supposed of saints afterwards canonised by the Church, and of others who, after leading very holy lives, have no fully deliberate venial sins to atone for, but only a few of those venial imperfections, from which, according to defined doctrine, even the holiest are not altogether exempt. Private revelations to this effect are quoted by theologians. A very remarkable one is recorded in the beautiful life of

St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzis (F. Faber's Oratorian Lives), page 119.

11. There is a moot question, which I leave untouched, as to the comparative severity of certain purgatorial pains and the pains of this life. But all theologians are agreed that the smallest pains in purgatory of both sense and loss combined are severer than the severest pain we are capable of suffering in the flesh.

12. It is the common opinion of theologians, after St. Thomas, and a most consoling opinion it is, that the souls in purgatory are not, like those in hell, tortured by devils; that the spirits of evil are not permitted to enter that abode, which, though an abode of exquisite suffering, is also the dwelling-place only of those who are perfectly pure and sinless, who love God with an intense and enduring love, and will so love him for all eternity.

§ 3. *Duration of the Pains of Purgatory.*

13. The following propositions are certain. 1° After the last judgment purgatory shall cease to exist. 2° No soul is ever released from purgatory until it shall have paid "the last farthing;" until it shall have fully satisfied the requirement of divine justice, either by its own suffering or through the intercession and suffrages of others (as below, § 5). 3° Every soul, on the instant in which this debt is thus fully paid, passes at once into the enjoyment of heaven. 4° The period of suffering is not the same for all: for some it is longer, for others shorter. 5° Many souls have, before the day of general judgment, fully paid their debt, and are transferred to heaven.

14. Beyond these points nothing is certain. Some souls *may* suffer there for years, some for generations, some for centuries. What may be conjectured, what may be considered as more or less probable in this or that particular case, for example, in the case of one who has led a very holy and mortified life, and died a very holy death, it were idle to speculate. Only on the saints formally canonized by the Church, or worshipped by the Church, have we an infallible certainty that they are in heaven.

§ 4. *The Spiritual State of the Souls in Purgatory.*

15. The following propositions are certain. 1° The souls in purgatory are so perfectly confirmed in grace that they are incapable of sinning. They cannot commit even the least venial sin. 2° On the other hand, as the time for

meriting terminates with this life, they can no longer merit. 3° They have an absolute and unclouded certainty of their own salvation. 4° They exercise acts of Christian virtue, especially of charity. 5° Their wills are always perfectly conformed to the will of God.

16. In reference to this last proposition, it is true that these souls ardently long for the day of their deliverance. But it is an ardent longing, accompanied with an ardent love and entire resignation. Even in this life a man may most earnestly desire a deliverance from some painful illness or some heavy calamity, and even pray fervently for such deliverance, and yet be quite resigned to God's will, and bear his sufferings not only with Christian patience but even, as the martyrs did, with joy.

17. Owing perhaps to some expressions, not however so decided, of St. Thomas, several theologians held that the souls in purgatory do not pray for us, and that consequently we should not pray to them. Other theologians, however, have adopted the opposite view. Suarez affirms that practically he has no doubt of the propriety and utility of praying to them. Of the modern theologians who have touched on this question, and whom I had the means of consulting, all are unanimous in favour of this opinion. The theological argument for it is strong.

18. But, whatever may be said on this matter, one thing I hold is absolutely certain. The souls after entering heaven will pray specially and with special fervour for those who by pious suffrages had relieved them in the day of their suffering. And this brings me to the last and perhaps most interesting consideration connected with the subject of the present paper.

§ 5. *Suffrages for the Souls in Purgatory.*

19. The suffrages or aids from which these souls obtain relief are of four kinds: 1° the Sacrifice of the Mass; 2° prayer; 3° all other works of satisfaction; 4° Indulgences. Of these, the first is the most powerful and efficacious.

20. For some it may be useful to remark here that all works performed by us in a state of grace, proceeding from grace, and being in the nature of prayers of petition, have a threefold effect. Take, for example, the Lord's Prayer. Offering up this prayer I, first of all, receive actual grace, that is, divine aid, enabling me to perform either good works in general or particular good works for the performance of which I specially pray, *e.g.*, for making an act of

contrition, for overcoming a present or future temptation. Such grace I obtain by the prayer (as *impetratory*), as a prayer, as a petition, according to the promise ("ask and you shall receive") repeated in the Scripture so often and in so many forms. Secondly, I receive an increase of *merit*, that is, as stated above, an additional sanctifying grace here, and, if I die in grace, an additional glory in heaven. Thirdly, the prayer is a work of *satisfaction*, that is, I obtain a diminution of the temporal punishment due, in this life or in purgatory, for my past forgiven sins.

21. Now, these three effects are distinct each from the others, and quite independent of each other. Thus the prayer is meritorious all the same, and just as much as if it had no effect of impetration or satisfaction. But this is so only in the just. A person in a state of sin cannot perform a work either of merit or satisfaction; by fervent prayer, however, he can obtain, and obtain infallibly, the grace of repentance. His prayer, therefore, has, so far, the first effect, but not the second or third. The prayer of the just man has all three, and always has them.

22. Having premised thus much, I proceed to state what I consider to be useful for the simple faithful to know—passing over certain scholastic points more suited to the attention of the theological student, for whom I am not writing.

23. 1st. Not only works in themselves, and in their own nature painful, such as fasting, but all works performed in a state of grace, and from grace, are works of satisfaction. That is, every work of this kind done by me, diminishes the amount of temporal punishment due by me. Some or many of these works may be in themselves agreeable and pleasing: for example, psalmody; but as supernatural works —as works done, not as an agreeable exercise, not to gratify one's self or others, but as devotional acts, as a duty—there is pulling against them the heavy drag of fallen nature, which only grace can overcome. There is a similar distinction between acts of purely natural order. A work which, performed of our own choice, is highly agreeable and even delightful, done under command becomes a burden.

24. 2nd. All such works, as expiatory, as works of satisfaction, may be applied with effect, not only to the souls in purgatory, but also to the living. I can offer up such works for the diminution of the temporal punishment due for the pardoned sins of any one. Examples of such vicarious atonement are found in the lives of the saints.

25. But 3rd, in doing so, I deprive myself of all the expiatory fruit thus transferred. 4th. I retain, however, the full merit of the same work. This, indeed, I cannot transfer to another; the increase of habitual grace and of future glory, due to a meritorious work, is given all and exclusively to him who does the work. Nay, the meritorious fruit of the work, whose expiatory fruit has been thus transferred, is thereby augmented; such transfer being a work of exalted charity. So that he who thus applies his work of satisfaction, though not gaining an abridgment of his own purgatorial suffering, yet wins for himself a higher place in heaven. That is, for a temporary suffering, he gains a reward to be enjoyed for eternity.

26. 5th. Prayer has been mentioned as a distinct suffrage; because, while, like other good works done in grace, it has its expiatory effect, it has also its effect as prayer, its impetratory effect. Thus, when we pray for the dead, offering for them all the fruits of our prayers, we gain for them a twofold relief; one by our prayer as prayer; the other by our prayer as expiatory.

27. 6th. It seems to be the unanimous and quite certain doctrine of theologians, that suffrages offered for us while living, especially for ourselves by ourselves, are of far greater benefit to us in the way of satisfaction than the same offered for us after our death. Some grave authorities speak of the different effects of these two suffrages as immense, indeed quite startling.

28. Other interesting questions on this subject are discussed by our theologians. I shall, however, close here with one practical remark.

29. Every work, even the smallest, done with the conditions required for merit, has its reward. What act of ours can, as an act of charity, appear smaller than giving a cup of water? Yet "whosoever shall give you a drink, a cup of water in my name, because you belong to Christ: Amen, I say to you, he shall not lose his reward." (*Mark* ix. 40.) All such works are, as has been said, expiatory as well as meritorious. Now, all the indulgences contained in that wonderful treasure, the Raccolta, are applicable to the souls in purgatory. Several, very many indeed, of these indulgences are attached to short prayers, some of which may be recited in a minute; some in a few seconds. I will give a few examples, as they lie in the American translation, published by the Jesuit College of Woodstock in 1880; this translation having been expressly "authorised

and approved by the Sacred Congregation of Holy Indulgences."

30. Every time the sign of the cross is made with the invocation, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," an indulgence of 50 days. Every time the same sign is made with holy water and the same invocation, 100 days (n. 5). Every time the ejaculation, "My Jesus, mercy," is said, 100 days (n. 29). Every time we say the ejaculation, "Jesus, my God, I love Thee above all things," 50 days (n. 31). For saying the ejaculation, "Jesus, meek and humble of heart, make my heart like unto Thine," 300 days, once a day (n. 85). For every time we say the prayer of St. Bernard, "Memorare," &c., 300 days (n. 98). The same for every time we say the ejaculation, "Sweet heart of Mary, be my salvation." (n. 112.) Let these examples suffice.

P. Murray.

STUDIES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Elizabethan Period.—V.

Miracle Plays.

IN the literature of every nation, as well in ancient as in modern times, the Drama has exercised an influence which can scarcely be over estimated. It is at once a witness to the intellectual position of its writers, and as an outcome, to the education of its people; on the one hand showing what it can do, and on the other how it does it. It enables us alike to gauge the condition of both classes, the teachers and taught, and so to judge aright the mental development of the nation itself. It is for this reason that we have dwelt at such length on dramatic literature in our previous papers, and have selected Shakespeare and Ben Jonson as our studies, that in them, and in their writings, we may see the high standard to which literature attained in the Elizabethan period. We must not, however, forget that they and those authors who take place if not beside, yet still not far below them, do not represent every phase in dramatic literature, and were not in their day any more than such are in ours, the sole instructors of

the people by means of theatrical representations. There will always be a popular literature in every department, far below the highest, which owes indeed much of its success to that very inferiority; being more readily within the grasp of uneducated minds, and finding recognition in less refined natures through having so much in common with them. Minds have to be educated for high literature just as eyes have for high art. A Teniers will be more popular than a Lionardo da Vinci, a Dickens than a Thackeray. Each of course may be good in his way, and be remarkable after his own kind; but we must be careful not to judge them solely by the number of their followers, without taking account of the value of the judgments which pronounce in their favour.

Again, it may help us towards a right appreciation of the intellectual and moral triumphs of our great Dramatists, if we consider the dramatic literature which preceded, and which indeed remained also contemporaneous with them. The lofty oaks and towering cedars do not need the lowly bramble to point their greatness, yet the eye fails not to profit by the contrast thus afforded; while art imitates nature in these means of comparison by contrast, and raises its great ones still higher by judicious contrast with what is beneath. We propose, then, in our present study, to dwell upon a quaint class of dramatic literature, which is the humble beginning out of which such great things grew; which we shall find not only interesting and curious, but fraught with charms for Catholic minds which we too often miss from works of higher literary merit.

Miracle Plays, as they are generally called, are simple dramatic representations of events recorded in Scripture. They can be traced back to the earliest Christian times, for we find S. Gregory Nazianzen constructing one upon the Passion, and how recent their performance is every one who has heard of the Oberammergau representations can bear witness. S. Gregory's play, at Constantinople, and others of a like character, in the fourth century, were doubtless (as Voltaire says), "*Pour les opposer aux ouvrages dramatiques des anciens Grecs et des anciens Romains*," and such may have been the design of subsequent writers; but beyond this they were intended, like the small pictures with which S. Carlo Borromeo filled the large windows of the Cathedral of Milan, to instruct the unlettered people in the Bible history, and to bring home to their simple minds the truths of the

faith. This will account for the circumstance, which otherwise would be difficult to explain, why clerics took part in such performances, not only as authors and superintendents, but sometimes as performers, though this last statement is built upon such slight foundation as the expression of Bishop Grossetete, of Lincoln (A.D. 1225), who says, the plays were *controvê par les fols clercs*, which is supposed to imply that they were played by them in disguise.

The English Miracle Plays to which we intend confining our notice, were certainly played by laymen. Those in London (as Stowe tells us in his Chronicle), by the Guild of Parish Clerks (who of course are not to be confounded with clergymen), while elsewhere they were played by other guilds or trades. Doubtless, the clergy wrote most, if not all, the plays; but they left the acting of them, at least in comparatively recent times, to the laity.

The Dramas, as we should expect, were of different orders of merit: while the earlier were little, if anything more, than the Scripture narration broken into dialogue, the latter show greater dramatic conception, and are evidently leading on, through the Moralities or allegorical plays that follow them, to the regular Drama, which culminated in Shakespeare. It is generally considered that the establishment of the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, in 1264, led to the composition of most of the Miracle Plays that are still preserved; for the custom at once arose of celebrating that festival by such dramatic performances. Then collections began to to be made, and put into chronological order: for the shortness of each Drama necessitated the performance of several in succession, that the entertainment might be spread out to a sufficient length to occupy a large portion of the annual dramatic holiday.

The stage arrangements were simple enough, according to modern ideas, though in truth not much more primitive than those which sufficed for the plays of Shakespeare himself. They differed principally in this, that as they were to be peripatetic, like the classic cart of Thespis, they were usually more limited in extent, and adapted for the required passing from street to street. Archdeacon Rogers describes them as they were in the times of Elizabeth. The stage was a scaffold of two storeys; in the lower the performers dressed for their characters, and in the upper one they acted, ascending by a ladder, and this was uncovered so that all spectators might see, whether in the open street, or on temporary scaffolding, or on the house-tops. Some-

times a more elaborate construction was required, and then the lower room represented Hell, as a stage direction tells us: *Here enters the Prince of the Devils in a stage, with hell underneath the stage.* Sometimes another storey crowned the rude edifice, and from it angels descended to the principal stage below. Still more elaborate were other constructions, where several houses were required, with a central space in the midst, upon which would come rude figures of ships, or real horses. But this of course was the exception, and would ill accord with the perambulating nature of the general entertainment: for perambulating it usually was. First they played before the grave Bishop in front of his Cathedral, they then wheeled off to the Mansion House for the right worshipful the Mayor's delectation, then when the brief play was over, rolling on again, we may be sure with no little help and encouraging shouts from the children of the city, to a comparatively broad street, where a wealthy and generous merchant had erected lofty and broad seats, at his own cost, for the accommodation of his family and friends; and ever at every station, the blunt out-spoken people were present in their numbers to share with their betters the pleasure and instruction of the scene, which, for their special delight, was not unfrequently spiced with humour and fun, which kept them in attendance upon more serious teaching that, without such expectation, might have sent them wandering from a church, which had no doors, and a theatre which for them was seatless. There was of course in this somewhat of that wisdom of the serpent, which St. Philip Neri employed and still employs in a more refined manner, where the Roman Oratory wins the wanderers to its Sermons, by interspersing the brief teachings with vocal and instrumental music, that keeps in their places those who might without it quickly depart.

When the short mystery is played out, the audience still remains. The stage is dragged on to a distant station, and thus space is left for another which speedily arrives, with new actors and a new play; a second mystery is then performed, to be in due course succeeded by a third complete set of stage, actors, and story. Thus each company moves through every station, and so, on each favoured spot, the whole series of dramas is represented in due chronological order. With the first mystery comes what we may call the living programme; and at the end of the

fifth of the Chester Series, the notice of conclusion is thus given :—

> "Now, worthy sirs, both great and small,
> You have we show'd this story before,
> And if it be pleasing to you all,
> To-morrow next you shall have more."

This was the close of the Old Testament Mysteries, those of the New were to follow day by day, till the whole thirty or forty were presented.

There are three principal collections of these plays, in addition to sundry odd numbers found elsewhere. They are called respectively the Coventry, the Chester, and the Widkirk or Townley Mysteries. The first (*Ludus Coventriæ*) was edited by Mr. Halliwell in 1841 for the Shakespeare Society; the Chester, by Mr. Markham, which we have not been able to see; and the Widkirk,[1] in the possession of the Townley family, was edited by Mr. Hunter, for the Surtees Society. Thus none of them are published, but only privately printed. Mr. Payne Collier, in his History of Dramatic Poetry, has very diligently compared these three collections together, and marks whatever difference of treatment there may be in dealing with nearly the same subjects.

The Coventry collection contains a prologue, seven plays from the Old Testament, and thirty-five from the New. The manuscript is as old at least as the time of Henry VII. The Widkirk volume has thirty plays—seven from the Old Testament, and twenty-three from the New. It is an older manuscript than the Coventry, being written about the time of Henry VI. The Chester collection contains twenty-four plays—five from the Old Testament, sixteen from the New, and three others on Ezekiel, Anti-Christ, and the Last Judgment; it was written about 1600, but these dates refer only to the copies thus preserved: the originals belong of course to a far earlier period.

There is a curious manuscript note on one of the copies of this last collection, preserved in the British Museum, which throws some light, not only upon this question of date, but opens up and helps to solve another which has misled several commentators. "Higden circa 1370, was thrice at Rome before he could obtain leave of the Pope to have them in the English tongue." Now to Higden the author-

[1] There never was such a place as *Widkirk*, but there was an Augustinian house at *Woodkirk*, near Wakefield.

ship of these mysteries had been assigned, but in error; seeing that they had been played in 1268, half a century at least before his birth. But for what purpose was this application made to Rome and from what language did Higden himself translate them? Evidently from Latin, says Walton;[1] or to quote his words, "a presumptive proof arises from this fact that all our mysteries before that period were in Latin." Hone,[2] following in his misguiding footsteps, ponders upon what could occasion the author (as he erroneously calls him) taking these three journeys to Rome to obtain this permission of translation. He evidently "smells a rat." "The *subjects*" (the italics are his own) "of these plays from the Old and New Testament seem to me to supply the reasons for the difficulty in obtaining the Pope's consent." "Scripture in English," he goes on to reason, "had been scrupulously withheld from the people, and the Pope probably anticipated that if they were made acquainted with a portion of it, the remainder would be demanded; while the author of the plays, better acquainted than the Pope with the more immediate difficulty of altogether repressing the curiosity that had been excited towards it, conceived, perhaps, that the growing desire might be delayed by distorted and confusing representations of certain portions." There is a fine Popish plot for you! The Pope wanting to keep the Scriptures from the English people, and the wily Higden planning to mislead and disgust them in their holy aspirations by distorting and corrupting the word of God! So pleased indeed is this author with his discovery, that he adds an equally learned and veracious note upon the ignorance of the clergy in things general, and in the knowledge of Scripture in particular. It never seems to have occurred to these writers that if the Miracle Plays were in Latin the people would not understand them, and so the humorous dialogues, to say nothing of the serious parts, would be altogether lost upon them, as jokes and witticism in a strange tongue must ever be. But when a popular writer has to have a fling at Catholics, and especially at mediæval priests, he has as little thought of reason as of propriety.

Now let us see what is the simple blunder upon which all this superstructure of folly and misrepresentation has been raised.

[1] Warton's History of English Poetry.
[2] Ancient Mysteries described by William Hone, p. 201.

Collier shows clearly enough that the translation was not from Latin at all, but from French; the superseding of which language by the native English was a work to which in every form Higden especially devoted himself. Like many of his countrymen, this Benedictine Monk of Chester was wearied with the enforced use of what was in truth a foreign tongue, and indignant at the degraded condition to which the English language had been reduced. In his Poly-chronicon (bk. i. cap. 59), he says in language whose quaintness we will not injure by any modernizing of its spelling: "*This apayring of the birthe tonge is by cause of tweyne thinges, oon is for children in scole, azens the usage and manner of alle other nacions, beth compelled for to leve her owne langage, and forth constrewe her lessonns, and her thinges in Fransche, and haveth siththe the Normans come first into England. Also gentil mennes children beth ytauzt for to speke Fransche from the tyme that thei beth rokked in her cradel, and cunneth speke, and play with a childes brooche. And uplondish men wole likne hemself to gentilmen, and fondeth with grete bisynesse for to speke Fransche for to be the more ytold of.*"

In 1333 Higden gained his end, and the Mysteries were played in English: but more than this he gained, for in 1363 Edward III. first decreed that "pleas in the courts of the King or of any other lord, shall be pleaded and judged in the English tongue," and from that day forth the Norman tongue passed away and Englishmen spoke their own language. Thus passes away also the wonderful Popish plot, but only, it is to be feared, to be revived when any redoutable champion has to furbish up rusty arms for an assault upon the Pope, and to prove by such like tales that the Bible belongs of right to Protestants.[1]

But the charge of "distorting and confusing" certain portions of the Scripture leads us to another characteristic

[1] An amusing illustration of the blunders into which violent writers fall, when the Catholic Church and the doings of Papists come in their way, is given by Stephen Gossen, who in 1579 set himself with indiscreet zeal against plays and players of all kinds. This learned pundit informs us in his "School of Abuse, containing a pleasant invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, and such like Caterpillars of a Commonwealth," with courageous defiance of chronology, that Gregory Nazianzen wrote his pieces because "detesting the corruptions of Corpus Christi plays, that were set out by the Papists, and inveighing against them, he thought it better to write the 'Passion of Christ' in numbers himself." Far-seeing Father of the Church, who in the fourth century inveighed against the doings of the thirteenth, and detested by that long anticipation, the Miracle Plays which in the sixteenth awoke the sympathetic ire of Stephen Gossen!

of these mysteries, which deserves a passing notice. Hone has shown clearly enough by parallel passages that the first seven of the Coventry Mysteries relating to the history of our Blessed Lady, are founded upon the apocryphal gospels. These were popular legends, well-known to the people, and as they give what may be called local colour through domestic incidents to the Scripture narrative, the author of the plays did not scruple to use them as illustrations and allusions which the least educated could understand. They might have been regarded as a kind of meditation upon the truths they exemplified, and as such, were an expansion and application of the truth, what we might now call a preparation of place and an imaginary picture to bring home more vividly the lesson implied.

Be this as it may, we must remember that these Miracle Plays were not intended as literal Scripture narratives, chapters as it were from the Word of God. They were dramatic representations, and as such were free to be coloured, enlarged, and enlivened as any other subject when dramatized. The simplest and most unlettered spectator would not take all for Gospel, nor could he be expected so to do; as well might he regard thus seriously the accustomed strife of tongues between Noah and his wife, or the broad farce of the roguish shepherd who steals a sheep out of the fold and tries to conceal it in bed, as a child; which venerable joke, so dear to mediæval story tellers, precedes and introduces the announcement of the birth of Christ to the Shepherds of Bethlehem. Some margin must always be allowed to a dramatist; even in these days purism has not gone to such an extent as to forbid the introduction of unhistoric characters into historic plays and pictures; while scenes and incidents which are purely imaginary are allowed without scruple to illustrate and depict characters of renown, when they by so doing make our images of the persons more real and true. In simpler times the materials at hand had to be used in a corresponding simpler way. The audience, if not learned, was at least appreciative, and could understand development of character, would laugh in the right place, and be duly serious when corresponding feelings were set plainly before them. The language addressed to them of course was plain enough, but quite to the point and indeed met difficulties in a dramatic way, which modern play-writers have not ventured to follow.

The out-door audience standing in a crowd would very likely be noisy at the commencement of the play, and like

their betters in the present day, who come in late and disturb others in their places, make the opening scene generally little better than dumb show. The Widkirk dramatist meets the difficulty, not as now by sending on a few unimportant characters to fill up the unquiet time, but by employing no less a personage than Augustus Cæsar to begin a long speech with these emphatic and very signficant words—

"Be still, besïys, I command you
That no man speak a word here now
But I myself alone.
And if you do, I make a vow
This brand about your necks shall bow
Therefore be still as stone."

And much more to a like purpose, which doubtless had its effect. But not only in blunt and quaint talk did their plays excel; they had their poetic and imaginative side, which deserves to be briefly touched upon. Let us take, almost at random, the scene between Abraham and Isaac, when the father is about to offer up in sacrifice his only son, in whom was the promise. In the Widkirk mystery Abraham exclaims:—

"What water shotes in both myn eeyn?
I were lever than all worldly win
That I had found him once unkynde,
But no defawt I found him in,
I would be dede for him or pynde,
To slo hym thus I thynk grete syn."

The Chester play does not venture upon so natural a burst of feeling, but makes Abraham more far-seeing and fuller of faith—

Isaac. "If I have trespassed in any degree
With a yard you may beatè
Put up your sword, if you willè
For I am but a childe."
Abraham. "Oh! my dear sonne, I am sorye
To do to thee this greate anoye,
God's commandment do must I,
His works are aye full mylde."

The rhyme of these two speeches is curious and very effective, the father following as it were, every inflection of the child. The lines that follow are very natural—

Isaac. "Would God my mother were here with me,
She would kneel down upon her knee
Praying you, father, if it might be,
For to save my life."

So the scene proceeds. Isaac expressing his readiness to submit to the will of God, and reminding Abraham that he has other sons at home whom he may love. Abraham wrings his hands and declares himself almost out of his senses with grief. Isaac on his knees asks his father's blessing, and requests him to bind his eyes that he may not see the sword which is raised to strike him. Abraham entreats him not to add to his agony, and calls on Christ to have pity upon him. The stage direction then is, "Here let Abraham make a sign as though he would slay and cut off his head with his sword; then let the angel come and take the sword by the end and stay it."

HENRY BEDFORD.

MODERN ERRONEOUS SYSTEMS OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

PART III.: THE RATIONAL AND PIETISTIC SYSTEMS—(CONTINUED).

PASSING from the consideration of the use of private judgment in revelation in general, to the examination of its exercise in Biblical Interpretation according to the Rational System, it is directly opposed to the teaching of St. Peter, who says: "No prophecy of Scripture is made by private interpretation" (2 *Ep.*, c. 1, v. 20). It is opposed to the wisdom of the Divine Legislator as we have seen. It is opposed to the goodness and mercy of Him, who wishes all to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, which, as I have shown in the general argument, would be impossible for the vast majority even of Christians if He established the Bible alone according to private interpretation, as the rule of faith and guide to salvation.

But *now* at least, when the masses are educated and able to read the Bible, when Bibles may be had for little or nothing, when the spirit of private inquiry is at fever height, may not private interpretation of Sacred Scripture be followed as a safe guide? The reply is simple. It was not the rule in the Apostolic times—it was not the rule for many centuries afterwards as we have shown. Therefore our Blessed Lord must have introduced a change. When? where? and by whom? These are questions which our adversaries should answer, and have never answered. Until

some authentic record of such a change in the constitution of His Church be produced, no alteration of circumstances can disturb the prescriptive right of the Church in the interpretation of Scripture.

Again, prescinding altogether from this reply, there is an intrinsic impediment, that ought to prevent reasonable persons, even in the present favourable circumstances, from subscribing to the system of private judgment.

To maintain such a system with any consistency, it seems necessary to hold with Luther, that the sense of Scripture in matters of faith and morals is plain and evident. It is not easy to see on what grounds the Puseyites and some advanced sections of the Anglican Church admit the obscurity of Scripture even on doctrinal and moral points, and still cling to the system of private interpretation. But is the sense of Scripture clear? St. Peter in (2 *Ep.* c. 3, v. 16) speaking of St. Paul's Epistles says, that they contain "certain things *hard to be understood*, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as *they do also the other Scriptures*, to their own destruction." "Thinkest thou," said Philip to Queen Candace's eunuch, "that thou understandest what thou readest?" Who said, "and how can I, unless some man show me." (*Acts* viii. v. 30, &c.)

Hear St. Augustine, "There are more things in Scripture, that I am ignorant of, than those that I know" (Ep. to Januarius). Listen to St. Vincent of Lerins in his celebrated commonitorium—"It is asked, as the Scripture is perfect, what need is there of the authority of the Church doctrine? The reason is, because the Scripture, being *so profoundly deep*, is not understood by all persons in the same sense, but different persons explain it in different ways; so that there are almost as many meanings as there are readers of it. Novatian interprets it in one sense, Photinus in another, Arius &c., in another." History repeats itself, and the outcome of rebellion against the Church is generally the same, as we shall see later on.

Many causes concur to render the sense of Scripture obscure and difficult. *The form*, by which I mean the language and style in which it was written, presents one series of difficulties. The Hebrew, in which for the most part the Old Testament was written, was a dead language some centuries before Christ, and has few features in common with our modern languages; and the Greek of the New Testament shows a strong affinity with the Hebrew and Chaldaic. Nor do versions remove this source of obscurity, as they, the more faithful they are, retain the

idioms and obscurities of the original tongue. The style increases the difficulty—it is varied and different in the several books: at one time involved, at another simple—now abrupt, again easy and flowing,—here sublime, bold and poetic,—there familiar and historic.

The *matter* or argument of Holy Scripture presents another set of difficulties, and these still greater to account for its obscurity. In the *Dogmatic* parts, many doctrinal truths surpassing the comprehension of reason are proposed, and generally without any system or logical sequence; here in a plain literal clothing, there under a metaphorical or symbolical garb: in one place general laws of morals are laid down, in another, and quite different place, the limitations and exceptions; hence the necessity arises for careful comparisons to establish the concordance between apparently contradictory statements. Nor is the *Historic* portion free from obscurity. The greater part of it is so ancient, that no light can be thrown on it by contemporaneous history. It was written fifteen centuries before the birth of Christ that is, ten centuries before Herodotus the parent of Greek history, or Confucius the annalist of the Chinese, or the Indian Vedas, or Persian Zend-Avesta flourished, and still longer before the time of Polybius, Diodorus, Thucydides, Livy, and the other historians of the Greek and Roman Empires. Add to this the many changes, topographical and social, which have come over the land of Palestine since the events related in the Sacred Scripture occurred. The *Prophetic places* are the most obscure and difficult of all, both because they treat of future events; and in a manner altogether different from the ordinary laws of thinking and speaking.

"By their fruits you shall know them." (*Matt.* c. 7, v. 20).

These fruits were completely in accord with the intrinsic absurdity of the system itself. They may be summed up in a few words,—endless variety of doctrine, multiplication of sects, glaring contradictions, impiety, mutual intolerance and persecution in the religious order: tumults, rebellion and anarchy in the social order. Let us take a few proofs out of the vast store of authentic facts, contained in that most valuable work "Milner's End of Religious Controversy."

Luther set up his tribunal of *private judgment* in the year 1520—his disciples almost immediately acting on his principle began to reform his Reformation. Carlostad, Archdeacon of Wittenberg, and his first disciple of distinction,

declared against him the following year. Luther challenged him to write a book against the Real Presence, in which the difference arose between them; the latter replied by wishing him a *broken neck*, to which the former retorted "May I see thee broken on a wheel." Blessed system that had such parents! happy church that had such reformers! Soon after Zwinglius began to preach in Switzerland doctrines different from those of Luther; forthwith Luther, notwithstanding his pet principle of private judgment, called him a pagan, and said he despaired of his salvation. Oecolampadius, an ex-Brigittine Friar, having quitted his cloister, and taken to himself a wife, joined the new apostles of religious liberty. He died suddenly—but because he adopted the Zwinglian doctrine regarding the Real Presence, Luther asserted that he was strangled by the devil. Muncer another disciple of Luther's and founder of the Anabaptists, exercising the right of private judgment on the second beatitude "Blessed are the meek for they shall possess the land," maintained that the possessions of the German princes belonged to himself and his followers, whom he modestly believed to be the "Meek" referred to in the Beatitude. He wrote to the Princes to renounce their titles and possessions; they declined; he placed himself at the head of 40,000 men to enforce his requisition, and filled the land with confusion, havoc and bloodshed. In vain did Luther stamp and rage, denounce and threaten hell-fire against the new reformers. "I can defend you against the Pope," he said to them, "but when the devil shall urge against you at your death the passage of Scripture 'they ran and I did not send them,' how shall you answer him? He will plunge you headlong into hell." He even went further and said, "If you continue in these measures of your common deliberations, I will recant whatever I have written or said, and leave you—mind what I say." But his denunciation and threats were set at defiance, and proved quite ineffectual to prevent contradictions and discords which became so numerous and scandalous, that Calvin wrote to Melancthon saying: "It is of great importance that the divisions which subsist among us should not be known to future ages: for nothing can be more ridiculous than that we, who have broken off from the whole world, should have agreed so ill among ourselves from the very beginning of the Reformation. "Into how many morsels have those sects been broken, who have divided

themselves from the unity of the Church," exclaimed St. Augustine, alluding to the heresies of his time? How much more truly verified when the system of private interpretation established a new charter of religious licence, when, before the close of the century which gave birth to the Reformation, the number of different sects had, according to Staphylus and Cardinal Hosius, increased to two hundred and seventy. Nor were these differences on unimportant or secondary points of doctrine and morality. Take as an example, the fundamental principle of Luther's theology, which was that of *imputed justice*, to the exclusion of all good works performed by ourselves, and which, according to his bottle companion Amsdorf, are more a hindrance than a help to our salvation. This tenet was intended by Luther to be the corner-stone of his whole system of moral theology. He lays it down in the following imperative and dogmatic tone: "This article shall remain in spite of all the world: it is I, Martin Luther, Evangelist, who say it; let no one therefore attempt to infringe it, neither the Emperor of the Romans nor of the Turks, nor of the Tartars; neither the Pope, nor the monks, nor the nuns, nor the kings, nor the princes, nor all the devils in hell. If they attempt it, may the infernal flames be their recompense. What I say here is to be taken for an inspiration of the Holy Ghost" (Saxon Visitation.) His threats and imprecations were disregarded. Melancthon and many other Lutherans not only abandoned this tenet, but embraced the very opposite of Semipelagianism, which teaches that good works are prior to God's grace. On that one fundamental tenet, Osiander tells us, there were "twenty several" opinions, all drawn from Scripture, and held by different members of the Augsburgh or Lutheran confession" (Archdeacon Blackburne's Confessional, p. 16.)

The baneful fruits of the system of private interpretation were not confined to the religious order, they were felt too in the social order. Tumults, anarchy, and bloodshed followed in its track. Dr. Hey, in his Theological Lectures, asserts that "the misinterpretation of Scripture brought on the miseries of the civil war;" and Lord Clarendon and other writers show, that the Puritans sought to justify their excesses and impieties by Scriptural quotations and examples. It was thus Almighty God punished with their own weapons those rulers and statesmen, who, for personal or political motives, sanctioned and

encouraged the spread of the new principles of the religious revolution. It is worthy of a passing notice, that the abandonment of the old faith, the propagation of new sects, and the establishment of national churches, were due, less to zeal for true religion or honest reading of the Scriptures, than to the passions, pride, lust of power and pleasure, party and political interests of kings and princes. It was more the work of statesmen than of theologians. Luther testifies and calls God to witness the truth of his testimony, that it was not *willingly*, *i.e.* on conviction of the falsehood of his religion but from *accident* (namely a quarrel with the Dominican Friars) that he raised the standard of religious revolt, "casu, non voluntate in has turmas incidi: Deum testor." According to Mosheim, the Protestant historian, Gustavus introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, in opposition to the clergy and bishops, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favourable *to the temporal state* and *political constitution* of the Swedish dominions! According to the same historian, Christiern, who introduced the new religion into Denmark, was animated by no other motives than ambition and avarice. Grotius, another Protestant, speaking of his own country Holland, says, it is sedition and violence that gave birth to the Reformation in it. It is well known that the inordinate passion of a lustful king had more to do with the introduction of Protestantism into England than the Word of God.

The subsequent history of the Reformation was but the logical sequence of the circumstances which attended its birth. As it was nurtured and propagated under the mantle of State influence, it became a political machine worked by statesmen according to the exigencies of the times. Hence when its subversive principles began to be used for the upsetting of civil authority, it was but natural that princes and rulers for their own safety, should seize the helm, and quell the troubled elements by enforcing obedience and conformity to their own religious sentiments. Each king and prince framed his own articles of religion and confessions of Faith; such articles got the sanction of legal enactments, and were enforced by excommunication, deprivation, exile, imprisonment, torture and death. This was all, of course, a direct violation of the boasted charter of private judgment; but it was in the mysterious ways of Providence, a condign punishment of an unnatural rebellion against the mild yoke of their Mother the Church.

The remedy was worse than the disease. The arm of authority which is wielded with so much ease and success by the Catholic Church was quite unnatural in the hands of those who had rejected all authority and became an instrument of self-destruction, until the Protestant Church became "like an oak," in the words of one of its ablest defenders, "cleft to shivers with wedges made of its own body." Hence, after three hundred years, we have the system of *private judgment*, notwithstanding the restraining influence of civil authority, producing its natural fruits of religious discord, multiplication of sects, palpable contradictions, and gross inconsistencies. We need not go far for a witness. In "Whitaker's Almanac" of 1879, there is a list, stated to have been certified by the Registrar-General, of more than one hundred and sixty religious sects, having registered places of worship in England and Wales; and according to the religious statistics of the Irish Census, there are one hundred and fifty forms of faith in Ireland.

Again, take the Church of England (and what is said of it may be equally applied to the misnamed "Church of Ireland"), the Church of England which, according to Dryden, is "The least *deform'd*, because *reform'd* least." It has many pretensions, and many things connected with it calculated to produce an impression. It has an imposing hierarchy—archbishops, bishops, deans, rectors, curates—it can boast too of these external and material helps which make religion attractive—music, architecture, and ceremonies—and it has within its bosom many devout, self-sacrificing, charitable persons. But what is it? Nothing more than a huge monster of inconsistency. It has an episcopate. The very notion of an episcopate means a teaching body. It has a teaching body, but no teaching, because it does not even claim a mission or divine authority to teach; they look like a teaching body, but having no definite scheme of doctrine as divinely revealed, we may as well speak of the Horse Guards or Stock Exchange as a teaching body.

We have heard and read of "a Pan Anglican Synod" in our own times. Many questions of burning and vital importance agitated the public mind; the bishops met and separated, but taught nothing. Just a few meaningless sneers at Popery, and a caution against honouring the Mother of God and all ended. It claims to have a priesthood. Sacrifice and priesthood are correlative, yet it has no sacrifice, and regards the sacrifice of the New Law as

a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit. And if there is an inherent inconsistency in its constitution, need we wonder at the inconsistency of its members, and the mass of heterogenous errors mixed up within its bosom from Anglican "othodoxy" to the most undisguised latitudinarianism, from the vaguest notions of Christianity, to the ritualistic tenets, which, though they bring them apparently to the very gates of Rome, apart from the principle of Church authority, are as much the outcome of private judgment as the teaching of the rationalists is.

One will naturally inquire, how is this state of things consistent with the fact of clergymen of the Established Church subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles, which were specially framed to prevent diversity of opinion. But we must bear in mind that the "Established Church," because of its "establishment," is essentially a church of *expediency*. We have the authority of Dr. Blackburn, Protestant Archdeacon of Cleveland, for saying, that out of a hundred ministers of the Established Church, who every year in his time subscribed the Articles, "above one-fifth of the number did not subscribe or assent to them in one uniform sense." Doctor Clayton, Protestant Bishop of Clogher, maintained that "no two thinking men ever agreed exactly in their own opinion, even with regard to any one article of it." Finally we have the famous Bishop Burnet, who says that "the requiring of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles is a great *imposition*, and that the greater part of the clergy subscribe the Articles without ever examining them, and others do it because *they must do it*, though they can hardly satisfy their consciences about some things in them." The truth of this testimony is confirmed by the fact, that so far back as the year 1772, a numerous body of the established clergy petitioned Parliament to be relieved from the *grievance*, as they termed it, of subscribing to these articles. Enough has been said to show that the *fruits* of the system of *private judgment* are the same to-day, but more abundant, than they were three hundred years ago, and that the Church of England, which, to all appearance, is the most noteworthy of all those that expressly or implicitly cultivate it in Scriptural interpretation, is no exception to the general rule.

The Pietistic System.—This system differs from the former in the assumption of a special inspiration of the Holy Spirit securing to each individual the true meaning

of Scripture. Hence all the arguments urged against that, apply with equal force to this, with the exception of the one drawn from the obscurity of the Scriptures, and which, according to the advocates of the Pietistic system, is no obstacle to the right understanding of them, as all things become clear and intelligible under the immediate influence of the light of the Holy Ghost. The question naturally arises, what proofs do they bring forward in support of this individual inspiration, which *we* cannot accept on mere assertion?

They are chiefly taken from Scripture. (*a*) "*But you have an unction from the Holy One, and you know all things.* I have not written to you as to such as know not the truth, *but as to such as know it*" (1 *John* c. 2, v. 20); and in v. 27, he thus concludes: "And the unction which you have received from Him, let it abide in you. *And you have no need that any one should teach you;* but as His unction *teacheth you concerning all things*, and it is truth, and is not a lie." In which words St. John seems to lay down the rule of private individual inspiration in acquiring all faith, and consequently the true meaning of the Scripture. (*b*) Again, in the same Epistle (c. 4, v. 1), St. John thus addresses the faithful: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit; *but try the spirits* whether they be of God;" in which he appears to make private inspiration the judge of the spirit and doctrines of others. (*c*) "But the spiritual man *judgeth all things:* and *himself is judged by no one.* For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him. *But we have the mind of Christ.*" (1 *Cor.* ii., v. 15 and 1.) From these texts they conclude the Apostles teach that every true follower of Christ carries within him the Holy Spirit, who by His unction or inspiration, suggests all truth that comes from God, and hence, the true meaning of Scripture, without having recourse to the teaching or judgment of any other person or number of persons.

Such is foundation of the system we are now considering. Before refuting it, I will, for the sake of clearness, make one or two preliminary observations. First, our controversy is not about any exceptional or extraordinary case, but about the *universal rule* regarding the body of the faithful, in scriptural interpretation. We do not deny that there have been individual examples of an extraordinary and immediate internal inspiration of the Holy Spirit teaching things to be believed, apart from the *magisterium* of the Church. Such was St. Paul, who testifies of himself

(*Gal.* i. *v.* 12), "For neither did I receive it (the Gospel) from man, nor did I learn it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." And in the lessons in the Roman Breviary for the feast of St. Ignatius, July 31st, we read that the saint said of himself, that if the Scriptures never existed, he was prepared to die for the faith, on account of what the *Lord had manifested* to him at Manresa. But it would be the height of folly and rashness to set up a few extraordinary cases of this kind as the *ordinary general rule*, as if all the faithful may expect, every time they take a Bible in hand to read, an immediate illumination of the Holy Ghost, such as was vouchsafed to St. Paul and St. Ignatius.

Again, if the Scriptural texts above quoted, and relied on so much by our opponents, seem to lay special stress on individual inspiration, there are many other texts which more clearly and conclusively establish the authority of the Church in teaching and preaching, and the obligation, on the part of the faithful to listen to her voice. "*Faith cometh by hearing* and hearing by the word of Christ," says St. Paul to the Romans (c. x. v. 17), and he continues, "How shall they believe him of whom *they have not heard*, and how shall they hear *without a preacher?* And how can they preach unless they be sent." Again, what does our Blessed Lord mean by these words in St. Luke (c. x. v. 16) "He who heareth you heareth Me, he who despiseth you despiseth Me," unless the existence of a *magisterium*, to which all the faithful are bound to listen, with submission to its teaching? Now neither our adversaries believing in the veracity of Scripture nor ourselves can admit any *real* contradiction betweeen different parts of God's word. How then can these apparently contradictory texts of Scripture be reconciled? In the economy of Christian faith according to the Catholic system, the concordance of the Biblical teaching is simple and natural. As those texts which allude to the authority of the Church in teaching do not exclude the action of the Holy Spirit, neither do these which extol the operation of the grace of the Holy Ghost, exclude the *magisterium* of the Church. For it must be borne in mind, that while we claim for the Church, the office of infallible teaching in faith and morals in general, and in the case under discussion, in the interpretation of Holy Writ, we do not exclude the action and internal inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as "no one can come to me," says our Saviour, "unless the Father who sent me, draw him." Without this internal movement of the Holy Spirit, the teaching of the

Church, and the preaching of its pastors will be of no avail; but from this it by no means follows, that *it* alone may be followed, casting aside the authority and directions of her of whom our blessed Lord said, "He that heareth you," &c. From all this it is obvious, that unless the texts on which our opponents insist, while extolling the efficacy of internal inspiration, at the same time exclude the *magisterium* of the Church, they have proved nothing. Now, if we examine them closely in connection with the context, we shall see that instead of proving the assumption of our adversaries, they clearly confirm the Catholic system, such as I have explained. What, then, does St. John mean, when he says, "The faithful have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things," and moreover "have no need that any *one should teach them?*" In these words, he neither asserts that internal inspiration by itself is a sufficient and universal rule of biblical interpretation; nor does he exclude the teaching authority of the Church either antecedent or subsequent, but the false and illegitimate teaching of these who tried to seduce the faithful by novel and perverse doctrines. This is quite manifest from the whole context. "My little children," he says, in vers. 18, "it is the last hour: and as you have heard that Antichrist cometh, even now there are become many Antichrists" (*i.e. false teachers*, as is apparent from verse 22). "But you have the unction from the Holy One," &c. This is confirmed by the subsequent context verse 26. "These things have I written to you, concerning them that *seduce you.*" The meaning of the Apostle therefore is: Let you, my children, listen not to the doctrines of these false teachers. "Let that which you *have heard* from the beginning abide in you" (vers. 24), *i.e.* the truths which have been preached to you, retain and practise, for which purpose you have the grace and unction of the Holy Spirit. In this testimony therefore, instead of an argument for the system of internal inspiration to the exclusion of an external *magisterium*, we have a solid and convincing proof of the Catholic system which combines the authority of the Church with the internal illumination of the Holy Spirit.

What does St. John mean when he exhorts the faithful "to try the spirits if they be of God" (c. 4, v. 1). Here again he warns them against false prophets, who were teaching unsound doctrines about the mystery of the Incarnation; he wishes them to examine whether the *spirit* and doctrines of *these* teachers agreed with that which they

received from the Apostles. This is evident from verse 2. "By this is the spirit of God known; every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God: And every spirit that dissolveth Jesus is not of God: And this is Antichrist. So far is he from excluding the teaching of the Church, that he clearly inculcates its necessity even in trying the spirits, verse 6. "He that knoweth God, *heareth us—He that is not of God, heareth us not.* By this we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of error." By which words, our adversaries are convicted of error; because their theory is to hear nobody except the promptings of the spirit, whereas St. John says, "He that *heareth us not*, is not of God."

Finally when St. John (1 *Cor.* 11, v. 15) says, that "the spiritual man judgeth all things, and he himself is judged by no man," he is speaking of the *perfect* amongst the faithful, as is manifest from verse 6 of the same chapter, "Howbeit we speak wisdom among the perfect." Hence if we should concede that the words of the Apostle bear the meaning given them by our adversaries, the most that would follow is that their rule of faith and interpretation is one suited *for the perfect.* Now the perfect are a very small minority of the faithful; and we inquire not what may suit individuals, but what is the *universal* rule established by Christ for all the faithful.

But the Apostle does not exempt even the perfect from the *magisterium* of the Church, nor does he assert that they *of themselves* can always know for certain all things to be believed and the true sense of Scripture. Is not the action of the Apostle himself the strongest proof of this? If the spiritual and perfect man knoweth and judgeth all things in the sense of our adversaries, why does St. Paul in that chapter and through the entire Epistle *teach* the perfect and spiritual as well as the carnal and imperfect, doctrines suited to the capacity of each class, and which he designates by the words, *milk* (*i.e.* easy doctrines) and *meat* (*i.e.* more difficult and profound ones). Experience moreover teaches us, that while spiritual and perfect persons, because of the purity of their souls, and their spirit of devotion are more capable than others to form a discretive judgment on truths proposed for their belief and acceptance, still there are many obscure and doubtful matters on which, we find many perfect and holy persons to disagree, and fall into error, and in which they consequently need the infallible teaching of some external

authority. The words therefore of the Apostle, "that the spiritual man judgeth all things," are not to be understood *absolutely*, as if nothing is obscure or doubtful to such persons, but in a sense suited to the context, viz., while the carnal man understands temporal affairs, and little or nothing of spiritual things—the spiritual man on the contrary is a judge of all things, *i.e.* understands both temporal and spiritual things. As then the whole system of internal illumination is based on these texts of Scripture, which, taken with the context, not only do not exclude, but rather explicitly or implicitly vindicate the *magisterium* of the Church, it is evidently without foundation and consequently to be rejected.

Once more I repeat the argument used against the rational system, "By their fruits you shall know them." The fruits of the system of private inspiration have been the most ridiculous errors, the grossest impieties and irregularities. Acting on this supposed internal illumination, the Anabaptists, who arose five years after the trumpet of evangelical liberty had been sounded by Luther, and who professed to have immediate communication with God, asserted that they had a command from him to kill the wicked, and to establish a kingdom for the just, who were all to be rebaptized. It was under the enthusiasm of *this spirit*, that John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, and head of the Anabaptists, proclaimed himself king of Sion, married eleven wives at a time, and then put them and many of his subjects to death. Moved by the same spirit, Herman, another Anabaptist declared himself the Messiah, and commenced his preaching by exhorting the people, "to kill the priests—to kill all the magistrates in the world," because he said, "your redemption is at hand." Hacket a Calvinist, towards the end of the sixteenth century, became persuaded that the spirit of the Messiah had descended upon him; having made several proselytes, he sent two of them through the streets of London to proclaim, that Christ was come thither with his fan in his hand. When he was brought to the gibbet, the spirit became ungovernable, and he exclaimed: "Jehovah, Jehovah, don't you see the heavens are open, and Jesus coming to deliver me."

George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, under the influence of the Spirit, believed he had a divine mission to reform all abuses and to address persons of every dignity in the pronoun of the second person. Moved by the same spirit one of his disciples Simpson, went naked and bare-

foot several times through the markets, courts, towns, and cities to priests' homes, &c., telling them, "so should they all be stripped naked" (Fox's Journal, p. 239). A female Friend came into the Parliament House with a trencher in her hand, which she broke in pieces saying "Thus shall he (Cromwell) be broken in pieces. Another of the Society of Friends came to the door of the House of Commons with a drawn sword, wounded several saying, "he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in that house." James Naylor, a rather distinguished member of the Friends, became the laughing-stock of the nation, when under the guidance of the supposed private spirit, he fancied himself the Messiah, rode into Bristol, his disciples spreading their garments before him, and crying, Holy, Holy, Hosannah in the Highest! Scourged by the order of Parliament, he allowed the demented women who followed him, to kiss his feet and wounds, and to hail him "The Prince of Peace, the rose of Sharon, the fairest of ten thousand."

Many similar facts are to be found collected in Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," letter vi., about the followers of other sects, the Muggletonians, Hernhutters or Moravian Brethren, the Swedenborgians, Methodists, &c., who mistaking the hallucinations of their imaginations for divine inspirations, and pursuing this supposed inward light in the interpretation of Scripture, fell into numberless errors, contradictions, impieties and immoralities. Enough has been said to show the fallacy of the foundation, and the evil effects of the Pietistic system, and to enable me to conclude, that such a system destitute of foundation, and leading many persons into such a series of errors, absurdities, and impieties, cannot be the work of our Saviour, nor the system of Biblical interpretation established by Him.

D. Hallinan.

THE ORDER OF CORPORATE REUNION.[1]

THE name of Frederick George Lee, whose article on the O.C.R. lately appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, has been now for a long time before the public, as prominently associated with the cause of the Reunion of Christendom. Ever since the *Union* newspaper was first edited, some twenty-five years ago, under his leadership, or, at any rate, with his foremost co-operation, Dr. Lee has continued to labour in behalf of this cause, by writings and sermons, as well as by active organisations, either instituted by himself, or in which he has taken a chief part; and all this, undaunted and unwearied by the opposition, apathy, and discouragement he has had to meet with from various quarters.

It is surely a great and a noble aspiration, the Reunion of Christendom—the gathering once more together of all the baptised, long since divided by schisms and sects into one visible communion—so as again to make one fold, under one shepherd, with the same common faith, sacraments, and obedience.

This aim, which Dr. Lee has proposed to himself, joined to his untiring zeal in its furtherance, cannot fail to enlist the sympathy and interest of many Catholics; and the more so, because his constantly avowed object is the Reunion of Christendom, and of the Anglican Church in particular, with Rome, which he recognises as the See of Peter, the Rock and foundation of the Christian Church, the Chair of Truth, the source and centre of Catholic unity; whilst to separation from the Holy See, he traces nearly all the evils that have befallen religion in this country during the last 300 years.

Dr. Lee holds, moreover, a personal claim on the kindly feelings of Catholics, from his having been, during a long course of years, conspicuous amongst Anglican authors of the High Church School, for the more large, generous, and thoughtful spirit, and for the tone of consideration and respect which he has uniformly evinced, when, in his writings, he has had occasion to treat of the Catholic Church, and her doctrines and practices.

[1] The Nineteenth Century, November, 1881. The Order of Corporate Reunion, by the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee. *The Reunion Magazine*, passim.

Having ungrudgingly rendered this tribute of acknowledgment to Dr. Lee personally, on account of his general aim, his zeal, and his bearing towards the Catholic Church, I now propose, as a priest of that Church, and guided by her principles and teaching, to consider the question of Corporate Reunion, and some of Dr. Lee's views and statements thereupon, together with the plan of action of the O.C.R., of which, in his recent article, he may be accepted as a trustworthy exponent.

Before entering upon any scheme, by which parties some time separated and estranged from one another, may be reconciled and once more united, it is very necessary, first of all, that they be thoroughly agreed as to the meaning and import of certain relevant principles and terms, and that these be distinctly defined; especially, for example, what are understood to be the relative rights and the position of the parties, one towards the other: what is the nature of the reunion that is aimed at: in what precisely is it to consist: and how far is it to extend: Without such clear mutual understanding, there can be no common basis of negotiation, all efforts will prove abortive, and any steps taken towards reunion will eventually fall short of their end.

What, then, we may first inquire, is the mutually relative position of the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches according to the principles of the former? And what is the Reunion of Christendom in her sense?

The Roman Catholic Church—by which I mean the Church throughout the world in visible communion with the Holy See—claims to be herself alone the entire Catholic Church of Christ; that one, divine, visible kingdom which He came to found on earth, to which He committed the deposit of His revealed truth, together with the means of preserving it in its original integrity and purity until the end of time. She holds that to herself exclusively our Lord gave the New Law of His commandments, ordinances, and sacraments, and authority to teach His truths, and to make known His law amongst all nations in every age; that gathered into her communion, and with her divine sanction for faith and obedience, men might thus secure for themselves all the means He has provided for the sanctification and salvation of their souls.

Consequently, she cannot but regard all those of the baptised, who, refusing to her the submission of faith or obedience, remain outside her pale, as strangers to the

visible kingdom of God on earth, as heretics and schismatics severed from the Catholic Church and Body of Christ. But at the same time the Catholic Church—whose very *raison d'être*, we may say, is the extension of God's kingdom by the salvation of souls—is ever yearning as a tender mother for the return to her bosom of all who are separated from her unity by heresy or schism. And not alone does she desire the conversion of individuals, but she makes continual efforts for the Corporate Reunion of schismatical and heretical churches; and whenever she sees any disposition and desire on their part to return, she will go out, as it were, to meet them half-way; and sometimes, the more to encourage them, and to secure to them the divine blessings to be enjoyed in her communion, she is ready to relax her ordinary discipline in their favour, and to grant them exceptional privileges, as she has done in the case of the Uniate Churches in the East, by leaving to them the use of their own traditional discipline, rites, and customs. Still the one only way to reunion the Catholic Church knows of, is that of submission to her divine authority by faith and obedience.

If there is one thing more clear than another on the face of the whole question between Rome and the rest of Christendom, it is that Rome in the sphere of religion is sovereign and supreme, or, as those who are not with her must admit, that, at least, she claims for herself spiritual sovereignty and supremacy, by divine right. She can treat with none on equal terms; she requires all to submit to her. If she makes concessions to any, it is by way of condescension on her part, to avoid greater evils, and for the salvation of souls.

Hence when she receives and restores to her communion individuals or corporations that were estranged from her, however nearly these might before have been approximated to her in faith, still, in order to such reception and reunion, an essentially new element must first enter in, which will radically affect and modify their previous faith and position, and that essential element is, *the recognition of her claims as divine, and submission to her.* She never makes any compromise strictly speaking. In her Concordats with Governments, and in her terms for Corporate Reunion of Churches, she will waive the exercise of some of her rights and powers at times, and in given cases, on account of grave emergencies, or for the general good; but she never foregoes her inherent right to these prerogatives. With her

there is no such thing as a confederation of States in the Church of God: it is a divine kingdom, whose rightful sphere is all her own—the entire Christian religion, and Universal Christendom. The United Greeks, or other Uniate Churches, as such, have no inherent, separate rights of their own, independent of her. All these exist in subordination to her supreme authority, with their particular privileges conceded by her.

Lest I should be thought by a non-Catholic reader to be dealing in exaggeration, and giving utterance to merely individual opinion, I appeal to the authoritative teaching of the Church in her General Councils, and to her definitions of Faith, especially to those of the last Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, which no Catholic dare, *salva fide*, to controvert—where it is expressly taught that Churches or individuals holding otherwise as to Faith than the Roman Church, or separated from her visible communion, do not belong in any true sense to the One Body of Christ's Catholic Church. Again: that there is no rightful ecclesiastical authority or spiritual jurisdiction, save that which is derived from the Roman Pontiff, whose primacy and supremacy are by divine institution over the whole Church Catholic, and, at the same time, plenary, ordinary, and immediate over all parts of the Church, and every particular Church; and to this supremacy all the baptised are bound by divine obligation to submit and to be obedient. It is, moreover, expressly declared, that whoever should presume to disbelieve or to deliberately doubt the Church's teaching on any of the above points, incurs her anathema, and is guilty of heresy. Should he in any way outwardly manifest his heresy, he *ipso facto* incurs excommunication *latae sententiae*.[1]

Thus we see what, according to her principles and Faith,

[1] If Rome's supremacy were not really and in the strictest sense *of divine right*, it could be nothing else than a gross and barefaced usurpation, and most detestable tyranny; and her whole course of conduct throughout history must be one living lie, and an outrage on the Sovereignty of God, since she always claims divine sanction and authority for her acts, some of them quite abnormal to the ordinary constitution of the Church. Such as sweeping away, by a stroke of her pen, an entire hierarchy of a country, and substituting another in its place, as Pius VII. did in France, or restoring a hierarchy after it had in her judgment died out, as Pius IX. did in England.

"Quum certum per eas Litteras (scil. *Universalis Ecclesia* 26 Sept., 1850) Pius IX. episcopalem hierarchiam inter anglos restitueret" Const. *Romanos Pontifices* Leonis XIII., 15 Mai, 1881.

is the Catholic Church in her own eyes: what is her position, and what her rights in relation to the rest of Christendom, and to the Anglican Church in particular: what, moreover, this latter is, and what are its claims in the eyes of Rome, and what too in her sense is Reunion.

No arguments are needed to prove, since the patent facts of history are a clear demonstration, that the Anglican Church on her side recognises well the position which Rome takes up, and all that is involved in it. Consequently, denial of Rome's claim to supreme jurisdiction is to the Church of England her very essence and life. This denial was the origin of her separate existence, it has made her what she is, and it continues her in being. To retract the denial, and to submit would either make her not to be, or to become other than what she is.

The national Church of England, so far from being in former times degraded, and forfeiting its independence in the eyes of the people by its submission to Rome, became thereby invested with a supernatural character, was ennobled, and glorified in their sight, as itself sharing in prerogatives which were recognised as divine, whilst, at the same time, through union with the Holy See and the other national Churches of Catholicism, it was strengthened and preserved in its spiritual independence, and protected against encroachments of the civil power. But when the national Church exchanged the supremacy of the Pope for that of the Crown, at once its glory and strength were gone. Bound to, and then absorbed by the secular Government, it became shorn of all liberty and independence, supernatural character, popular influence, and spiritual jurisdiction: it lost its very identity, or rather, as the O.C.R. '*Pastoral*' expresses it, "every vestige of distinct corporate entity" whatsoever, and was found but a function, a mode of operation, the religious aspect of the State. Thus metamorphosed and merged into secularism, it now shrinks instinctively with all the force of its changed nature and being from the very touch or breath of Rome, since opposition to her spiritual claims makes its *raison d'être* and life, whilst reunion with her would prove its destruction and death. With such mutual antagonism on fundamental principles vital and essential to each, any Corporate Reunion of the Anglican Church and Rome seems indeed an impossible idea.

But it may be objected, that what has been said as to the loss of all independent corporate entity on the part

of the Church of England is simply an individual speculation, and a gratuitous assertion which may be as simply denied; and again, that, after all, the very same antagonism to the spiritual claims of Rome is incident to all those Churches in the East or elsewhere that are outside her communion, and was equally the original ground of their separation, as in the case of the English national Church, and that yet, notwithstanding, Corporate Reunion with some of these, so far from being considered impracticable by Rome, is ever an object of her earnest desire, and frequently of serious negotiation, whilst in some cases actual reunion has been already accomplished. All this is true; but, looked at from the side of Rome, there is no parity between one of these separated Eastern Churches and the Church of England. The latter has never been considered or practically treated by Rome, or by the Catholic Church generally, as having any ecclesiastical status whatever; but simply as one of the forms and aggregations of Protestantism in England. Its bishops and clergy have been uniformly regarded and practically treated as mere laymen. So there are no bishops for Rome to deal with, as there are in the Eastern schismatical Churches. And even waiving this for the moment, and supposing that they *are* bishops, or that, such as they are, they could be treated with as the authoritative Heads of Anglicanism; and supposing, too, that they were really united amongst themselves on all points of faith and doctrine, and agreed, moreover, in submission to the faith and authority of Rome: still, after all these most improbable hypotheses, they could not be accepted or dealt with as any really responsible representatives of the members, whether clerical or lay, of the Anglican communion, since it is too notorious that the faith of these is in no sense one, but that they hold multitudinous and often utterly contradictory opinions on matters of faith. This is quite otherwise in the various Eastern schismatic Churches, whose members are one entirely with their respective bishops; amongst them there is such a thing as a homogeneous creed, and a definite *corpus fidei*, existing not merely as a dead letter in paper formularies, but living—however defective or erroneous—in the minds and hearts of the people. Generally, they hold the Catholic Faith in its integrity, or almost so, with the exception of what relates to the Roman See; at any rate there is cohesion and union between the bishops and people, so that the

points for submission, and the terms for Corporate Reunion are greatly simplified, and the changes or additions of faith consequent on reunion could be easily taught and proposed for individual acceptance to all the people. Whereas, whatever may be the outward profession of Anglicans in words, or their articles of faith as set down in formularies, it is simply the fact, that a vast number both of their clergy and laity have really much the same variety of opinions or shifty vagueness amongst themselves on what they severally take to be *of faith* (if indeed they have any precise notion at all of what this means) as Dissenters who do not profess to belong to the Anglican Church. Whilst among what are called High Churchmen of various schools or parties, there also exists a very wide difference as to what truths and doctrines are to be held as of faith, together with all sorts of diverging views on the points they may mutually agree and settle to be *de fide*.

One single form might be drawn up, specifying the terms of union for an Oriental Church with Rome, which would meet the case of every individual member of that Church, whilst for the Church of England, there would have to be almost as many forms as there are members, or, at least, religious parties in the body, particularising the various points for repudiation or submission.

Hence—and many other reasons might be adduced—however desirable in itself Corporate Reunion of the Anglican body with the Roman Catholic Church might be in the eyes of some Anglicans, practically, and as things now are, any such reunion is chimerical and impossible.

My aim hitherto has been to determine, according to the principles of Catholic Faith, the mutual relations and rights of the two parties for whom reunion is proposed, viz., the Catholic Church united to the Holy See, and the Church of England: what is meant in a Catholic sense by reunion, and how far this is practicable.

I shall next consider what is the O.C.R., what are its principles and policy, and its precise position relatively to the two parties for whom it volunteers to negotiate a reunion. And for this it will be necessary to take notice of some of Dr. Lee's statements which bear on these points.

The O.C.R. professes to be a voluntary association of members of the Church of England, its organisers and rulers being Anglican clergymen. If Dr. Lee's article may be regarded as representing the views of the Order, they

hold that the Anglican Episcopate, and consequently the Anglican Church itself, is destitute of all spiritual jurisdiction whatsoever; that its Orders are at the best doubtfully valid, whether from fault in their original source, or on account of frequent omission and invalid ministration of baptism, or again from defect in the ordinal, or from frequent grave negligence on the part of the bishops in the actual collation of Orders. They hold that the same Church is erroneous and defective in Faith, particularly in its teaching on the Sacraments, and that two of these at least, viz., Confirmation and Extreme Unction, it has altogether rejected; that it has substituted "the mongrel, mutilated and bald service of the Lord's Supper now in public use," in the place of the Mass according to the ancient rite of the English Church— they confess, moreover, that the Anglican Church is devoid of all corporate entity whatsoever, and in the eyes of Rome, of an episcopate or ecclesiastical status of any sort—and that, consequently, in its present state negotiation with her for Corporate Reunion is entirely out of the question.

The object, then, of the O.C.R. is to remedy these defects, and "to build up again the Anglican Church from within." By the infusion, so to speak, of fresh blood into its body, they hope to restore its life and organisation, to reform its Faith, give back to it once more its lost sacraments, and to secure for it an unquestioned succession of valid Orders; that thus raised up from within to a higher level, with a recovered corporate entity, and ecclesiastical status, it may be able, on at least an equal footing with other separated Churches, to sue ere long for terms of reunion from the Holy See.

To accomplish all this the Order has constituted itself the efficient means. Already it commands "an impregnable position, and is fully equipped" for the work. Having first within its own boundaries supplied for itself and its associates everything that is wanting, and remedied whatever is amiss in the Church of England, it announces itself as a new fountain of divine benediction and grace to that Church, that all who will, whether clergy or laity, may draw nigh to partake of its life-giving streams. It will be as though a new graft on the Church of England, which Dr. Lee describes as "a branch of a spiritual tree long since visibly severed from its parent trunk;" and a graft of such rare virtue, as not only itself to thrive and bear fruit on the sapless, withered branch, but also to

impart its own life and fruitfulness to the stock to which it is united.

The way in which the Order found "providentially the divine instruments and materials"[1] needful for its full equipment is much as follows. Some three or four of its clerical members in the year 1877 secured for themselves clandestinely episcopal consecration, having first received Baptism, Confirmation, and their other Orders *sub conditione*, from some source which they affirm to be unquestionably valid, under a strict obligation to secresy enjoined by the consecrators. All who are admitted to the Order, unless they can bring clear proof of their previous valid baptism, are conditionally baptised and confirmed with chrism by a Prelate of the Order—clerical members before their conditional ordination as Deacons and Priests, receive, moreover, the Minor Orders and the Subdiaconate, which the O.C.R. has revived. The new Forms prescribed for Confirmation and Orders are translated from the Roman Pontificate. The Sarum Rite for Mass and the Sacraments of Extreme Unction have been solemnly restored by the Prelates of the Order, who consecrate the Oils and Chrism for this and other Sacraments.

Besides these Sacramental and Liturgical changes, a more enlarged assortment of Catholic doctrines, supplying many omissions, and repudiating many tenets of the Church of England, has been formed on an entirely new basis, specially adopted by the Order, and is proposed to the faith and acceptance of its Anglican associates.

Everything being thus ready for public action, a solemn Synod of the O.C.R. was convoked, and a Pastoral promulgated, in which the formal constitution of the Order, its distinctive principles and doings were set forth. Whilst at the same time the immense store of blessings of which it had become possessed was freely opened to the Anglican Church and all in its communion. They are especially: 1. The Confession of a right Faith. 2. The integrity of the Sacraments. 3. Valid Orders unquestioned by East or West.

The Pastoral was forthwith "despatched to all the English Bishops, Deans, and Proctors in Convocation," in hope, no doubt, that pondering over their distressful case, of probably not being bishops or priests at all, they might be led to seek for Apostolical succession from the reunionist

[1] Dr. Lee's Letter to *The Tablet*, November 19th, 1881.

prelates. It was "despatched also to the Holy Father and to many distinguished Catholic Prelates and Theologians in various countries," to assure especially the Sovereign Pontiff, that now at length the old reproach was in course of being removed, that once more the Anglican Church was on the way to recover the ancient Faith, true Sacraments, and an unquestionably valid succession, and that Anglicanism would ere long be possessed of a corporate entity and an ecclesiastical status recognisable even by Rome, and thus be capable of negotiating terms of reunion, at any rate as a Uniate Church.

After thus informing us to whom more particularly the Pastoral was sent, Dr. Lee immediately adds: "Except the simple sentence, containing an appeal to a general council —which, from a Roman Catholic standing-point, was inadmissible—its tone and terms secured a wide and almost universal commendation," words which, taken with their context, and with what is soon afterwards asserted, viz., that "the position of the O.C.R. was allowed to be impregnable by official representatives both from East to West," obviously imply, and would seem expressly intended to convey the impression, that the principles, policy and proceedings of the Order, as enunciated in the Pastoral, were alike almost universally approved of and commended in such opposite quarters as "all the English Bishops, Deans, and Proctors in Convocation," on the one hand; and (with the exception of one single clause) "the Holy Father and many Catholic Prelates and Theologians in various countries," on the other. Marvellously strange indeed! But we shall be better able to gauge the correctness of the implication, as we consider the O.C.R. in its relation to the Church of England, and to the Catholic Church.

In viewing then the O.C.R. first in its relation to the Anglican Church, an all-important question at once arises. By what right and authority has the Order done what it has done? Whence did it derive the mission and power to energise anew with divine and ecclesiastical life the material fabric of Anglicanism, and to reorganise into a living body that Church, from which "every vestige of distinct corporate entity and independence as a body corporate has utterly disappeared?" By what right did these Anglican clergymen and laymen form themselves into a private ecclesiastical organisation, obtain episcopal Orders for some of their members, assume the position they have taken up, and then proceed to act in virtue of their assumed

position; assemble in what they call a Synod, and claim for it the formalities and solemn sanctions of Canon Law? By what right do they issue what is termed a Pastoral, and set about remedying the evils, and supplying the defects of the Church in whose communion they are, and to whose authority they are subject: and propose to her members a more perfect faith than her own, and claim to restore to her lost sacraments, and to revalidate her succession?

The right to do all this must come either by delegation from some higher authority to which they are subject in religious and ecclesiastical matters, or it must be an intrinsic right inherent in themselves.

Now they certainly cannot claim to have this right by delegation. They did not receive it from the Anglican Church, whatever its supreme authority may be conceived to be. They did not receive it from Rome, the only other ecclesiastical authority which makes any claim to spiritual jurisdiction over Anglicans. They will hardly pretend that they received an extraordinary mission direct from heaven. But I have said enough, since Dr. Lee disclaims all extrinsic source whatever for the O.C.R.'s right to do what it has done. His words on this point are emphatic: "It may be truly asserted," he says, "that the prelates of the O.C.R. have claimed no spiritual jurisdiction whatsoever, save such as is granted by the society which they have been appointed to rule." Again, the prelates themselves in an official document claim indeed plenary authority, in virtue of which they condemn the Church of England for having "tampered with, rudely mutilated and deliberately made ambiguous" the Ordinal, so that it is now of doubtful validity; and by the same plenary authority decree new Forms for Ordinations, which they strictly enjoin upon all members of their Order, who, as clergymen, would presumably be subject to their Church alone in a matter of this kind. Yet it is "By Plenary Authority (I quote their own words) to Us belonging in right of Our respective Sacred Orders and Offices," and not—it should be well observed—by authority derived from any extrinsic source, whether delegated by the Church of England or by the Apostolic See

We may pass over the claim of plenary authority in right of their Sacred Orders, as simply unworthy a moment's comment, since the bare notion is palpably preposterous and intolerable, that because a man may somehow get himself ordained or consecrated, he should therefore possess a consequent right to legislate for others and claim their obedience.

The plenary authority, then, which the rulers assume to exercise is derived exclusively from the Order itself; that is, is bestowed on them by those individual Anglican clergymen and laymen who are its associates, and therefore it must belong inherently to them: for "nemo dat quod non habet."

But here the question suggests itself: How comes it to be inherent in them? How did they themselves get it? Is it because they are baptised, or because they are Anglicans? Some statements Dr. Lee has made with regard to the relation of Baptism to Catholicism, would incline me to think that in his view it was in virtue of their Baptism. For from his answer to Father Hutton, as we shall see later on, and from several passages in his published writings, it would seem to follow, that because all Catholics are baptised, *therefore* all the baptised are Catholics; and that from the very fact of their valid baptism, and "admission by the one door into the only Church," is derived a connatural right to secure for themselves in their own way whatever they may conceive to appertain to the integrity of their Catholicism.

It is very well sometimes to test the truth of a principle by its consequences. Supposing then this right to belong to Anglicans in virtue of their *baptism*, it would belong equally to baptised non-Anglicans, and hence it would be quite competent to all, or any of the Dissenters—say Methodists or Presbyterians—to band together and organise on their own responsibility an O.C.R. on the same lines as the Anglican Order. After securing valid baptism, the rulers might by some means or other obtain true orders and episcopal consecration, and then "by Plenary Authority to them belonging in right of their respective Sacred Orders and Offices, and in virtue of the spiritual jurisdiction granted by the Society they had been appointed to rule," might proceed to make Decrees on Faith and Discipline, enjoin obedience, and form plans for the improvement of the Church of England, and for the benefit of the Catholic Church at large, as has been done by the Anglican O.C.R.

But should this be held inadmissible on Anglican principles as schismatical; then whatever inherent right Church of England clergymen and laymen have to organise their O.C.R. must be in virtue not of their baptism, but of their *Anglicanism*, and because they are members of the Church of England. There is nothing else left, religiously or ecclesiastically, for them to fall back upon. If they lay

claim to any privilege and prerogative above the non-Anglican baptised in this country: that they are, for example, Churchmen, Anglo-Catholics, Catholics, or, at any rate, "more Catholic" than the rest, such superiority must flow from their connection with the Established Church, that they are members, whether as clergymen or laymen, of its communion, and subject to its authority, whatever they may prefer to think this to be. It matters not whether in their opinion that Church be good or bad, whatever they possess religiously or ecclesiastically, that the baptised non-Anglican has not, be it for better or for worse, is derived to them as Anglicans from her, and is due exclusively to their connection with her, that they are bound to her, that she is their mother, and that they are under her authority.

Now it is important to bear in mind that those who first initiated, and all who compose the O.C.R. are Anglicans—"The Order, Dr. Lee tells us, is strictly confined to members of the Church of England"—and indeed we may say, they profess an attachment and devotion to the Church of England greater than that of its other ordinary members. We are warranted in this assertion on no less authority than that of "Laurence, Bishop and Provincial of Caerleon, Prelate and Ruler of the Order," who expressly declares that all the brethren by the very fact and in virtue of their association are united to that Church by special ties, seeing they would "either by secession or by schism be completely departing from the plan of the Order, and breaking pledges solemnly entered into." And even though the English Church as a whole should repudiate the blessings and graces proffered by the Order, and choose to remain "in a position in which reunion with other episcopal churches is simply impossible," yet never will they repudiate that church. Nay, rather would they prefer to see the future of their cherished movement sacrificed, that it should "fall to the ground, and be as though it had never been," than originate a schism, or desert the Church of England with its imperfect faith, its mutilated sacraments, and its doubtful succession. It is, the Prelate intimates, to prevent blameworthy conduct like this that the Order has been devised, and he congratulates himself in having "good reason for believing that its foundation has already superseded some such steps."[1]

THOMAS LIVIUS, C.SS.R.

(To be continued).

[1] The *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1881. The O.C.R. *Postscript.*

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

De Obligatione restituendi pauperibus, vel ad pios usus, bona absolute seu simpliciter incerta ex delicto acquisita.

IT is sometimes asserted that a man in possession of property, which he acquired *mala fide*, of which it is impossible to discover the rightful owner, cannot be obliged, *sub gravi*, to give the same to the poor, or for pious uses—that such restitution may, indeed, be counselled as an act of piety, or, at the most, be enjoined as a penalty, but cannot be made obligatory on any principle of reason or justice; and, moreover, that now-a-days it has become obsolete in practice.

I may at once put the subject I treat of in a clearer light by a few practical illustrations.

The following accuse themselves in confession:—

1. James, of having still in his possession a gold watch, worth £25, which he stole twenty years ago, on a journey in America, from an entire stranger, whom he has for some time past been making every effort to discover, but without success.

2. William, of having some thirty years since stolen a purse, containing £50, at the Australian diggings—with the same circumstances as in James's case.

3. Thomas, that he spent several years of his past life travelling up and down England and Scotland, buying here and there from different unknown parties at a cheap rate all sorts of articles which he knew very well were stolen—so that by this traffic he is now possessed of a pretty considerable fortune.

4. John, of having made his living both in London and Liverpool by purchasing stolen goods, and practising unjust usury, from which he has realized a large amount of profits.

Before proceeding to determine the value of the foregoing assertions, I desire first to make some observations, the result of my reading on the subject of *bona incerta* in general.

Theologians, down to the time of Soto, held universally that all bona simpliciter incerta sive bonâ sive malâ fide acquisita—bona inventa (scil. amissa) included—were to be given to the poor, or for pious uses. They held this opinion on the ground that all such goods remained still under the dominion of the unknown owner; and, con-

sequently, when neither he nor his legitimate heirs could be discovered, the goods were by natural right to be disposed of according to his reasonably presumed will, *i.e.*, in works of charity or piety for his sake.

Soto made a revolution, so to say, in the schools, by originating the opinion that *bona inventa* (*sc. amissa*), when the owner was not to be found, were to be regarded no longer as under his dominium, but as *res nullius*, and might as bona derelicta become the property of the finder as primi occupantis—that though such *bona* might metaphysically be said to belong still to their former owner, yet morally they were not his, since neither they nor the use of them could any longer reach him. Several theologians of name and weight began to adopt Soto's view, whilst many still adhered to the common opinion, viz., that such goods were to be given to the poor, or for pious uses, according to the presumed will of their owner. Those who followed Soto went on to extend the principle to all absolutely uncertain goods, provided they were acquired *bona fide*. This is the opinion which with some modifications was adopted by De Lugo ; and his opinion, adopted by St. Alphonsus, is that now generally carried out in practice.

With regard, however, to bona simpliciter incerta *malâ fide* acquisita, and the grave obligation their possessor is under of restoring such to the poor, or for pious uses, there has been absolutely no change of opinion whatever amongst theologians, whether ancient or modern. Nor so far as I can discover has any author ventured to call in question this obligation except Van der Velden, a Belgian, Ord. FF. Minor. Recollect. (Principia Theol. Mor. Tom. I. n. 160, 161); and he confesses that his views have no extrinsic authority for their support, and are in opposition to the common teaching of the schools. But whilst theologians are thus unanimous as to the existence of the obligation itself, there has been no little diversity and fluctuation of opinion amongst them as to the reasons and principles on which it is based.

To understand this, we must bear in mind that the obligation is really two-fold—including two distinct requirements. First, that the possessor despoil himself of the goods unjustly acquired. Secondly, that these goods be given to the poor or for pious uses. Now, I say that all theologians ancient and modern agree to base the two-fold grave obligation on positive ecclesiastical law—the constitution, viz. of Alexander III., cap. "cum tu de Usuris."

What is there enacted regarding unjust usury they unanimously hold to extend to all bona simpliciter incerta which have been acquired ex quocumque delicto, and to be universally binding even at the present day. In this sense, they say, it has been practically received by the Church, and so has obtained the force of her commonly recognised custom and discipline. (Conf. Less. Lib. II. cap. 14. Dub. VI. Crolly de Justitia et Jure Tom. III. n. 1105. et A. A. communiter.)

But theologians are divided as to whether the obligation rests on positive law alone, or on natural law also. Some maintain that the entire two-fold obligation is founded on natural law, and that the constitution of Alexander III. serves simply to declare, enforce and determine the natural law (thus De Lugo, Sporer, Molina, Carriere, &c.) Others hold that, whilst the obligation to give up the unjust acquisitions is of natural law, the specified application of them to the poor is exclusively due to the positive precept (thus Lessius and many others). The only author I have ever met with who gives it expressly as his opinion that both parts of the obligation are founded on positive ecclesiastical law alone, is Layman (Lib. iii., Tr. ii., cap. ix. Assertio ii.) Again, theologians who appeal to natural as well as to positive law, differ in their choice of the principles of reason or justice on which the obligation rests.

Of course all those authors, as Carriere, &c., who adhere to the older opinion, viz., that *all* bona incerta are still under the dominium of the unknown owner, and have to be dealt with according to his presumed will, consistently urge this principle as the ground of the obligatory restitution to the poor in the case of bona incerta *malâ fide* acquisita. But many of those who have, practically at least, given up that opinion with regard to bona inventa, and simpliciter incerta bonâ fide acquisita, reasonably feel a difficulty in applying the principles of the presumed will of the dominus to the case of bona incerta *malâ fide* acquisita, since these are objectively in the same relative position to the unknown owner, as bona inventa, or bona incerta bonâ fide acquisita. If indeed some of these authors still invoke the above principle in the case of bona incerta *malâ fide* acquisita as the ground of their obligatory restitution to the poor, they do so, as it appears to me, with great inconsistency. Hence theologians who have come to abandon the principle of the presumed

will of the dominus, usually to base the obligation on other principles or axioms of reason and natural justice, especially that one: "Nemo ex re alterius injuste locupletari debet." Here, however, the question may be raised: Do these bona simpliciter incerta properly fall under the category of "res alterius?" Since hic et nunc they may equally, with bona inventa, or incerta bona fide acquisita, be regarded as "res nullius," and so become the property of their actual possessor as primi occupantis. Others modify the above principle by leaving out "alterius," saying simply: "Nefas est malitiam furi aut malae fidei possessori prodesse," or in other words: "Nemo ex malitia sua commodum reportare debet." Some invoke this principle as an axiom intrinsically evident, and as in itself a certainly sufficient ground for the obligatory restitution. Whilst others support it by a further reason, viz., the evil that thereby would accrue to society, or they make this last reason the sole ground. "Ratio est quia notabiliter ditescendo ex re aliena grave intulit damnum reipublicae."

Besides these principles I know of no others brought forward by theologians.

We are now in a position to judge of the value of the assertions placed at the head of this paper.

They contain:—

1. An opinion which is in direct contradiction to the common teaching of theologians, who unanimously base the obligation on positive ecclesiastical law, and support it by various intrinsic reasons.[1]

2. An opinion opposed to what is held by the consent of theologians to be the received teaching and discipline of the Church.

3. An opinion destitute of all extrinsic authority, and devoid of all probability. Conf. Prop. 27 damn. ab Alex. VII.

4. An opinion which, if referred to Rome, would, I believe, be condemned as a novelty, and as utterly false.

All that I have as yet had in view is to establish incontestably from the extrinsic authority of theologians the existence of the grave obligation—and to show that any

[1] The late lamented Dr. Crolly, may be well appealed to as the last, and a most reliable witness amongst modern theologians for the past traditional teaching of the schools on the matter of this obligation, and for its being practically in force at the present day. Cf. Crolly, Disp. de justitia et jure, Tom. III. n. 327, 329, 1104 et seq. *et Notam* in finem operis.

contrary opinion is improbable and untenable. If it is permitted me, I shall say something as to the intrinsic reasons on which the obligation is founded, in a future number of the RECORD.

DE OBLIGATIONE RESTITUENDI PAUPERIBUS VEL AD PIOS USUS, BONA ABSOLUTE SEU SIMPLICITER INCERTA EX DELICTO ACQUISITA.

In a former paper I fulfilled the main object I proposed to myself in bringing forward the above question, which was to show that all theologians are unanimous in teaching that the possessor of bona simpliciter incerta ex delicto acquisita is bound, *sub gravi*, to give them up, and to apply them to the poor or for pious uses, and that consequently any contrary opinion is a novelty, devoid of all probability and utterly untenable.

Together with this unanimity of authors as to the existence of the obligation we saw there was amongst them much divergency of opinion as to the grounds on which it rests. Some basing it, or at least the application of the goods to the poor, on positive law alone, others on natural law also, whilst these latter were divided again in their choice of principles for its support.

Theologians of name and authority may be cited in behalf of these various counter opinions; and since agreement with them all is impossible, it will not perhaps be deemed presumptuous in this conflict of opinions, if one who has endeavoured carefully to study the question, and to inform himself of what theologians of weight have written upon it, should express his own views, or should rather say which of the various opinions he prefers to adopt, as most approving itself to his judgment, and should at the same time give his reasons for this preference, provided he does so with sobriety and due deference to the authority and reasonings of others, and is open to correction for what he may say amiss.

The thesis, then, that I would maintain is, that the obligatory restitution in question is founded not alone on positive ecclesiastical law, but is also based on principles of reason and justice from natural and divine law: moreover, that the Church and also the Civil State have an inherent right to determine the particular application of the restitution.

I. *Natural Law.*

The principles from natural law by which the possessor cannot be allowed to retain his unjust acquisitions, are—

A. Nefas est malitiam furi aut malae fidei possessori prodesse—in other words: nemo ex malitia sua commodum reportare debet, or, nemini et non nemini sua fraus pata . . . . patrocinari debet.

1. This principle is an axiom of natural morality, intrinsically consonant with justice and reason, and its contrary is entirely opposed to all principles of natural right.

2. It is necessary for the observance of, and essentially implied in the Divine precept of the 7th Commandment, as St. Alphonsus testifies (L. IV. n. 534 Qu. 2). "Fur tamen certe non potest sibi retinere quantitatem ablatam nam (ut dicunt Sanch. et aliqui apud Lugo, etsi in alio proposito) praeceptum non furandi non solum prohibet ne quis alios graviter laedat, sed etiam ne ditescat notabiliter in aere alieno."

3. It is sometimes objected that the restitution in question is not restitution at all properly speaking, arising from commutative justice. I would maintain the contrary, viz., that the obligation to give up the unjust acquisitions is strictly speaking restitution due from commutative justice. Since by theft the equality of justice is disturbed, and an inequality is brought about, by which the dominus on the one hand is deprived of what is his, and which he ought to have, whilst the thief on the other hand is in possession of what is not his, and which he ought not to have. Now, if the equality cannot be restored on both sides, by the dominus getting back his own, it ought at least to be restored on the side where it is possible, by despoiling the thief of what is not his. This agrees with St. Thomas 2. 2ae Qu. 62, avt. vi. "*Ad primum* ergo dicendum, quod Restitutio non ordinatur *principaliter* ad hoc quod ille qui plus habet quam debet, habere desinat: sed ad hoc quod illi qui minus habet suppleatur." For from this we may fairly infer that the Angelic Doctor held that "Restitutio ordinatur *secundarie* ad hoc quod ille qui plus habet quam debet, habere desinat."

B. Another principle, reposing on society—itself a natural institution—and necessarily required for its protection, is contained in the following: "Notabiliter ditescendo ex re aliena grave intulit damnum reipublicae," viz., the injury to society which must be repaired.

St. Alphonsus, further on in the place last quoted, acknowledges and builds upon this principle:

"Si ergo singuli domini non fuerint graviter laesi, fur non tenetur sub gravi obligatione eis restitutionem facere. Attamen cum ipse notabiliter ditescendo ex bonis alienis grave intulerit damnum reipublicae, ideo reipublicae damnum restituere debet. Eo igitur casu sub gravi tenebitur reipublicae restitutionem facere: dominis vero tantum sub levi."

Dr. Crolly also:

"In hoc casu bonum publicum prorsus exigit ut injustus possessor restitutionem faciat, et hoc jus ex ipsa jure naturali oritur, ut jam probavimus . . . . . quia ipsa societas stare non posset, si hominibus iniquis liceret ditescere ex rebus alienis. (Tom. iii. 1109.)

The principles I have brought forward are axioms of natural law and dictates of reason, necessary for the preservation of human society, the observance of the Seventh Commandment, and for the vindication of justice: and from them it follows that antecedently to any positive law, ecclesiastical or civil, the possessor in question is bound to despoil himself of his unjust acquisitions and to give them up.

To whom?

1. He cannot give them to the former dominus, whom ex hypothesi it is impossible to discover—who is in fact, according to Lugo, St. Alphonsus, and other theologians of note, morally no longer dominus.

"Quando res . . . non videtur possibile ut ad dominum redeat; nunc illa fit nullius, et ideo acquiritur a primo occupante, qui illam non tenetur dare juxta voluntatem prioris domini cum ille impossibilitate eam recuperandi jus dominii prorsus amiserit . . . . Ratio a priori est quia jus gentium tribuit privatis dominium rerum non ad aliud, quam ut illis utantur; hinc, quando est impossibile rem pervenire ad ipsorum usum, illa tanquam derelicta evadit nullius, et redit ad primaevum jus naturae ac ideo fit primi occupantis sine ulla obligatione."

2. Nor, consequently, is the presumed intention of the former dominus to be the rule for their restitution, as St. Alphonsus says, if he is dominus no longer. It appears, as I have before observed, very inconsistent that authors who refuse to apply the principle of the presumed will of the dominus to other bona incerta, viz., inventa, et bonâ fide acquisita, should invoke this principle here, since

the extrinsic circumstance of the acquisition formerly malâ fide, cannot affect the objective condition of the bona hic et nunc, or change their present relation to the dominus.

3. The unjust possessor cannot appropriate them himself; for the two principles founded on natural justice and the good of society debar him, and in his case invalidate, as it were, the otherwise ordinary natural right of primi occupantis.

4. He cannot leave them idle, simply as they are, or throw them away, for that would be absurd and unreasonable.

To whom is he to give them?

By the natural law, he must give them for the good of society. By his injustice he has done a wrong to society which has to be repaired. Society has a claim on these goods. He must then make reparation by giving them to society (meliori modo) for the public use, or to those of society who are the more needy, to whom they would be most useful, which would be really for the good of society in general.

This agrees with what St. Alphonsus says in the passage before quoted (n. 534), and with what he says further on (ibid.), though on another question than our present one. "Unde videtur quod sufficienter fur satisfaciat suæ gravi obligationi ex presumpto consensu reipublicæ, si restitueret pauperibus aut piis locis qui sunt egentiores reipublicæ partes." He says, too, "ad rempublicam principalius tunc pertinet jus rei ablatæ" (Conf. Homo Apost., Tr. x. n. 38).

Though Dr. Crolly dissents from the opinion of DeLugo and St. Alphonsus that the dominium of the goods in question has passed away from the unknown dominus (1106 et seq.), yet he does not on that account admit the principle that they are to be disposed of according to the will of the dominus (n. 1100)—this principle he shows, as also do other authors, is open to several objections, quite independently of the opinion concerning the lapsed dominium of the goods. But he maintains that by the prescription of the natural law, they are to be applied in the best way for the common good, whether in charity or piety, or for the public use, unless the State or the Sovereign Pontiff, to whom the right belongs, should have otherwise determined their application (Conf. omnino 1109, 10).

So far according to Natural law, and to what would hold good in any society, even in a non-Christian State.

2. *Positive Law.*

A. *Civil* Society, we have seen, has a right to these uncertain goods; and, consequently, society or the State may (in virtue of natural law) legislate with regard to their disposition and application for the use and benefit of society, and such positive law is of valid force for the members of society.

B. *Ecclesiastical.*

(*a*) The Church also, through the supreme authority residing in the Sovereign Pontiff, may make positive laws for Christians with regard to these bona incerta, by declaring, interpreting, determining, and enforcing the natural law.

This Alexander III. did, by obliging uncertain usury to be given to the poor, or for pious uses. And this law has always been held to apply to all uncertain acquisitions ex quocumque delicto—for so it has been interpreted by consent of theologians, and become the universally received use and discipline of the Church.

(*b*) The Church has the power to legislate in this matter, not only with regard to ecclesiastical property, but also with regard to non-ecclesiastical property—that is, temporal goods generally, so far as they enter into the spiritual domain, and it concerns the spiritual good of the faithful—and can make positive laws as to the disposition and application of these bona incerta in the interests of the public good, and for the same reason may commute and compound the obligation of their restitution (St. Alph. L. iv. 591-2).

This other Popes have done by granting compositions of such uncertain goods (ibid. 591-594).

The right of legislating for the faithful with regard to the application of these bona incerta belongs, so at least I should conceive, *primarily*, to the Church, since this is a matter which directly concerns the forum conscientiæ, and the spiritual direction of souls—hence her laws on this point should be observed in preference to others. *Secondarily*, the right belongs to civil society, because theft is also a social crime.

St. Alphonsus does not expressly give an opinion as to whether the obligatory restitution, we have been discussing, arises from the natural law or not, and has not treated the question at all ex professo. Yet that he holds the affirmative is to be clearly inferred from his teaching on compositions of the Sovereign Pontiff (L. IV. 591), where following Lugo and other theologians (Lug. Disp. 21, n. 95), he says, that if a composition (super debitis incertis non-ecclesiasticis)

is made by the Pope, without just cause, it is *invalid.* Now this of course would be absurd, if the restitution were obligatory by positive law alone, since the Pope can dispense *validly*, even without just cause, in all positive law. With regard to the particular application of the goods to the poor, St. Alphonsus in two or three passages assents to the opinion that this is only due to positive law.

Having hitherto treated the subject of this grave obligation to restitution entirely in a speculative way, and as it exists *per se*, may I be allowed in conclusion to add a few observations which have a more practical bearing.

1. Though the grave obligation is incontestably in force *per se*, yet in practice, there may often be circumstances which will *per accidens* excuse from restitution. Should a man for example be in possession of some unjustly acquired property in specie, and should grave inconvenience or risk of detection be likely to ensue from its restitution to the poor or for pious uses, on account of the enactments of civil law, he would be excused from actual restitution, and might be allowed to hold such property pro tem. as care-keeper so to say. Such a case, however, is not very common, and must not be feigned.

It might be perhaps fairly presumed that the positive ecclesiastical law of Alex. III. as to the application to the poor of uncertain unjust acquisitions would not be in force in any case where its observance would be likely to bring the possessor into collision with any regulations of the civil power, especially as the penalties enacted by that ecclesiastical law, have no longer any force in foro externo.

2. All that is said by theologians, and so well brought together by Dr. Crolly (Tom. III. n. n. 475, 480), with regard to the prudence and caution the confessor should exercise in enlightening and admonishing those who may be ignorant of the grave obligation, and who are in bonâ fide, or who would not probably profit by his monitions, have certainly a double force, in the case of the restitution of these debita incerta, where the obligation is by no means so clear and evidently cogent *per se*, as in the case of debita certa. And for the same reason it would seem that the principle: "mensura restitutionis est quantitas rei alienae sine causa detentae," need not be urged and applied with such strictness as in ordinary restitution to a known dominus.

3. If the possessor is himself poor, the confessor can

allow him to keep the property in question, or part of it. Since theologians teach that the possessor may apply it to himself, *qua pauperi*, or if his family is poor he may give it, whether in whole or in part, to them. And it is not necessary that those to whom it is applied should be of the poorest, or absolutely poor, but relatively so.

4. It appears to me quite clear, that one who had acquired unjustly some property (bona incerta), but was now no longer in possession of it, either in specie, in aequivalenti or in emolumento, would not be bound to any restitution, *v.g.*, a man who had stolen a watch, or purse worth £20, and who had afterwards lost it, as in this case the *inequality* brought about by the theft is repaired as far as can be by the thiefs privation of what he had unjustly acquired. (See what was said on an earlier page).

C.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

Wax Candles required for the celebration of Mass.

It is nothing uncommon to find Holy Mass habitually celebrated in churches and chapels both in town and country through Ireland with candles of other materials than wax—(parafine, vegetable wax, composite, &c.)

Priests will defend this practice as lawful, on the plea of some old privilege, or recognised custom, which they say has come down from penal times. I would wish to ask :—

I.

Was such a privilege ever granted to this country by the Holy See; or was any such custom legitimate?

We are very much surprised to hear that candles which are not made of wax are used at Mass in any part of Ireland. Surely no priest is unaware that the rubrics[1] expressly require these candles to be of wax, and that a violation of this rubric without necessity is, according to the opinion of many theologians, a mortal sin. "Communiter Doctores docent," writes St. Alphonsus, "id esse mortale (celebrare cum candelis ex sebo vel oleo) quia talis usus est indecentissimus et prorsus alienus ab universali Ecclesiae consuetudine."[2]

[1] Rub. Missae. de defectibus, tit. x. n. 1.
[2] S. Alph. lib. vi., n. 394, dub. 1.

No Apostolic Indult allowing the use of any but wax candles at Mass was ever granted to Ireland, as far as we know, and the custom you mention is not legitimate. The Sacred Congregation was declared "consuetudines, quae sunt contra Missale Romanum, dicendae sunt potius corruptelae quam consuetudines;"[1] and in another Decree it orders "in omnibus et per omnia servari Rubricas Missalis Romani, non obstante quocunque praetextu, et contraria consuetudine, quam abusum esse declarat."[2]

II.

Would not the Acts and Decrees of the National Synods of Thurles and Maynooth (page 18) abrogate the use of such a privilege or custom, if it formerly existed?

The Decrees of those Synods clearly indicate that Ireland has no Apostolic Indult, and, moreover, that there is no general necessity in this country to justify such a departure from the law. "Cum Missa celebratur, colluceant duae saltem candelae *cereae*."[3]

III.

Are not the only instances on record of dispensations being granted by the S.R.C. for other than wax candles at Mass, the permission given to the missions in the Polar regions and Oceanica?

These are the only instances recorded in the Decreta Authentica of Gardellini. We have seen no reference to any other similar Indult.

IV.

Has every bishop the power to dispense from the universal obligation of using only wax candles at Mass, or to sanction or tolerate a contrary custom?

Manifestly not. This regulation respecting the material of the candles is one of the missal rubrics, and the missal rubrics are laws made by a higher authority than the bishops. "Inferior non valet dispensare in legibus superioris." In a particular case when it is doubted whether or not the necessity is sufficient to justify a departure from the general law, the bishop is the proper person to whom we should refer for a practical decision; but in no sense does he exercise a dispensing power.

For the same reason he has no authority to sanction or tolerate a custom against a plain rubric of the Roman missal.

[1] 16 March, 1591. [2] Decree given in the beginning of the Missal. [3] Chap. xiii., n, 61.

V.

If the obligation (and that *sub gravi*) of using only wax candles at Mass is in force in Ireland, can a priest, *tuta conscientia*, celebrate with non-wax candles in any other case than that of such necessity as is contemplated by theologians, v. g., ne moribundus viatico, vel populus Missa de praecepto careat?

We in Ireland are bound by the general law, and consequently any departure from it can be justified only by such necessity as would be recognised by the theologians to be a sufficient excuse. But theologians do not commonly limit the cases of necessity to the two which you have quoted from St. Alphonsus (Lib. vi., n. 394, Dub. 1.) They lay down the general principle.

Thus Suarez writes, "in illa (necessitate), quando candela cerea haberi non potest, non damnarem peccati mortalis eum qui sine scandalo et contemptu sed ex devotione, cum sola hujusmodi (ex oleo) lucerna Missam diceret, quamvis ego non consulerem; inferiori autem materia, ut ex sebo vel simile, nullo modo adhibenda est."[1] Other theologians are not so rigid in excluding the use of even tallow candles (candelae ex sebo) in cases of necessity. "Non video," writes Gobat,[2] "cur tam rigide excludat sebaceam, ut malit omitti Sacrum ex devotione, quam cum illa sacrificari;" and Bonacina, "in necessitate sufficiant candelae sebaecae aut etiam lucerna ex aleo."[3] Layman says, "ob causam, etiam non valde gravem, celebrari posset cum uno cereo, vel igni ardente in oleo aut sebo: modo scandalum absit."[4]

VI.

Can a stranger-priest, who may be staying in a place and who knows that there are no wax candles in the church, and is also aware of the strict obligation under which they are required for Mass, celebrate during his sojourn, *tuta conscientia*, on the ground that the responsibility does not rest with him, but with the priest in charge of the church, and that if he were to advert to the defect he might give offence and cause serious inconvenience to other interests which are of importance?

We are of opinion that the theologians we have consulted (Suarez, Layman, Bonacina, Gobat) would allow him to say Mass with the non-wax candles in this case. The obligation of providing the proper kind of candles falls

[1] Tom. xviii., Q. lxxx. Act iii., sect. 6.
[2] Tom. i., p. i., Tract. iii., cas. x., n. 292.
[3] Tom. i., Disp. iv., R. vi., punct ix., n. 31.
[4] Lib. cap. vi., n. 17.

in the first instance on the priests charged with the care of the church, and then upon his bishop, who is obliged to inquire into matters of this kind when making his visitation of the parish. At the same time, if a timely suggestion or remonstrance on the part of the stranger priest would lead to the providing of wax candles, we think he ought to make it. The feeling of a priest for whom such a suggestion would be necessary, would, we fancy, be one of confusion rather than of resentment.

Even St. Alphonsus, who is so strict on this question, only objects to the action of one, who, not being able to procure wax candles, says Mass with those made of oil or tallow, *ex mera devotione*. This principle would not apply to him who has any other reason for celebrating besides devotion alone.[1]

VII.

1. If such a stranger-priest celebrates, is he bound to provide wax candles for his Mass, otherwise must he abstain from saying Mass?

2. If he foresaw, before coming, the absence of wax candles, should he have brought them with him?

1. If he can provide such candles himself, he ought to do so; but we hesitate to say that, in the special circumstances, he is bound to do so under penalty of abstaining from the celebration of Mass.

2. If he foresaw the difficulty, we think he should bring with him wax candles.

VIII.

Are any other candles than those of wax at all recognised in an ecclesiastical sense, and capable of receiving the benediction of the church on Candlemas-day or on other occasion through the prayers of the Liturgy?

The candles presented for blessing on Candlemas-day and on other occasions must be of wax. This is an essential condition.

We printed in the February number of the RECORD, 1881, page 117, an important Ordinance of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome on this subject.

R. BROWNE.

[1] Non approbo id quod dicunt Pasquesius, Gobatus et alii (quibus consentit Suarez loquendo de lumine ex oleo) nempe non esse illicitum celebrare cum candelis ex oleo vel sebo, etiam ex sola devotione, si aliae haberi non possint; nam haec non videtur causa gravis sufficiens ad excusandum a mortali, ut supra dictum est. S. ALP. L. vi. Tr. v., n. 394.

DOCUMENT.

The Nuptial Benediction.

[From the following Decree it will be seen that the Sacred Congregation directs—

1° that the Nuptial Benediction as contained in the Roman Missal should be given *extra tempus feriatum* as often as two Catholics are getting married, provided that the woman, if a widow, has not already received it.

2° That the benediction is to be supplied even though a long time may have elapsed since the marriage was celebrated.

3° That converts should be instructed that the benediction is a ceremony and not an essential condition of a valid marriage.—Ed. I.E.R.]

Ex S. Cong. S. R. U. Inquisit.

Decretum Generale[1] quoad benedictionem nuptialem.
Feria IV. die 31 Augusti, 1881.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et Universalis Inquisitionis habita coram Emis ac Rmis DD. S. R. E. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei inquisitoribus generalibus, praehabito voto DD. Consultorum iidem Emi ac Rmi DD. decreverunt:

Benedictionem nuptialem, quam exhibet missale romanum in *Missa pro sponso et sponsa*, semper impertiendam esse in matrimoniis catholicorum, infra tamen Missae celebrationem, iuxta rubricas, et extra tempus feriatum, omnibus illis coniugibus, qui eam in contrahendo matrimonio, quacumque ex causa non obtinuerint; etiamsi petent postquam diu iam in matrimonio vixerint, dummodo mulier, si vidua, benedictionem ipsam in aliis nuptiis non acceperit.

Insuper hortandos esse eosdem coniuges Catholicos, qui benedictionem sui matrimonii non obtinuerunt, ut eam primo quoque tempore petant. Significandum vero illis, maxime si neophyti sint, vel ante conversionem ab haeresi valide contraxerint; benedictionem ipsam ad ritum et solemnitatem, non vero ad substantiam et validitatem pertinere coniugii.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

✠ Fr. Vincentius Leo Sallua
Archiepiscopus Chalcedonensis S. R. et Universalis Inquisitionis Commissarius Generalis.

Iuvenalis Pelami
S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis Notarius.

[1] De mandato R. P. D, Commissarii generalis. ceu alias, edimus decretum hoc.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"*Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age.*" By AUBREY DE VERE. London: Kegan Paul and Co.

WE venture to call the special attention of our readers to this beautiful volume, first, because it is noble poetry, and secondly, because its inspiration is borrowed from the legendary history of ancient Ireland. Long since, Aubrey de Vere has taken his place in the front rank of living poets. But we owe him special gratitude because he has devoted his genius ungrudgingly to the service of Catholic Ireland. He might have won more fame from the noisy critics of the time, had he sought for other themes, for assuredly nothing Irish is likely to secure its due meed of praise either in English or Scotch Reviews. But he loves to sing of Inisfail, and we believe he has chosen well for his future fame; and even now, if the stranger is indifferent, that is all the better reason why his own should appreciate him the more. If we get the genuine article of Irish manufacture, we can afford to dispense both with imported goods and foreign consumption. For the same reason, we should have preferred to see this thoroughly Irish book brought out by an Irish publisher.

This volume is intended to conclude what may be called the poetic history of Ireland. That history includes three perfect cycles, distinct in all essential features—Pagan Ireland, Saintly Ireland, and Suffering Ireland. In "Inisfail," the author has dealt with the six centuries of woe that extend from Strongbow to O'Connell, when Erin's harp was tuned only to notes of sadness, when the tears were never dry on her cheeks, and the voice of her mourning was heard in the night. The poet caught up the mourner's tone, and gave a voice to her wailing, and threw the lustre of a divine hope on the crown of sorrows that she wore. "The Legends of St. Patrick" deal with the saintly period of Ireland, from Patrick to Columba, when every island round our shores had its school of saints, whose glory was as the sun, and the people were made strong in faith that might endure the bitter conflict of the coming years. And now we have the "Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age," the stories of our country's youthhood, half fact and half fable, but all poetry; for the world was then fresh and young, and men were as gods, exulting in their strength: there was no philosophy, no clouding cares, or cramping civilization; but hand was strong, and eye was keen, and foot was swift and sure, and more than all there were bards to sing as well as warriors to fight. So it was when Homer roamed through the towns of Ionia; so it was when Horatius "kept the bridge in the brave days of old," and so it was in Ireland before the Christian era, when the

Amazonian Meave kept her court on the green slopes of Rath Cruachan, and the Red Branch Knights held high revel in the halls of Emania. To this period belongs the famous "Tain," or Cattle Spoil, which holds the same place in the heroic history of Ireland as the Argonautic Expedition, or the tale of "Troy divine," did in ancient Greece.

The story of the "Tain" is retold in the "Foray of Queen Meave," to which "The Sons of Usnach" forms a kind of poetic introduction. The third poem in this volume, "The Children of Lir," belongs to an earlier period of Ireland's history—

> "Ere yet great Miledh's sons to Erin came,"

and narrates the melancholy fate of the four children of Lir changed into swans by the mighty magic of their wicked stepmother, and doomed to wander over lake and sea for thrice three hundred years, singing their tale of woe :—

> "Till comes the Tailkenn, sent to sound the knell
> Of darkness, and ye hear his Christian bell."

Nowhere do we remember to have read anything more touching and more sweetly harmonious than this enchanting poem. You might fancy the author caught up the sweet song of the enchanted swans by Darvra's lonely lake, under the starlit sky :—

> "And ever, when the sacred night descended,
> While with these ripples on the sandy bars
> The sighing woods and winds low murmurs blended,
> Their music fell upon them from the stars ;
> And they gave utterance to that gift divine
> In silver song, or anthem crystalline."

The "Foray of Queen Meave" is a loftier and more ambitious, but certainly not a more beautiful, poem. If Hector was fortunate in finding a Homer to be the herald of his praise, we may likewise congratulate Cuchullain, the Hector of Ancient Erin, on the noble poem in which his god-like deeds are so vividly described. It is a lofty theme, and the author's language well befits the stately march of his adventurous song. We regret we cannot give a lengthened analysis of these poems; we can only recommend our readers to judge for themselves. The work will not only repay a cursory reading, but careful study. These poems can well bear comparison with any amongst the "Idylls of the King;" the language is chaste, elevated, and harmonious ; the music is rich ; the action is rapid and interesting.

We hope this charming volume will become familiar to all classes of intelligent Irishmen, and we think it might be studied in our Intermediate Schools with quite as much profit as anything in Scott or Milton.

J. H.

History of England from the Wars of the Roses to the present time. Edited by Thos. J. Livesay. London: Burns & Oates.

This is the third number of the Granville History Readers. It deserves all, and more than all the praise we have been able to give a former number. The History is perfectly fair and impartial. Whilst justifying Catholics where they have been badly treated, it does not hesitate to condemn them where they have merited censure. The style is simple and admirably suited to children, especially such as are being trained at home. There are some well-selected extracts from the poets interspersed through the volume, and an additional advantage will be derived from the engravings. Parents will find the book very useful and interesting for their children. Mc.

Lectures and Discourses. By the Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

We have received this handsome volume from Messrs. Gill and Son, agents for Ireland. The work is excellently brought out, the paper, printing, and binding, being of the best. There are twelve lectures on religious and doctrinal subjects, such as religious indifference, faith and science, the Catholic Church, the Christian religion, the rise and fall of Protestantism, &c. It is needless for us to say that the eminent author does full justice to each subject, and that both clergy and laity will find amusement and instruction in these lectures.

And yet we think it would not be fair or honest to say this much without mentioning also, with all due respect, our opinion that some things might be amended. For instance, all will not agree that "it is indubitable that God and the soul are the first truths given in consciousness" (p. 20), or that "God's existence is a part of human consciousness" (p. 68). What consciousness testifies is immediately known to all; but the ablest and holiest men have always held that we have no immediate knowledge of God's existence. It is true that the other theory was recently put forward, but its supporters were always few, and it is now entirely abandoned.

Again, we are of opinion that, in writings of this kind, such words as *faith* and *belief* should be used accurately. In each of them is implied an acceptance of the testimony of others. Hence we object entirely to such expressions as the following:—

"The uniformity of nature, if we take the matter rigidly, is not known to us; we believe in it, and without this invincible faith the springs of action would break," p. 70.

"The materialist does not know there is no God. At most he can but believe there is none. Whatever theory of the universe

we may adopt, it is through faith that we reach our judgment as to what is the transcendent reality which lies behind phenomena," p. 72.

It may or may not be correct to say that we are not able to account logically for why we assent to certain truths, such as that natural causes are uniform in their action. Or again, we may say that materialists can never be sure there is no God, but at most can only doubt. But to apply the terms *faith* and *belief* to such acts and states of the mind, in a philosophical lecture, is surely misleading.

With regard to faith we would, moreover, suggest that writers and speakers ought to be more on their guard lest they should be understood to say that an act of faith is a leap in the dark. Take this passage in the beginning of the second lecture :—

"Religion must assume what we cannot comprehend, and for the acceptance of which consequently we can furnish no reasons that will clear away all difficulty. What is God? What is His life?" &c., p. 42.

But who *assumes* the existence of God? It is true we prove certain truths which we cannot comprehend, but that is not an assumption. Even when we do assume our own capability of knowledge and other first principles, it is a *rational* assumption, and this, if touched upon at all, should be carefully explained.

The lectures suggest many useful thoughts, and put old difficulties in new lights, and will well repay perusal. Mc.

An Essay on Masses for the Dead and the Motives for having them Celebrated. By the Rev. A. A. Lambing. Notre Dame, Indiana : Ave Maria Press.

In his introduction the author writes :—"The aim of the present essay is fully expressed in the title. It is not doctrinal, much less controversial, nor does it profess to treat of devotion to the souls in purgatory in general; it is strictly confined to a statement and explanation of such motives as are calculated by their nature to impress upon the mind of the pious reader the importance, if not the necessity, and the advantage, if not the duty, of having Masses, or at least more Masses, celebrated for the repose of the souls of our brethren of the Church suffering. Much will doubtless be said which, it is hoped, will tend not only to foster devotion to the souls in general, but also to excite the faithful to particular practices in their behalf. . . Explanations and commentaries upon the teaching of the Church will be introduced in so far only as they are necessary to a proper understanding of the subject."

He then explains why it is that he directs attention almost exclusively to Masses as a means of relieving the suffering souls. The principal reason is, because, whilst other means are frequently advocated, pastors hesitate to recommend the offering of Mass, lest

they should be thought to be influenced by mercenary motives. This difficulty has been felt by all priests. If Father Lambing's essay could be put into the hands of the laity it would do a great deal to enlighten them in this matter; but for clergy or laity it contains an amount of useful information.

A good deal of the essay is made up of extracts from approved writers, and this for two reasons. "First, because in a matter in which so much is involved in mystery, the writer prefers to give the opinions of the learned in their own words rather than to attempt giving them in his. All the authors quoted are such only as are entitled to the reader's entire confidence—St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Alphonsus Liguori, Cardinal Bellarmine, Fathers Faber, Maurel, and Coleridge. . . Secondly, the writer hopes that the extracts presented may so please some at least of his readers as to induce them to procure and read the works entire from which they are taken." Mc.

Half-hours with the Saints and Servants of God. By Charles Kenny. London: Burns & Oates.

The compiler tells us that Charles Knight's "Half-hours with the best Authors" suggested the title of this volume. The matter is taken mostly from Père Houdry's Bibliothèque; and though the short edition of that work is now within reach of all priests, yet those who have not got it will find a great deal of matter for sermons and instructions in this volume. Most of the good and wise sayings that ever fell from the lips and pens of holy men will be found here. There are half-hours on almost every subject, and in each many excellent hints are to be got which must be of great utility to preachers.

There is a short preface by the Rev. W. T. Gordon, Provost of the Oratory, whose words will most accurately convey an idea of what the book is. "The extracts are made from writers of every age, from St. Augustine down to our own Father Faber, and many of the quotations are from books quite out of the reach of ordinary readers. Moreover, the editor has wisely added a short account of the life of the saint or servant of God, whose work he quotes, and this not only adds much to the interest of the work, but may lead those who have time at their disposal to cultivate a taste for solid reading. They will learn the beautiful thoughts of men whom they have hitherto known only by name, and they will become anxious to know more of the history of their times, and of the circumstances in which they wrote." Mc.

Enchiridion Clericorum, &c. By the Author of "Programmes of Sermons," &c. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

A glance at the Table of Contents, and a hurried look into the treatment of a few of the subjects mentioned therein, convince us

that it would not be fair either to our readers, or to the author, to dismiss this book with the brief notice to which we should of necessity confine ourselves in the present number of the RECORD.

We shall merely say for the present that as far as we have had an opportunity of examining it, the book is all that its title implies, and all that our readers can desire in such a work.

We beg to thank the learned and experienced author for this new proof of his untiring zeal in a most laudable cause, and this new pledge of the keen interest he takes in the best interests of his brethren in the ministry. We shall return to the subject in our next number. ED.

We have received for Review the following Books :—

From Messrs. BROWNE & NOLAN—

The Writings of Cardinal Cullen. 3 vols. Edited by Most Rev. Dr. MORAN.

Enchiridion Clericorum. By the Author of Programmes of Sermons.

From Messrs. GILL & SON—

A Saint among Saints: A Sketch of the Life of Saint Emmelia, Mother of St. Basil the Great. By S. M. S.

The Spirit of Saint Francis De Sales. By Monseigneur CAMUS, Bishop of Belley. Translated from the French. New Edition, Revised.

Poems, Original and Translated. By H. J. D. RYDER, of the Oratory.

Moore's Irish Melodies, with Pianoforte Accompaniments, Complete Edition.

Edmund Burke: On Conciliation with America, and Two Letters to Gentlemen of Bristol on Trade with Ireland. With an Introduction by VINCENT SCULLY.

Irish Pleasantry and Fun: A selection of the best Humorous Tales by CARLETON, LOVER, LEVER, and other Popular Writers. With Sixteen Coloured Illustrations. By J. F. O'HEA.

From Messrs. BURNS & OATES—

The Dublin Review. July 1882.

The Granville Reading Book. Part IV.

The Catholic Child's Complete Hymn Book.

The Office of the Holy Ghost. By CARDINAL MANNING.

Secret Societies: a quiet talk about them. By W. H. ANDERDON, S.J.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1882.

A QUESTION IN CLANDESTINITY.

IN Gury, Part II., n. 839, it is asked:—"Is marriage validly contracted by those who leave a locality where the Council of Trent is received, and enter into the married state in a place where the Council is not received?" The ceremony is supposed to be clandestinely performed, and Gury's answer is, that if a domicile or quasi-domicile be acquired, the marriage is valid, whether the contracting parties leave *in fraudem legis* or not, but invalid if they leave to evade the law, and fail to acquire a quasi-domicile.

Now, this answer is good as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. We are not given a complete solution of the difficulty. For what are we to hold if the parties, without any intention of evading the law, leave a parish where the decree "Tametsi" is published, and contract clandestinely where it is not published, without having abandoned their old abode or acquired a new one? Is such a marriage invalid as well as illicit? This is the point on which Gury, like so many others, is silent. For the partial answer which he supplies, he had the decisive authority of Urban VIII.'s decree; but it may be fairly questioned whether that instrument in any way touches the portion of the question which he passes over, and which is, after all, a matter of no mean importance. The omission is to be attributed perhaps to the brevity of a compendium, perhaps to inadvertence, possibly to the conflict of theological opinion on the point; but whatever the cause was, it did not influence Gury's editors with equal force in the same direction. Both

Ballerini and the Ratisbon editor have noticed the defect, and each is prepared with his own solution of the difficulty. It is unfortunate they disagree, and to the extent of holding directly opposite views. The former citing many theologians and canonists of name, holds for validity; the latter claims the invalidity to be manifest from a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, ratified by Urban VIII. and Benedict XIV.

Opinions so widely different coming from such men, lead us at once to examine the arguments adducible on either side; and these, as we might naturally expect in treating a subject like this, are taken from three sources:—

1. The general principles of law as applied to this particular law of clandestinity;

2. The decisions which have from time to time emanated from the Sacred Congregation with Papal approval;

3. The authority of theologians and canonists.

I. To take the last first; some theologians have not discussed the question at all; some have discussed it, and kept back their own opinions; and some there are who have not been consulted: still, the following list of names may be taken as fairly indicating the authority on one side and on the other. For the validity:—Sanchez,[1] Pontius, Bannez, Aversa, Coninch,[2] Castropalao, Wiggers, Struggl,[3] Salmanticenses,[4] Henno,[5] Ferraris,[6] Reiffenstuel,[7] Schmalzgrueber,[8] De Castillo, Engel, Barbosa, Mazzotta, La Croix,[9] Escobar,[10] Billuart (as more probable), Feije (as more common), Mansella. For invalidity:—Concina, Konings,[11] Kugler (as more probable), Carrière,[12] Bailly, Scavini, Charmes, Dens, Heiss[13] (as much more probable, but much less common), and Burgt.[14]

Benedict XIV. is sometimes quoted in favour of the second opinion; but it does not appear that he anywhere discusses the question at issue. So also the authority of St. Liguori. But it is pretty plain that St. Alphonsus expresses no opinion on either side. Obviously, in n. 1080, the case he deals with is one of evasion; for, in favour of the view put forward, La Croix and the Salmanticenses are

[1] Lib. iii., Disp. 18, n. 29. [2] De Matr., Disp. 27, n. 14.
[3] De Matr. Quaest. iii., Art. xv., n. 180. [4] De Matr., cap. viii., n. 21.
[5] Disp. Ult. Art. vii., Petes 3. [6] Impedm. Art. ii., n. 110.
[7] L. iv., t. 3, n. 123. [8] L. iv. t. 3, n. 110. [9] L. vi., Part iii., n. 712.
[10] L. xxv., Dub. L. xxvii. [11] P. 728, Resp. 2. [12] 1193-4.
[13] P. 174. [14] P. 254.

cited as against Sanchez. Now La Croix and the Salmanticenses go with Sanchez for validity in the case we are discussing, and draw back from him only where the latter would extend the same teaching to cases of evasion. The conclusion is easily drawn. St. Liguori deals with some point on which these authorities are not agreed; but the only point of disagreement is that of *fraus legis*. Therefore the case of evasion, and not our question, was the exact issue before St. Alphonsus.

A glance at the above analysis of theological opinion is enough to show that the great weight of authority is in favour of validity. And it should be borne in mind that Struggl, and the other theologians who come after him on the list, had before them the decree of Urban, and that many of them state expressly in regard to it, that the Pontiff, so far from settling the question, did not in the least touch on the matter at issue.[1] On the other hand, the negative opinion has had a fair following, especially since Carrière wrote his treatise. These theologians either hold the obligation to be *purely personal*, or more commonly, to be *personal in the fullest sense as well as local*, and their contention is that the decisions of the S. Congregation are so plainly in their favour as to make the explanation of legal maxims, and the quoting of theologians, useless and unmeaning.

There would be some convenience in briefly stating here the principles of law which are brought to bear on the solution of the difficulty; but as those who hold for invalidity look upon the matter as decided by the responses from Rome, we deem it better to take up these documents and examine them in the first instance. Afterwards, if we find that the answers of the S. Congregation are not decisive—that the ordinary law has not been overruled—we shall be in a better position for applying the accepted doctrine of the law-treatise to untie this knot. What then is the construction put upon the Tridentine decree by that authority whose interpretation is as binding as the legislation of the Council itself?

II. After the decree "Tametsi," the most important document in connection with this whole subject is an answer given (in 1626) by the S. C. C. to three questions proposed by the Archbishop of Cologne. The questions were the following:—1. "An incolae tam masculi quam

[1] Cf. La Croix, and Lugo Resp. Mor. L. i. Dub. 36.

feminae loci in quo Concilium Tridentinum in puncto matrimonii est promulgatum et acceptatum, transeuntes per locum in quo dictum Concilium non est promulgatum, retinentes idem domicilium, valide possint in isto loco matrimonium sine parocho et testibus contrahere?" 2. "Quid si eo praedicti incolae tam masculi quam feminae solo animo sine parocho et testibus contrahendi se transferant, habitationem non mutantes?" 3. "Quid si iidem incolae tam masculi quam feminae eo transferant habitationem solo animo ut absque parocho et testibus contrahant?" The Congregation replied, "Ad primam et secundam respondit non esse legitimum matrimonium inter sic se transferentes et transeuntes *cum fraude*." "Ad tertiam respondit nisi domicilium vere transferatur matrimonium non esse validum." On receiving this response, the Archbishop besought Urban VIII., the reigning Pontiff, to confirm it by his Apostolic authority. This the Pope did, by a brief expedited on the 14th August, 1627.

Such is the celebrated decree of Urban VIII., which proved the fruitful source of so much controversy in after times. On it, as upon a main support, those who agree with the Ratisbon editor have always relied. Manifestly, they say, the Archbishop's first question is the precise question we are discussing, and no less manifestly the answer given was negative. The reply, however, to such reasoning is obvious. In the first place, it might be at once denied that the first question put by the Archbishop of Cologne is our question; but waiving this for the present, the Congregation gives no answer whatever to the first question as it stands. On the contrary, what the cardinals do is to group together the persons referred to in the first and second question, and declare broadly that their marriages are invalid if they go out *in fraudem legis*. In doing so, as Lugo remarks, they use a precise expression, *in fraudem legis*, which was not contained in the questions, to define accurately the invalid marriages, and distinguish them from those which were valid. Any one may draw the conclusion by declaring marriages tainted with fraud invalid, in the circumstances the Congregation implicitly declares marriages free from fraud to be free from nullity also.

To this there is no particular objection, if it be admitted that there always is fraud in the case made. Such is the actual contention of Ballerini's opponents. In their view, a material evasion has attached to it the penalty of invalidity,

and at the very least a material evasion is always present. To support this position, they rely chiefly on Benedict XIV. The first argument is taken from his Ecclesiastical Institute (33), where he appears to say that in every case there is "fraus in parochum." But plainly he supposes the contract to be entered into in a parish where the law is promulgated.

The second is much weightier. It may be taken either from the Ecclesiastical Institutes or from his letter to the Archbishop of Goa. In both, after quoting Urban's decree, he draws the following conclusion:—"Facile intelligitur matrimonia primo et secundo loco exposita irrita et nulla ab eadem Congregatione decerni eo quia *fraus* intercesserat." Two things seem to follow. First, to the mind of Benedict XIV. the S. Congregation pronounced such marriages, as the first question regarded, invalid. Secondly, as he accounts for this fact by assigning fraud as the cause, and as material evasion was the only fraud that could be present, material evasion suffices fully, as well as formal evasion, to constitute that *fraus legis* which occasions invalidity.

The argument is undoubtedly forcible, and can perhaps be best met by showing that the Pope did not speak of mere material evasion. In his work De Synodo,[1] he lays down the common doctrine in regard to the exemption strangers (*peregrini*) enjoy from the obligation of observing the laws of their domicile. This done, he assigns, as an exception, the case of strangers who leave *in fraudem legis*. Whether his teaching be correct or not in this particular is little to our purpose; what does concern us is, that in laying down the exception, he explains what he means by *fraus legis*, and cites, to exemply his meaning, the case of those who leave their territory *with the intention* of contracting clandestine marriage, where the decree of Trent is not in force. This makes the sense in which he uses the phrase unmistakable. He also instances the act of those who go out *in fraudem reservationis peccatorum*, and concludes by saying *fraus legis* is present when a person leaves "*solo animo legem eludendi*." For *fraus legis*, then, Benedict XVI. requires an intention to defeat the law.

Indeed, it is true to say that with the exception of a few recent authors, who suggest the other sense to support their opinion on this particular point, scarcely any theolo-

[1] Lib. xii., cap. iv., n. 9.

gian or canonist of name designates as *fraus legis* the mere fact of being outside a person's parish. To merit this name, an intention to evade the law is required alike by common sense, propriety of language, and scientific usage.

But if Benedict XIV. understood *fraus legis* in its only proper sense of formal evasion, how could he suppose the existence of a fraudulent intention on the part of those to whom the first question proposed by the Archbishop of Cologne referred? Several replies suggest themselves. And first of all, it is enough that this great Pope uses the phrase, *fraus legis*, in its proper sense, and states that it was because of *fraus legis*, and therefore because of formal evasion, the Congregation declared the marriages invalid. Again, plainly his words, "matrimonia primo et secundo loco exposita," mean the same thing as "ad primam et secundam, matrimonium inter sic transeuntes et sese transferentes," in the response of the S. Congregation, and we have seen how that answer does not necessarily imply an intention of defeating the law in those to whom the first question refers. Finally, does the wording of the first question necessarily exclude formal evasion? By no means. If we suppose the persons to whom it refers to leave for many reasons, the chief of which is to evade the law, we have, on the one hand, the *fraus legis* to which invalidity attaches, and on the other this query remains quite distinct from the second, by the terms of which, the parties leave *solely* to defeat the decree. In any case, whatever was the meaning of those who framed the question, the S. Congregation might have adverted to the construction we have suggested as possible, and given a reply that would be applicable; or at least Benedict XIV. seeing that formal evasion was not necessarily excluded by the terms of the first question, and that the S. Congregation pronounced marriage invalid in every case of formal evasion, unless a domicile or quasi domicile had been acquired, might assuredly make the statement—"facile intelligitur matrimonia primo et secundo loco exposita irrita et nulla ab eadem Congregatione decerni eo quia fraus intercesserit" —without in anyway implying that material evasion constituted true *fraus legis*. Two conclusions clearly follow. The first is, that in those marriages *fraus legis* is the invalidating cause. The second is, that neither the decree itself nor the words of Benedict XIV. supply an argument for calling by that name the fact of one's being outside his own

parish where the decree is in force, and in another where it is not received, unless the fact be coupled with an intention to defeat the decree.

We now come to another document, which ranks next to the decree of Urban in the history of this controversy. We have alluded to it already. It is no other than the oft-quoted letter of Benedict XIV., addressed in the year 1758 to Antonius Taveira, Archbishop of Goa, Lord Primate of the East. The importance of this document can scarcely be overstated. It contains and confirms the decree of Urban VIII., deals with the subject-matter, questions, and answers of that decree, and proclaims the *menstrua-habitatio* doctrine in connection with quasi-domiciles. To it the Sacred Congregation has, time after time, referred prelates, chapters, and confessors; and to it, also, those who decide the question before us in the negative have always triumphantly appealed. With the comment which Benedict XIV. makes in it on Urban's decree, we have already dealt; we proceed to consider what further light the earlier portion of the letter throws upon the controversy.

Goa was in the middle of the eighteenth century, as it now is, an important See. The decree "Tametsi" had been promulgated long before 1754, the year in which Antonius Taveira wrote to Benedict XIV., but many of the inhabitants, as the Archbishop bitterly complains, managed to set the law at defiance; for when they wished to get married, instead of going through the ceremony before a priest and two witnesses at Goa, they, on various pretexts, left Goa, went to the neighbouring districts of Sunda and Quittur, where the Council was not binding, and there contracted before a Missionary, who, as it appears, had no licence to assist at such marriages. This practice grew into an intolerable abuse, and it was to procure a remedy for such a state of things that the Archbishop penned the communication, which elicited in return the celebrated "Epistola ad Archiepiscopum Goanum."

Now, the question at once suggests itself—Did those subjects, of whom the Archbishop speaks in his letter, go out in *fraudem legis* or not? Two passages from his letter prove clearly that he spoke of those who left his territory to defeat the law, and of them alone. The passages are: "Ad quem (missionarium) *dolose* se transtulerunt dicentes, se velle ibi novum domicilium acquirere, sed contracto matrimonio statim ad patriam convolarunt," and "Opus esse mihi videtur sanctitatem tuam meis precibus inclinatum

declarare nulla esse talia matrimonia, prouti olim declaratum fuit a S. Congregatione Cardinalium approbante sanctissimo Domino Urbano VIII., 14 Augusti, 1621, ad instantiam Archiepiscopi Coloniensis; ut refert Schmalzgrueber.[1] The first quotation requires no comment; the second is equally decisive when we remember that the purpose for which Schmalzgrueber cites Urban's decree is to show that whereas marriages free from fraud are valid, marriages tainted with that stain are null and void.

The Archbishop therefore spoke of those who left his diocese to defeat the decree. And, what is of more importance, this is the sense in which he was understood and answered by Benedict XIV. Let us see, at length, the Pontiff's understanding of the issue raised by Antonius Taveira. The Pope's letter runs thus:—"Cum vero diocesi tuae finitimus sit locus quidam Sunda vacatus ubi nonnulli missionarii sacerdotes . . . contigit aliquando atqui nunc etiam contingit ut quispiam *difficultates praenoscens* quae matrimonium fortassis impedirent, quotiescunque in tua diocesi contrahendum foret, ab *eadem decedit una cum muliere* atqui Sundam pergit ubi neque receptum neque promulgatum fuit concilium Tridentinum, ibique coram missionariis matrimonium contrahit, ac subinde regrediens ad diocesim tuam validum esse contendit eo quia matrimonium non alibi nullum esse reputatur praeterquam iis in locis in quibus Concilii decretum receptum ac publicatum fuit." Could the act of those who leave to evade the law be more fairly described? Well, the next sentence is this:—"Haec est quaestio de qua nos interrogasti ut normam praefiniremus quomodo in ejusmodi matrimoniis gerere te oporteat." And, further on:—"Petitionibus tuis recta responsa dare non omittemus." Let us see the nature of these responsa. He begins by vindicating the right of the Apostolic See to decide questions of difficulty, such as the one proposed, and then plunges in medias res at once. The first thing he does is to dispose of his adversaries. Who are they? We saw already how the Pontiff had before him a fraudulent evasion of the Tridentine decree, and, this being the case, as we might naturally expect, he at once singles out for refutation Sanchez and his followers, who held that the intention of defeating the law did not invalidate subsequent marriage—"Thomas Sanchez defendit validum matrimonium initum in loco ubi promulgatum non fuerit Tridenti-

[1] Lib. iv., t. iii., n. 112.

num Concilium quamvis ille qui contrahit, domicilium habeat in loco ubi Concilium receptum est, ideoque decesserat ut eas difficultates aufugeret in quas incideret vel in quas incidere se posse rebatur si matrimonium ibidem contrahere voluisset." To meet this doctrine, the Pope states that there is no want of authority on the other side, that many theologians teach the opposite opinion, which holds, "nullum esse matrimonium ab eo contractum qui ad *evitandas difficultates* in quas incidit vel incidere se posse veretur si matrimonium ineat in loco domicilii ubi viget Tridentina lex transit ad locum ubi promulgatum non fuit adeoque neutiquam recepta, et post initum matrimonium domum suam revertitur." A long list of theologians follows.

Now, it will be admitted that, so far, the only question before the Pope is a fraudulent evasion; but he goes no further, he discusses no other question in this connection. The very next thing he does is to cite Urban's decree as decisive against Sanchez, and therefore equally decisive on the difficulty he wished to solve. The meaning which Benedict XIV. attaches to *fraus legis* is thus placed in still clearer light. He uses the expression in only one sense, its ordinary meaning of deliberate evasion. This is the only fraud he was consulted about, and of this and of no other does his letter speak. No wonder then, if, after confirming the decree of Urban VIII., he describes his own action in the following words:—"Nos arbitramur petitioni quam proposuisti in epistola die 18 Decembris, 1754, ubi normam quam sequereris commonstrari tibi cupiebas si contingant uti paulo ante dicebamus matrimonia eorum qui *ad evitandas difficultates* in quas vel offenderant vel offensuri erant si matrimonium in tua dioecesi celebravissent transeunt ad finitimum locum in quo coram aliquo missionario matrimonium contrahunt, deinde vero ad eam regionem ubi verum domicilium habent revertuntur."

The conclusion from all that has been stated is, that Benedict XIV. was asked about fraudulent evasions, and that he answers the difficulty proposed, and no other. Nor let it be urged from the other side that the Archbishop had Urban's decree to fall back on, if his question was what we state it to have been. Here is his own account in almost his own words:—"A new decision declaring, like the decree of Urban, such marriages invalid, is absolutely necessary to save the law of Trent from utter neglect." We need not pause to inquire further into the Archbishop's

reasons for this statement, and, with one observation, we pass to another portion of the subject. The observation is this. For those who hold that the fraudulent intention of the parties has nothing to do with the solution of this question, that everything depends on acquiring a quasi-domicile, it must be somewhat perplexing to notice the importance attached by Benedict XIV. to the presence or absence of fraud. If their opinion were correct, the intention of the parties one way or other should be a matter of little moment, and the Pope should simply have replied that everything depended on acquiring a quasi-domicile. But he acts very differently. Although the acquisition of a quasi-domicile would secure validity even in case of fraud, the Pope is careful to state that, failing a quasi-domicile, the reason why Urban declared the marriages invalid was *because of fraud.* He might have stated in all correctness that these marriages were invalid because a quasi-domicile had not been acquired, but by assigning the real cause of invalidity, "fraus legis," he distinguishes between two classes of marriages, between those which are, and those which are not, tainted with fraud, and he makes the question of validity or invalidity hinge on this distinction. It is worth adding that Benedict XIV. here speaks of a domicile being acquired *admissa etiam fraude?* Could a domicile be acquired *sine fraude*, if material evasion constituted *fraus legis?*

We come to examine some other decisions which have been given by the Sacred Congregation and are said to be in favour of Ballerini's opponents. Heiss has the following:— "In Antverpiensi die 16 Dec. 1628, in qua David et Maria qui pridem habitaverant ubi concilium est publicatum, cum profecti essent ad oppidum distans itinere unius dici, ubi non erat publicatum concilium, ibi more hæreticorum contraxerunt matrimonium; postridie domum reversi, cum diu inter se cohabitaverant, ob dissidium natum instabant declarari matrimonium invalidum. Censuit Congregatio matrimonium ut supra contractum esse nullum, quia non reliquerunt locum proprii domicilii." Heiss thinks there was no fraud in the case. But on the contrary, does not the whole proceeding appear a deliberate attempt at evasion?[1]

Perrone (De Matrimonio Christiano) says, the Sacred Congregation, answered in 1841, "non constare de validitate," when asked about a marriage contracted "a duobus

[1] L. ii. c. vii. p. 265.

Gallis Londini post octo aut decem dierum commorationem coram missionario apostolico." Probably the cardinals could not be certain of the absence of fraudulent intention.

In 1640 the Sacred Congregation decided "non valere matrimonium contractum coram parocho loci ubi contrahentes reperiuntur non animo domicilium ibi acquirendi." But the marriage is supposed to be contracted in a parish where the Council of Trent is promulgated.

It were useless to cite other decisions. Many are given at length in the Acta S. Sedis, but they are of the same character as those already quoted, and are therefore not to the point.

This perhaps is the place to mention a document which at first sight at least seems to be strongly opposed to Ballerini's view. We have seen but a manuscript copy, and can vouch for the genuineness of the original only to the extent of the following particulars. More than twenty years ago Dr. O'Hanlon, who was at the time Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment in Maynooth, gave extracts from the document to the students of his class. Before doing so, the Prefect stated that up to that time he had always held the validity of marriages contracted *sine fraude*, but that he was convinced of the opposite opinion by a Rescript of the then reigning Pontiff to Dr. O'Connell of California. He then dictated from the Rescript: "In confesso est apud omnes quod lex Tridentina est simul personalis et localis; in quantum est localis obligat omnes omnino in loco ubi viget; in quantum est personalis obligat omnes etiam qui habent domicilium vel quasi-domicilium in loco ubi recepta est Tridentina lex et volunt contrahere in loco ubi non viget."

This is undoubtedly pretty strong. Still we cannot look upon the matter as by any means settled. Recent authors make no mention of this rescript, and Mansella, whose book is fresh from a Roman printing-press, and whose attention could scarcely fail to have been directed to such a document, holds for validity without any hesitation. Then, too, the decision is not so much in favour of one side. For instance, "omnes" in the third clause may admit the exception of those who leave *sine fraude*, just as a stronger phrase, "omnes omnino," in the second clause, is consistent with the exemption, in some places, of heretics from the obligation. Besides, "omnes" is not put directly with "qui habent domicilium;" the wording is—"omnes *etiam* qui . . . . . ;" so that the last words may be taken to include only those who leave in *fraudem legis*.

So much for the decrees of the S. Congregation. They seem to leave the issue still doubtful. If, then, we make up our minds to consider the marriages invalid, our arguments must come from some other source. The only remaining source of argument is the application of legal principles. Our examination of them shall be brief.

III. The law of Clandestinity was enacted in the 24th Session of the Council of Trent, and by it those who attempt to contract marriage otherwise than in presence of the Parochus, or of some other priest having licence for this purpose from the parish priest or ordinary, and of two witnesses, are rendered incapable of so contracting, and if they presume to act against the law their contracts are invalid. Clandestine Marriages had always been illicit. What the Council of Trent did was to superadd the effect of invalidity. The decree, however, the Council goes on to say, has no binding force in a parish until thirty days have elapsed after its publication in that parish. A parish, therefore, in which the decree has not been promulgated is free from its invalidating effect, as free and as exempt as if the Council had never been held. In a word, the decree is law in some places and no law in others. Let us apply accepted rules. *Peregrini* are not bound by the laws of the place where their domicile is situated, unless in a few well-known cases, in which, by a legal fiction, the transgression is held to be consummated at their abode. *Per se* it is not even sinful to evade a law by leaving the territory where it has binding force. Against this it may be objected that those who go out *in fraudem reservationis peccatorum* cannot be absolved in a district where the sins are not reserved; and again, in this very matter of clandestinity, that those who go out *in fraudem legis* cannot contract valid marriage. The second objection, which is much the more important for our purpose, will be considered further on; as regards reserved sins, suffice it to say, that even if an ecclesiastical superior were held to possess jurisdiction over his subjects in the particular matter of absolution from sins when outside his territory, it would not follow that we should allow him power to make laws binding in similar circumstances.[1] The truth, however, seems to be, that the want of power to absolve is to be traced, not to any reservation made by an ordinary ecclesiastical superior, but to the action of the Church,

[1] Cf. Walsh, De Legibus.

which, while conceding to confessors in ordinary circumstances jurisdiction to absolve all comers from sins not reserved where the confessions are heard, refuses, for good reasons, to grant such power when penitents leave *in fraudem reservationis.*

On the other hand, strangers are likewise exempt from observing the laws of the place where they happen to be staying, if we except laws made by supreme authority in the Church, and some others which, *ex natura rei*, or from common law, they are expected to observe. Perhaps contracts would best exemplify the exception according to the axiom, "locus regit contractum."

From these rules and exceptions we should expect, (1) that English people sojourning in Ireland (peregrini) could not contract Clandestine Marriage validly, as the law binding in Ireland is enforced by the highest authority; (2) that Irish people sojourning in England could validly contract Clandestine Marriage, as they are in a territory where the decree is not in force.

However, these conclusions are far from being generally accepted. Those who hold with Carrière the obligation to be purely personal, reject both. Those who hold the obligation to be local and also personal *for all*, admit the first and reject the second. Finally, the theologians who agree with Ballerini admitting the first, distinguish the second. In other words, they hold the obligation to be local for all who are bound by the law, and personal as well for *one class* as for those alone who leave in *fraudem legis.*

At the present time the first deduction is everywhere received. In point of fact the decisions of the S. Congregation leave Carrière's opinion of a purely personal obligation destitute of probability. We must then select between Ballerini and his opponents. The law is certainly local; to what extent is it personal? This is the question with which we began, and from the general principles of law there would seem to be no obligation beyond the territory where promulgation has taken place. The contention on the other side is that through the medium of a domicile where the decree binds, a personal individual inability to contract without the presence of a parish priest and two witnesses is induced, which adheres to the individual as long as that domicile is retained. But manifestly this obligation may arise as in the case of vagrants (*vagi*), without a domicile, and where it does arise in conjunction with a domicile, what the latter does is to determine the parish

priest, before whom the sponsus and sponsa must give their consent. A broad distinction is to be drawn between two kinds of inabilities. To one class belong those which are personal and individual; for instance, an inability induced by a particular sentence of an ecclesiastical judge. Under the other are included general inabilities induced by law on all whom the law binds. An inability of the former class adheres to the individual wherever he goes, whereas one of the latter kind ceases when the inacting law ceases to have its binding force on a particular person. Schmalzgrueber is strong on this difference in connection with the very question we are discussing. Where the inability comes from a law it is idle to speak of it as sticking to a person as does his shadow. Certainly an Italian sojourning in Ireland may eat meat on Saturday. No sun, no shadow; no law, no inability. The domicile then is not enough.

But is not the law personal at least practically for those who leave in *fraudem legis*, and how is this to be accounted for, if we throw overboard the theory of inability induced through the medium of a domicile? The reply is obvious. A legislator like the Church enjoying universal jurisdiction, may, for reasons which it deems sufficient, compel persons belonging to a place where one of its laws is in force, to observe that law even in a strange territory where the inhabitants are under no such obligation. This course is evidently the proper one, if it be necessary to prevent an important law from being set at defiance. Now, there was every danger of this most important decree against Clandestine Marriages being set at nought, if persons could leave in *fraudem legis* a parish where it was promulgated, and contract, without parish priest and witnesses, where it was not received; whereas no such danger threatened the decree from the act of those who left without this fraudulent intention, or who left indeed with it, but were under the necessity of acquiring a quasi-domicile. Hence Urban VIII. singled out the case of fraud and declared null all contracts tainted with it unless a domicile had been acquired. It is by no means certain that even *these* marriages were invalid before the time of Urban VIII. Sanchez and nearly all the theologians of name who wrote before that Pope's decree, held them to be valid. Schmalzgrueber, writing long afterwards, takes occasion to say that prior to Urban's action, and looking to the principles of law, such contracts were most probably valid. Furthermore this great canonist explains

the whole proceeding in words of no uncertain meaning. His account of the motive Urban had in publishing his decree is, that "lex utilis reipublicæ erat interpretatione adjuvanda." That is, Urban VIII., lest the decree "Tametsi" should be set at defiance, promulgated an *extensive interpretation* as binding as the law itself.

We have seen the *extent* of that interpretation. It reaches those only who leave *in fraudem legis*. Whether a more extended interpretation has since been made binding, we leave our readers to judge from the evidence before them. Should the case we have been discussing turn up in practice, the Holy See should be consulted; but until its decision is made known, we are inclined to agree with Feije, who says he would not dare to pronounce such marriages invalid.

P. O'Donnell.

WORDSWORTH.

FEW poets have passed, within so short a time, through all the stages between bitter hostility and extravagant praise as William Wordsworth. During the early part of this century he was the unfailing butt at once of Lord Byron and the *Edinburgh Review*. For some years before his death he was worshipped in a fashion scarcely less unreasonable. In our time a society, numbering many distinguished names, has been formed to guard the purity of his text and to interpret his wisdom; and some of his more fervent admirers have no hesitation in placing him on the serene height occupied by Shakespeare and Milton. This ebb and flow of opinion is a familiar incident in the history of letters, and is, perhaps, a necessary prelude to settled judgments in literature and art. But in Wordsworth's case the contrasts have been very striking; the extremes have been reached within a shorter interval than is usually allotted to the play of intelligent criticism. The worst has been said and also the best. The final verdict rests with a remoter posterity, but after the ample discussion expended upon his works we may fairly assume that Wordsworth has secured at least a high place among the classical poets of the English language.

It is remarkable that though Wordsworth was the central figure in a group of writers better known to us than any

in later literature, and though he gave rise to more than one critical dispute, it would not be easy to name any eminent man whose personal history is so little interesting. His life, apart from his writings, was singularly uneventful. The cast of his mind was too thoughtful and contemplative to allow him to take much pleasure in society, and his conversation, while doing no discredit to his general powers, ran too uniformly on his own poetry, and was too little enlivened by point and humour, to leave much food for pleasant reminiscence. His supreme confidence in himself kept him away from literary controversy. Had he been as sensitive as Pope to the persistent attacks of his critics, his life would have been more varied, if less happy; as it was, his days were passed in a noiseless calm, which leaves room for little more than the barest literary record.

William Wordsworth was born at Cockermouth in 1771. He was sprung from a family which, though less distinguished by brilliant gifts than the family of his friend Coleridge, has still maintained in high positions the honours of hereditary talent. His father was law agent to Lord Lonsdale, who wielded almost feudal sway over the Lake Country. From this connection the elder Wordsworth suffered pecuniary losses, afterwards nobly requited, but which left him embarrassed for many years after the birth of his famous son. He was, consequently, unable, at first, to give his children an education suited to their position, and Wordsworth passed his early youth in a plain country school near Penrith. To this circumstance he probably owed the bent of his genius. He seems to have learned little, but in his boyish rambles he conceived a love for natural beauty and for the traditions of rural life marked in every page he wrote. He afterwards spent some years in the Grammar School of Hawshead in Lancashire, where he indulged in much discursive but well-selected readings, and composed his first verses. In 1787 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge. Though deeply alive to the venerable associations of Cambridge, his actual surroundings made no more favourable impression upon him than Oxford had made in the previous generation upon Gibbon. For the special studies of Cambridge he had no taste, and his imperfect training shut him out from the hope of winning classical honours. In those days too his aspirations travelled beyond the narrow limits of the University. He was under the influence of the only spell which ever disturbed the even tenor of his life. In the long vacation of 1790 he

started with a college friend on a pedestrian tour through France, Switzerland, and Northern Italy. All Europe was stirred by the French Revolution. The first scenes in the great drama had been enacted. The monarchy and the ancient Church of France still survived, both shorn of immemorial privileges, but destined in the opinion of many enthusiastic observers to endure more securely under new conditions. The prophetic warnings of Burke were already heard, but were at first regarded as the pleadings of a heated imagination. While grave statesmen were touched by universal sympathy, it was not wonderful that youths fresh from the rhapsodies of ancient poets should have seen, in events more absorbing than any in the whole range of mere human history, the new birth of the world. Many men, afterwards illustrious, were then in the springtide of life. Mackintosh, even in his youth remarkable for his varied learning, broke a lance with Burke himself. Southey, after writing a revolutionary epic, joined with Coleridge in a fantastic scheme, since tried more than once with ludicrous results, to establish a society, on the virgin soil of America, free from the restraints of artificial laws. No man was more affected by these dreams than Wordsworth. His earlier poems are inspired by the wild fancies of Rousseau, and his faith in impossible theories only yielded to the inevitable march of events.

In the winter of 1791 he spent several months in France. He listened to the debates in the Assembly and to the tirades of the Jacobin Club. On the banks of the Loire, where two generations before Goldsmith entered into all the thoughtless gaiety of France under the old Regime, he indulged with General Beaupuis, who died a few years later on the field of battle, in glowing anticipations of a reign of liberty and peace. In those days he was full of the Utopian schemes of the Girondists for harmonising irreconcilable conditions. The events of 1792 again hurried him to Paris. The Allied Armies were on the frontier. The Massacre of the Prisons had just taken place. Perched up "in a high and lonely chamber," Wordsworth for weeks together looked out upon the seething agitation of the great capital. He forecast from the wild frenzy he saw around, all the coming atrocities; but he was fascinated by the excitement, and, like Dr. Moore of Edinburgh, immortalised by Carlyle, he hovered dangerously around scenes of blood, and had at last to be hurried away by some friends who were alarmed for his personal safety. When he crossed the

Straits of Dover he left the illusions of his youth behind. For some years he clung doubtingly to the shreds of a broken ideal, but, like Southey, he gradually passed to the other extreme, and, though never aggressive, was, during the remainder of his life, a steady and unbending Tory.

The great Revolution which affected the destinies of the civilised world was coincident with a quieter revolution in the world of letters. In literature, as well as in political or social life, there are immutable laws, and conditions as changeable as the winds, as fleeting as a fashion. The true principles of art exhibited in the masterpieces of Greek genius, are consistent with varieties characterising ages and schools, and sharply dividing groups of writers from each other by specific distinctions of literary taste. In English, more than in other literatures, with less claim to originality, the predominant cause of each new change has been exerted from without. Twice did Italy inspire English poetry, once in the far-off days of Chaucer, again in the golden era of Elizabeth. French literature, though lying nearer, came later into the field, but it acquired greater weight. Its influence began with Dryden and his contemporaries, and culminated, so far as it affected English poetry, in the commanding influence of Pope. He brought to perfection the finish, the grace, the exquisite delicacy borrowed by his predecessors from Racine and Boileau. The circumstances of his, life as well as the tone of society, did little to tempt him to extend the narrow range of these great writers. But he scanned all the weaknesses and pettiness around him with the keen glance of Horace in the Roman Forum, and, while capable of sounding the deeper passions, confined himself for the most part to completing the work of Dryden—to giving satire its finest point and language its last perfection. Through the greater part of the last century he determined the general limits of English poetry, but the general limits only. At length the reaction came, a reaction much exaggerated by Macaulay, but still real and definite. The cultivation of German Literature, the publication of Percy's Reliques and the revived interest in mediaeval history, the striking of a slightly new line by Cowper, the action upon every department of letters of the magnificent rhetoric of Burke, and the discussion of burning questions involving profound and mysterious issues, gave an expansion and intensity to every class of poetry unknown in the era then passing away. At first, as in all such revolutions, there was a period of extravagance and excess,

largely springing from the inflated language of political excitement, in which the balance of literary excellence received a rude shock. In no one was this more marked than in Wordsworth. His very earliest poems were indeed written in imitation of Pope. Even in his "Descriptive Sketches," published in 1793, there is little trace of wandering from the beaten track. His style was still in embryo. He was travelling about purposelessly with no settled means of livelihood, and no definite plans. The generous bequest of a friend, Raisley Calvert, who had an unfailing confidence in his genius, enabled him to make literature a profession. The spontaneous settlement of the old family claim by Lord Lonsdale made him independent. In 1797 he took up his residence at Alfoxden among the Mendip hills in Somerset and formed his life-long friendship with Coleridge. Together they planned the "Lyrical Ballads." The first volume appeared in 1797, and was met with a chorus of disapproval. An interval of two years elapsed before the second volume was published. During this period he travelled in Germany and wrote "Ruth" and some of his minor poems. The second volume of the "Lyrical Ballads" was given to the public in 1800, and was ushered in by the famous preface in which Wordsworth declared war against the artificial graces of the school of Pope. He arraigned the poetry of the eighteenth century as exhibiting scarcely one single image of natural beauty true in conception and expression. Like many similar indictments, this sweeping charge, while founded upon the prevailing tone of the poetry of Anne and the first Georges, does an injustice not so much to Pope as to writers of lesser fame. To see no fidelity to nature in the works of Thomson, Young, or Goldsmith, or in the charming lyrics of Collins, is as inadequate an estimate of their place in literature as it was unjust to suppose after the homely sympathies of the "Deserted Village" and the "Borough," that it was left to himself "to impart moral grandeur to poverty, and invest the objects of irrational and inanimate nature with a beauty and grace of which they had been long stripped by a heartless and false taste pretending to the title of delicacy and refinement." On a similar ground he attacked the elegance of language so much studied by the masters of the heroic couplet. Johnson gave Dryden credit for having enriched English literature by forming a "poetical diction at once refined from domestic use and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular

arts." From the first part of this view Wordsworth strongly dissented. He laid down the principle as the very keynote of his system, that the truest subjects of poetry are the incidents of ordinary life, the purest diction the language of unlettered people cleared from grammatical errors. This canon of taste, to which Wordsworth's best poetry is in flat contradiction, might have failed to excite a storm among the critics if he and Coleridge had not proceeded to give it effect in some of the weakest and silliest poems ever written by men of genius. Besides these there were, no doubt, many pieces in a higher order. But the weird fancy of the "Ancient Mariner" and the simple beauty of many of the shorter ballads could not relieve the prevailing tone of maudlin sentiment, and the exquisite parodies of the "Rejected Addresses" did little more than faithfully copy the serious absurdity of such infantile lays as "Harry Gill" and the "Man of Snow."

The "Lyrical Ballads" brought Wordsworth little remuneration, and exposed him to unsparing attacks, especially from the *Edinburgh Review*, which was started while the clamour against them was still at its height. For many years afterwards that famous periodical waged an unceasing war against a body of poets united more by personal friendship and the accident of locality than by any common character, but all treated as one, under the name of the "Lake School." Much of the criticism has now lost its point, much of it has been discredited by calmer judgment; but the name first applied in reproach has survived in honour. So far as it has literary significance, the designation covers the theory of the preface to the "Lyrical Ballads," a principle, as we have implied, largely modified in the riper works of Wordsworth himself. But the title has been preserved by a charm of its own. For the name of "Lake Poets," to whatever use it was put by carping criticism, originated in one of those accidental unions of literary men, which, whether in Mermaid Clubs, or Benedictine Cloisters, on the shores of Lake Leman, dwell pleasantly in the memory, and give to genius the added interest of association.

In 1799 Wordsworth settled down at Grasmereamong the scenes of his early youth. Within a space narrow, indeed, when compared with the wide range of Swiss or Italian scenery there is in the mountain district of Cumberland and Westmoreland a rare combination of natural attractions. Masses of hills thrown in endless confusion,

and presenting every variety of hue and outline, lakes nestling at their feet or winding through their rock-bound valleys, deep glens and bounding waterfalls, with here and there stretches of quiet woodland, all form a land of beauty surpassed in these countries only by the rugged grandeur and broad expanses of the Scottish Highlands, or the blending of the fairest gifts of nature in some favoured spots of our own picturesque island. Even now when it has become the haunt of tourists, the Lake district is shut out from the whirl and toil of ordinary English life; but before the fame of its adopted poets made it known to the outer world it was a perfect paradise of stillness and repose. The people themselves are suited to their surroundings. In Cumberland and Westmoreland the ancient Celtic race, resisting the successive inroads of Saxons and Normans, lived on among their guardian mountains and preserve much of the simplicity of life, which the Irish maiden, St. Beaga, found amongst them when she first rounded, in her coracle, the bold headland that still embalms the memory of her graceful life. In such a home Wordsworth realised his fondest wishes. He was not made for the busy hum of men. The quiet retirement, the changing moods of natural phenomena, all the illusions of sight and sound harmonised with the temperament of a poet, who was eminently the interpreter of nature, the prophet of fancy and meditation. These attractions and mutual tastes gradually gathered around him a society, rarely endowed with gifts of genius and culture. The near neighbourhood of Southey and Coleridge, of Wilson and De Quincey, added to charms sufficient of themselves to tie him to his chosen home. Some of his friends afterwards sought other scenes, but his changes, few in all, were within a narrow circumference. In 1808 he removed from Grasmere to Allan Bank, and in 1813 he finally fixed his residence at Rydal Mount, under the shadow of Helvyllin and commanding a distant view of the broad surface of Windermere.

In 1803 he was appointed Comptroller of Stamps for Westmoreland, and the income of the office relieved him from unpleasant anxieties and brought him more remuneration than up to that time, and for many years afterwards, he was able to derive from literature. In 1807 he published, in two volumes, some of his most beautiful descriptive poems. From his solitary retreat he was no indifferent spectator of the great struggle going on upon the Continent. The disgraceful treaty made between Sir Hew Dalrymple

and the French generals in Portugal, called forth his vigorous "Essay on the Convention of Cintra." In the excited discussions of that day it was little noticed and had no effect upon public opinion, but it has merits of such a high order that we cannot help regretting that Wordsworth did not oftener write in prose. In style and argument the "Essay on the Convention of Cintra" has, perhaps, been equalled by no political pamphlet since the death of Burke.

In the early part of 1814 he travelled in Scotland, and at the close of the same year he published his longest and most elaborate poem, the "Excursion." Two small editions satisfied the public of that day, and for many years few generous estimates were formed of what was, with all its faults, one of the greatest poems of this century. But public neglect had little effect on Wordsworth. He was a singularly self-contained man, with a profound consciousness of his own genius. Though committed to the theory of poetic art apparently leading by logical influence to the opposite conclusion, he had persuaded himself that immediate popularity was no test of merit, and he loved to dwell upon the small sensation created by the appearance of "Paradise Lost." The "Excursion" was followed by three poems, which would alone have made his reputation: the "White Doe of Rylstone" and his classical sketches of "Laodamia" and "Dion." In 1819 he startled the world by "Peter Bell." It is remarkable that a poem which has few merits and many glaring defects was the first of Wordsworth's works generally read, and though the critics were as pungent as ever, the publication of "Peter Bell" was the turning point in his career. Through the following years his new poems were well received, and the great works of his maturity were rescued at length from coldness and neglect. He passed from the admiration of a select few to take a foremost place in the literature of his generation. His later writings were, for the most part, occasional, but amongst them were many of his most exquisite and finished studies. Some of them too, like "Yarrow Revisited," were counterparts to earlier poems, and besides their own inherent claims recalled attention to the unheeded productions of his struggling youth and manhood. Public honours came to add to his general reputation. In 1839 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. In 1843 he was appointed Laureate. Soon after a still higher tribute was paid to his genius in the graceful

retractation, by Lord Jeffrey, of his severe criticisms in the *Edinburgh Review*. But these triumphs were tinged by inevitable sorrows. Through these later years he had to bewail one after another of the friends who had sustained him under disappointment and neglect. In 1831 he saw Scott, old and broken in spirit, about to start in the vain pursuit of health, to the cloudless skies of Italy; and in the well-remembered fancy of the aged poet himself, thought he could discern the "trouble" of approaching doom "Hang o'er Eildon's triple height." Coleridge, the first companion of his literary life, died in the succeeding year, followed within a short interval by one who from school days upwards had clung round Coleridge as the ivy round the oak, the most attractive of all the figures in that brilliant society—the genial and tender-hearted Charles Lamb. His very Laureate honours were wreathed in cypress, for they passed to him by the death of Southey who had, like himself, clung to the last to his home among the Lakes. A new generation, in full sympathy with his genius, had, indeed, sprung up to console him for the loss of the fair fraternity associated with his name. Amongst the occasional companions of his later wanderings was a young man, fresh from Oxford, who used to point out in vivid language to the veteran poet aspects of nature which had escaped his loving observation, and who was destined, in his opinion, to be one of the great lights of the future. That young man is known to us all as Father Faber. Lightened by the love and reverence of such men as Frederick Faber, and tended by the solicitude of a devoted family circle, his declining years were spent in quiet happiness and peace. At length, having attained a patriarchal age, he died in 1850. By his own wish—a wish, in his instance, reechoed by all his admirers—he was buried beside his friend Coleridge in the lonely churchyard of Grasmere, among the scenes immortalised in his noblest poems.

Within our limits it is not possible to do more than briefly glance at the poetry of Wordsworth. We have already implied that he wrote much especially in his youth that has not been able to stand the test of time. There is not an inconsiderable portion of his riper work, which Mr. Matthew Arnold very justly thinks can add little to his fame. He was often unhappy in his subjects, and sometimes his general plan when sufficiently well suited to be the frame work of true poetry was marred, as in the case

of Peter Bell, by ludicrous incidents. Hence every volume he issued from the press offered tempting opportunities to adverse criticism. But there is no poem of his without some characteristic excellence, and the most simple of his effusions, to use a word once applied so commonly as a reproach, throws some light on the growth of his powers. His literary reputation will, however, probably rest (1) upon his sonnets, (2) on a proportion of his descriptive and ballad poems, and (3) on the "Excursion."

The sonnet, borrowed by Wyatt and the unfortunate Earl of Surrey from Italian literature, has been acclimatised in the English language by a succession of the greatest English poets. It consists of fourteen lines only, but allows room for variety in its rhymes, and in the method of presenting the conception it embodies. Abstracting from fine drawn theories, for minute forms of verse are no more free from subtle distinctions than the gravest questions in philosophy, the leading thought is either developed through four successive quatrains, and applied in a final couplet; or it is unfolded in the first eight lines and the counterpart or application in the remaining six.

In both cases there is the division of a pause, but in the latter the pause occurring near the centre leads to a balanced arrangement, the sonnet, as a recent writer puts it, "breaking asunder like the acorn into the unequal parts of a perfect organism," while in the former the pause being reserved to the end of the twelfth line, the thought is sustained without a break, with the advantage of a more emphatic and sonorous close. Neither form wants the authority of great names. The continuous method, in itself a departure from Italian models, was adopted by Shakespeare; the octave-sestet arrangement, as it is technically called, was revived by Milton, and was very generally, though with some modifications, employed by Wordsworth. But whatever the metrical structure may be the essence of a sonnet consists in the expression of one central idea. When we bear this in mind, we cannot be surprised that some of the noblest sonnets, especially sonnets of a pathetic cast, have been written by men not otherwise devoted to poetic composition, but who, like Chidiock Tichborne or Walter Raleigh, both under sentence of death, uttered in one prolonged note of feeling the overpowering emotions of fated lives. In this class of poetry Wordsworth rules supreme. He is distinguished from all his predecessors by the number and variety, while

he is surpassed by none in the finish and beauty of his sonnets. He was naturally inclined to be discursive, but the limitations of a form of verse, controlled by stringent rules, checked his poetic flights and brought out the best qualities of his peculiar genius.

Up to his time sonnets were written in no connection, unless we are to adopt the view plausibly maintained by some writers, that those of Shakespeare are really the serial history of an episode in his life. However this may be, the sonnets of Milton, Drummond and their successors, were called forth by passing events or by sudden movements of sentiment or feeling. Many of Wordsworth's, too, were of the same class, amongst them, his famous sonnet, "On viewing London at early dawn from Westminster Bridge." But in two notable instances he has so dovetailed sonnets as to make them, while preserving their individual completeness, devote the sequence of historical events and an unbroken continuity in the description of natural scenery. In this way he has pictured the River Duddon. He lights upon its source high over Coniston Water in a "lofty waste," of lonely desolation, and traces in a series of exquisite sonnets, all the windings of its sinuous course, now tumbling from the mountain, now slowly wending through the plain, at one time laving the ruined Church of Ulpha, at another forcing its passage through haunted glens, or flowing smoothly through quiet meadows, until swelled by tributary streams and mingling its waters with the great ocean, it becomes the highway of world-wide commerce :

> "Not hurled precipitous from steep to steep :
> Lingering no more 'mid flower-enamelled lands
> And blooming thickets ; nor by rocky bands
> Held—but in radiant progress toward the deep
> Where mightiest rivers into powerless sleep,
> Sink, and forget their nature—now expands
> Majestic Duddon, over smooth flat sands,
> Gliding in silence with unfettered sweep !
> Beneath an ampler sky a region wide
> Is opened round him : hamlets, towers and towns
> And blue-topped hills behold him from afar ;
> In stately mien to sovereign Thames allied,
> Spreading his bosom unter Kentish Downs,
> With commerce freighted, or triumphant war."

Each of the contrasted scenes suggests its own appropriate thought, while all together form a panorama of the Duddon from its source to the sea.

On a still larger scale, and with more varied points of interest are the "Ecclesiastical sonnets." They bring out the religious aspects of the whole history of England, and are imbued with a Catholic spirit rare among English poets.

In truth these sonnets by turning reflecting minds at a critical period to ages little understood, and by their hearty recognition of the claims of the Church, concurred with the kindred works of Scott and Coleridge, in stirring up the great movement which gave back to the religion of their forefathers so many gifted men. They present, it is true, another side. Cardinal Newman, in describing how the great Protestant Tradition, set up in the age of Elizabeth, had coloured the whole speech of the English people, written and unwritten, numbers among its ultimate consequences the silence of Pope, and the necessity which forced Wordsworth to atone for the Catholic spirit of some of his poems by fitting them with anti-Catholic complements. But his later performance wants the freshness and genuine ring of his earlier work. He never writes with such power, the music of his verse never breaks into such melodious rhythm as when his soul is lit up by some heroic Catholic enterprise, or when he lingers over some great foundation of piety, nor do his melancholy musings ever touch deeper chords than when he describes the lost hopes that cheered the hearts and solaced the trials of generations of his countrymen. He kindles into enthusiasm in portraying the Irish Apostles of his own northern land, the mission of St. Augustine, the commanding position of the Norman Primates, the noble works, done with no niggard hand, but erected, like the proud pile of Henry VI., as if to defy the ravages of time itself. In a kindred spirit his soul was stirred by the unselfish earnestness of the great uprising which united all Christendom in a movement of Christian chivalry, and, in a utilitarian age, he could feel the inspiring influence of—

> "That romance
> Of many coloured life which fortune pours
> Round the Crusaders."

But, perhaps, his sympathy with Catholic feeling is most clearly shown in his treatment of the devotional practices of the Church. The wayside cross, the crowding pilgrims, the silent prayer of the recluse, the high ceremonial were for him neither objects of vulgar curiosity nor mere picturesque

memorials of an ancient creed, but symbols of the invisible glory of God, the natural outcome of reverence for all that is holy and pure. Such, too, were his sentiments towards the Mother of God, sentiments, hesitating, no doubt, and half apologetic, but in the very apology expressing themselves in devotional strains not heard for many generations in English poetry :—

> "Mother, whose virgin bosom was uncrost
> With the least shade of thought to sin allied;
> Woman! above all women glorified,
> Our tainted nature's solitary boast;
> Purer than foam on central ocean tost;
> Brighter than Eastern skies at daybreak strewn
> With fancied roses, than the unblemished moon
> Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast;
> Thy image falls to earth. Yet some, I ween,
> Not unforgiven the suppliant knee might bend,
> As to a visible power in which did blend
> All that was mixed and reconciled in thee
> Of mother's love with maiden purity,
> Of high with low, celestial with terrene."

After his sonnets the most popular poetry of Wordsworth lies scattered through his "Descriptive Sketches," "Memorials" of his different tours, and his "Poems of Fancy and Imagination." Outside of these, however, lie at least two poems which must be classed by themselves. Wordsworth himself evidently regarded "Peter Bell" with satisfaction, and perhaps of all his works, after some of his very earliest, it was the one most literally constructed on the theory laid down in the Preface to the "Lyrical Ballads." But the unfavourable judgment expressed by Jeffrey has not been reversed. The "White Doe of Rylstone" is a work of a nobler kind. It is founded on a heroic incident in the "Rebellion of the Five Wounds," the last effort of the Catholics of the North of England to assert their rights against the tyranny of Elizabeth. His picture of the ruined Abbey of Bolton, and his delineation of all the quieter scenes in the legendary story are as beautiful as anything he has written, and he has left, perhaps, no finer specimen of his versification. But in the progress of the plot he necessarily challenges a comparison with Scott, on Scott's own ground; and no reader can help feeling how incomparably finer Scott's treatment would have been, how every incident of flood and field would have grown, under the

magic of his careless rhymes, into life and action. We have already stated that though Wordsworth lived in retirement he occasionally went on protracted tours. In his early days he saw much of France and Italy. In 1813 he again spent many months on the Continent. He visited Scotland several times, passing over all the scenes familiarised by the great Scotch writers. These journeys were essentially the journeys of a poet. We owe to them the most beautiful effusions of his lyre, whether directly inspired by immediate contact, or embodied in the meditations of the "Excursion." He lived in an age when the poetry of description attained its highest excellence. As a separate department in literature, it is of late growth; later even than the cognate art of landscape painting. In our time the question has been even raised, whether the perception of the grandeur and sublimity of the ruder aspects of natural scenery is not itself the creation of recent literature. Ancient writers, and the older writers among moderns, treat the wild mountain ranges and beetling cliffs, that now excite enthusiastic admiration, as objects of terror and alarm; and rarely indulged in description except as an accessory to other poetic effects. The descriptive passages in Greek and Latin poetry, though beautiful and true, are usually too general to form an exact picture, and the finer shades of distinction, when hit off at all, are conveyed, as in many passages of Horace, in single epithets. Wordsworth was the contemporary of two of the greatest masters of description as it is now understood. Description, as Byron said, was his forte—description short, rapid, and vivid as the lightning. He fixed the attention on some few objects, and whether by a dying gladiator, or the contrast of a night of revelry with the pomp and terrors of a battlefield, brought out before the mental vision the mingled barbarity and splendour of the Roman Amphitheatre, and the lights and shadows of the final struggle of the last great conqueror. Scott, on the other hand, though also proceeding by selection, leaves few points untouched. The fantastic tracery of Melrose is as finely brought out as the lofty proportions of the nave; and every hill and dale, whether in his prose or poetry, are so impressed upon the mind that the reader who travels over the localities recognises them as familiar acquaintances. In effective force Wordsworth cannot be compared with either. He had a keen and delicate observation. He was familiar with every mood of natural phenomena and impatient of

mistakes. But he lacked the power of picturesque effect, or rather he sacrificed it to a minute exactness in which he has never been surpassed. Hence while every prominent feature in Scotch scenery suggests some lines of Scott, while Byron has lit up every classic spot in Greece with a new lustre, Wordsworth, more local in his subjects than either, has left few passages associated with the objects he loved so well. He was essentially the poet of meditation and reflection. The majesty and beauty of nature attracted his devotion, but it did not rest in them: he was ever hurried away to the truths they symbolised, to show, as he said in the Prelude to the "Excursion,"

> "How exquisitely the individual mind
> To the external world is filled."

And so whether he stands over Lough Awe, or takes refuge in Roslyn Chapel, or revisits the Wye, he regards them in the spirit he has himself so finely described:

> "For I have learned
> To look on nature, not as in the hour
> Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
> The still, sad music of humanity.
> And I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air
> And the blue sky and in the mind of man;
> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought
> And rolls through all things."

Thus the scene spread before the vision is always for Wordsworth the mirror of Almighty power, opening up to the eye of reverent contemplation whole realms of fancy, or suggesting long trains of abstract thought, evolved from meditation, or borrowed from ancient sages. For he was deeply imbued with the spirit of the older world, not only that love of symmetry and form which enabled him to reproduce the severe beauty of the Greek poets in Laodamia and Dion—the two most exquisite classical studies in modern poetry—but also with the speculations of the schools of philosophy. Though unfortunately without the guidance of Catholic faith he was still instinctively drawn to the purest conceptions of

mere human reason. In the greatest of his single efforts, the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality," the leading idea is a cardinal doctrine of Plato's which foreshadowed the full light of Christian truth.

But the higher qualities of Wordsworth's genius are best seen, after all, in the "Excursion." The plan has indeed been severely criticised, and is open to just exception. The "Excursion" deals with the highest problems which have engaged the attention of mankind, and yet the principal speakers—for it is largely in the form of a dialogue—are a Scotch pedlar and an eccentric recluse. But however faulty the general conception may be, we cannot agree with those who think that Wordsworth should rather have proceeded in unbroken reflection than have adopted a machinery so little suited to his design. For the speakers though oddly selected, are finely drawn, and they at least serve the purpose of gently shifting the subject from one line of thought to another, and saving the poem from the weariness of abstract musings, and the unpleasant jars of abrupt transitions.

The "Excursion" is a poem at once descriptive and philosophical. The first idea of this great work—an idea really underlying its whole framework—was an attempt to examine the growth and development of his own faculties. But his design gradually expanded. From the homely features of every-day life, from the trials and struggles of the poor, from the blending of sublimity and beauty in the scenery of the Lake Country, he rises into successive trains of meditation on "Man, Nature, and Society," embodying the results of long years of solitary study and reflection. While discoursing—

> "In numerous verse
> Of truth, of grandeur, beauty, love and hope,
> And melancholy fear subdued by faith.
> Of blessed consolations in distress;
> Of moral strength and intellectual power;
> Of joy in widest commonalty spread;
> Of the individual mind that keeps known
> Inviolate retirement,"

Wordsworth believed that he was constructing a literary work that might live, but he was also conscious that he could appeal only to a narrow circle. In the long run his reliance upon himself has been fully justified, but it has been justified within the measure of his modest wish, "Fit

audience, let me find though few." The fame of the "Excursion" has grown slowly, but it has grown, especially among men of letters and men of cultivated taste. It can never be popular in the sense in which the "Rape of the Lock," the "Deserted Village," and many of his own lighter pieces are popular. The comparison between Wordsworth and Milton indulged in by some of his friends, and which was really, too, a weakness of his own, was extravagant, but it was common to both that, in their more elaborate works, they entered on fields of speculation where only trained and intellectual readers could follow them with unabated pleasure. But for them the "Excursion," however inferior to "Paradise Lost," has caught much of its elevation of thought. Sometimes, too, we are reminded of Milton's manner, especially in some of the fine reflections of the Second and Third Books, notably in the well-known summary of the origin and interpretation of the fables of Greek mythology.

In such passages the harmony between thought and language is complete. For Wordsworth, though often involved and obscure, had, in his happier moods, a rare insight into the graces of diction, and after Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope, no writer has left so many of these curiously wrought phrases which dwell unconsciously in the memory of men. Side by side with those aphorisms are still more numerous instances of a great characteristic of the first, especially of these great poets, the expansion of a thought or image into flowing periphrases reflecting the central idea through a succession of cadences which fall like music on the ear. Of this class is his beautiful description of the sea shell first lit upon by Landor and conveyed by him in admirably terse and classical language:—

> "I have sinuous shells of pearly hue
> Within,
> Shake one and it awakens, then apply
> Its polished lips to your attentive ears,
> And it remembers its august abodes
> And murmurs, as the ocean murmurs there."

Byron, as was his manner, boldly seized upon this thought and used it to round off a brilliant stanza in his "Island."

Unconscious as he asserted of any imitation the thought presented itself to Wordsworth, and whether we believe

this possible or not, there is no doubt that he made it as effectually his own as if he could claim the full merit of originality:—

> "I have seen
> A curious child, who dwelt upon a tract
> Of inland ground, applying to his ear
> The convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell;
> To which, in silence hushed, his very soul
> Listened intensely; and his countenance soon
> Brightened with joy; for murmurings from within
> Were heard, sonorous cadences; whereby
> To his belief, the monitor expressed
> Mysterious union with its native sea.
> Even such a shell the universe itself
> Is to the ear of faith, and there are times,
> I doubt not, when to you it doth impart
> Authentic tidings of invisible things,
> Of ebb and flow and ever-during power;
> And central peace, subsisting at the heart
> Of endless agitation."

It was not in Wordsworth's power to improve Landor's expression of the main idea, and Landor himself complained that he had beaten his own bar of precious ore into wires. But they are wires of gold; and while the image loses in condensed brevity, it strikes the imagination with new force as the symbol of glory revealed in the whole fabric of the universe, and touches sacred sympathies by being linked with the wondering curiosity and mysterious fancies of childhood.

Underlying all these high wrought fancies there is in the "Excursion," as in all the works of Wordsworth, a noble compassion for human wants, a rare insight into the feelings and sufferings of the poor. He has left together with the fame of a great poet, the memory of genius directed to high aims, and of a pure and stainless character. His poems are open to many objections, and discerning criticism will probably condemn to oblivion many productions which he himself believed to be immortal. But many, too, will be sacredly preserved, and posterity will credit him along with high gifts of imagination and fancy, with the glory of never having offended against moral purity, or pandered to a depraved state.

J. Egan.

THE ORDER OF CORPORATE REUNION.

(CONTINUED).

BUT to return to our point. If those who have formed the O.C.R. have done so in virtue of their Anglicanism, it would of course be open to all and any other Anglicans to do the same; and a fresh knot of clergymen and laymen might take it into their heads to found another Order. Supposing, for instance, the existing O.C.R. was known to have obtained its orders from a Jansenist source, we might conceive certain Anglicans preferring an Oriental, or an Old Catholic succession, or desiring rather reunion with the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church in Russia, or at Constantinople, than reunion with Rome. Thus there might be various associations of corporate reunion existing within the Anglican fold; and their Rulers, by the plenary authority to them belonging in right of their respective Sacred Orders and Offices, would have it severally in their power to adopt their own separate basis of faith, and to give doctrinal and disciplinary decrees for their respective obediences—each and all working together with "their divine instruments and materials" on diverging lines for the perfecting and building up from within of the Anglican Church.

But it would be simply trifling with all reason and common sense to discuss any further on what imaginable principles of right the Anglican O.C.R. is founded: since it is clear as day light, that it is based on no right whatever, but reposes solely on the free responsibility, the independent will and pleasure of the associates themselves, and that consequently the authority it assumes to exercise is absolutely null and void. In truth, I should gather from much that is written by the chiefs of the movement in *The Reunion Magazine* and elsewhere, that they hardly considered the sanction of "right," in the sense of any legitimate authority or title, to be required at all for their action. They appear to look on their position, as that of men living in an utter collapse of society, when ordinary laws and rights are in abeyance and no longer in force; and when all may take action, as best they can, individually or in combination, for what they conceive to be their own, or the public good. They find their lot cast in the Anglican Church; this they put up with, though they might wish it otherwise; for they see in that church nought but religious

confusion, and a total disintegration of all ecclesiastical and Catholic principles. Still they think they see in it, too, from the fact of its historical and actual existence, its external organisation, its very pretentions and claims, and its partial influence for good, the only effectual means of preserving to the nation at large what is still left to it of Christianity, and the only hope of leading back the people of England in general once more to Catholicity. There are dangers they descry in the near distance which threaten to make shipwreck of that Church altogether. By all means they must save it: "an imperative duty" is on them, even at their own risk, to go to its rescue, by restoring to it, though against its will, what they deem essential for its very existence and life. This can only be permanently secured by reunion with Rome and the rest of Catholicism; and this they must attempt at all hazards. There has been enough of counsel and deliberation, the time for all that has gone by, and the moment for action has come: they must act. Their mode of action may be strange and abnormal. But what of that? It is justifiable, "*necessitas non habet legem.*" Here is their plea. This maxim has for them a very wide application; it covers all that they have done; it serves them for an apology, when they are tempted to help themselves at will to "divine instruments and materials," needful for their purpose, from whatever quarter they may deem them "providentially" to come in their way. "*Necessitas non habet legem.*" Dazzled and obscured by their view of the urgent necessity, and by the very greatness of their aim, really and practically, though as we may hope and believe, unconsciously, and in good faith, they are acting by another maxim, viz.: "*The end justifies the means.*"

Passing by the question of necessity in the case, with the single remark that no Catholic would for a moment allow its real existence,[1] and that Anglicans generally would have much to say against it; what, I ask, is the true meaning and right application of the maxim, "Necessitas non habet legem?" Does it mean that necessity exempts

[1] On the hypothesis—which I presume the reunionists would admit—that the Roman Catholic Church in England is really Catholic, *i. e.*, a part of the Catholic Church, and that in it are *certainly* all the means of salvation, lawful ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the true Catholic Faith, and the sacraments in their integrity, &c. Surely there is no place for such *necessity* as may dispense from all ecclesiastical law and precedent, and risk even the introduction of what is *per se* unlawful, and the invalidity of ecclesiastical acts and of sacraments.

from Divine natural law, and justifies a man in doing, as a means to obtain his end, what is forbidden thereby? And does it mean, that necessity gives a man the power to do what otherwise is beyond his powers? Will any necessity render a man capable of effecting what is super-human and divine? Supposing, for example, that ecclesiastical jurisdiction can be obtained only by a positive act and grant on the part of the Church, and supposing, moreover, due jurisdiction to be absolutely essential for the validity of certain sacred or ecclesiastical acts, does the maxim mean, that in the absence of such jurisdiction, necessity in a given case, will supply the power or faculty of validly doing those acts? Or does not the maxim mean rather, that in a case of necessity, where one cannot observe *positive* prescriptions and laws which are generally binding, one is held to be exempted and dispensed from them? And when one cannot use the ordinary and prescribed means to effect a lawful and necessary purpose, one may avail oneself of other and extraordinary means that are within one's power, even such as may be under ordinary circumstances not allowed, so that one does nothing that *per se* is evil or wrong?

We shall see later on that, without doubt, according to the principles and faith of the Catholic Church, the whole conduct of the O.C.R. is intrinsically wrong and sinful.

With regard to the Church of England, it is not my purpose, and it would ill-become me, to offer an opinion as to what amount of duties or allegiance Anglican clergymen owe to their Church, much less have I any intention of passing judgment on the consciences of individuals. Still, I maintain, that in the minds of an impartial general public, the mere broad objective fact, that men who are specially bound, by their very profession as clergymen, as well as by solemn vow and express declarations, to uphold the principles of the Church of England, and to obey its rulers, should, by their public writings and acts, cast open discredit upon its recognised formal teaching, and strike at the very foundation of its valid authority, whilst, at the same time, they continue to hold offices as ministers and pastors within its communion, and partake of its emoluments and privileges, is something which, when only stated, and far more when defended and approved of, shocks at once the natural moral sense, as tending to loosen and subvert those first principles of honesty, equity, and justice, which are ordin-

arily held to be of obligation in all matters of human contract and mutual engagement. And it is simply inconceivable, that those who claim authority in the Anglican Church could, with any self-respect, regard the principles and policy of the O.C.R. set forth in its Pastoral, as otherwise than dishonest, insulting, and rebellious.

But apart from the moral aspect of the case, there is in it the most manifest absurdity. Who ever heard of individual private members of any society claiming the right and power to endow the body corporate with what is really a new life and organisation, to revalidate what they may consider the doubtful prerogatives of its government, to invest this with new jurisdiction, and the re-ability to exercise functions which it has deliberately renounced? And it is this that the O.C.R. undertakes to do for the Church of England. It would change her express and formal teaching, especially on the sacraments, by the substitution of a new rule of faith, and a new creed for the acceptance of her children. "The Church of England," says Dr. Lee, "thought fit to retain the two sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist; it has intentionally altered the old and valid sacramental service of Confirmation, and deliberately dropped the apostolic and universal practice of Unction;" so that "the new rite of Confirmation *was* a new rite and nothing more—but no sacrament." The Pastoral witnesses to "the total abolition in the Church of England of the apostolic practice of anointing the sick with oil." This is, as everybody knows, only in accordance with the formal teaching of the Anglican Church on the sacraments in her 25th Article, which declares that "Those five commonly called sacraments, are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures;" and goes on to show that they have not the proper nature of sacraments, "for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God."

But the Prelates of the Order can now say: "Nous avons changé tout cela"—We, by the favour of God, are now enabled to restore Extreme Unction. In virtue of the plenary authority to Us belonging, We do hereby proscribe and utterly condemn all such Anglican teaching and practice as the work of "profane innovators, fanatics and traitors, (so called) 'reformers,' who robbed our defenceless ancestors of their lawful spiritual rights;" and We do, by

these presents, notify to all men that "already there are representatives of our Order in almost every English diocese, our duly appointed officers, who, having severally introduced the simple but perfect sacramental machinery, by which persons within the Establishment can be first securely and validly made members of the Church of God, and then fed and fortified by the Seven Sacraments of the Church Universal, (will) unostentatiously govern them in all things lawful." Furthermore, for this end, and by the same plenary authority to Us belonging, We authorise the use of the ancient Sarum Liturgy for Mass, in place of the Anglican "mongrel, mutilated, and bald service for the Lord's Supper now in public use," and a form for communion under one kind for chapels and oratories, in which, by Our sanction, the Holy Eucharist is reserved. We issue, moreover a pontifical containing new and valid forms for Confirmation with use of Chrism, for consecration of bishops, and admission to the other Orders, including the Subdiaconate and the Minor Orders, which We, by the same plenary authority to Us belonging, have revived in the Church of England. And the aforesaid forms, and none other, We, by these presents, do decree for and enjoin upon all members of our Order, &c.[1]

But perhaps it will be said, that the Prelates of the O.C.R. do not exercise jurisdiction at all in the Church of England, but only within the limits of their Order—that this is a purely voluntary association, and that they force their authority on no one. This line of defence, however, is untenable. We have already seen that the associates of the O.C.R. are all members of the Anglican communion, and, as such, are subject in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical to its authority; and it is within this communion, and over its members, that the Prelates assume to exercise acts, which undoubtedly appertain to jurisdiction of the highest order, and such as could emanate lawfully from the supreme authority alone. That this must be the view of the Anglican bishops themselves, is at once evident, if from this fact alone; that they always give dimissorial letters when any one of their respective subjects are to be ordained by a bishop in another diocese; and that a bishop who confirms or ordains in any diocese not his own, necessarily requires a grant or permission from the Ordinary of that See.

[1] See *Reunion Magazine*, February 1879.

It could scarcely be expected that the principles and action of the O.C.R. should generally find favour in High Church quarters. And Dr. Lee takes note of the two following charges brought against the Order by the Anglican Society of the Holy Cross:—

1. That it denies the lawful jurisdiction of the successors of St. Augustine and St. Paulinus in the Provinces of Canterbury and York, thereby sinning against Catholic obedience.

2. That it proposes to set up a new Episcopate destitute of all spiritual jurisdiction, and consequently schismatical.

To the first charge Dr. Lee replies: "It is quite inaccurate and untrue that the lawful jurisdiction of Drs. Tait and Thomson has ever or anywhere been denied by the O.C.R. The only 'lawful jurisdiction' those dignitaries either claim or possess is the jurisdiction which is bestowed upon them by the law of the land, and comes in England solely and altogether from the Queen, the (acknowledged) source of all jurisdiction." Such "lawful jurisdiction," he implies, is not spiritual at all, but purely and simply temporal in its nature; and all this, he says, is freely admitted by the bishops themselves in their oath of homage. He adds, moreover, that "this no reasonable being can deny, and no member of the O.C.R. desires to do so." The answer may be ingenious, but is scarcely relevant; since clearly in the minds of the objectors, *lawful jurisdiction* has a very different sense from that in which Dr. Lee uses it. They, of course, mean valid spiritual jurisdiction sanctioned by divine and ecclesiastical law; and this, Dr. Lee denies the Anglican bishops have or claim, so that he really admits the charge made by the society to be a true one. This is confirmed by his own express words: "The true spiritual jurisdiction of the See of Canterbury notoriously lapsed at the death of Cardinal Pole." And he contemptuously scouts the society's assertion that it "remained vested somehow or other in certain suffragan bishops, as 'childish fooling,' unworthy of notice, were it not that those who are supremely ignorant of anything relating either to Orders or jurisdiction—a considerable multitude—are often willingly duped by the anonymous authors of such bold and baseless assertions."

His answer to the second charge is somewhat strange. "It may be truly asserted," he says, "that the Prelates of the O.C.R, have claimed no spiritual jurisdiction whatever, save such as is granted by the society which they have

been appointed to rule." This may be a truism, but is no reply to the charge. The fact remains, as has been already abundantly shown—and it is implied in the charge—that the Prelates of the O.C.R. assume the exercise of jurisdiction of the highest kind in the Church of England, and over its members, who, in matters of religion, are under its authority. Dr. Lee says that the claim of the Prelates does not go beyond the grant of the society; but it is hard to see what more they could claim, since in virtue of that grant their authority is *plenary*. The question of course still remains unanswered: How did the society become possessed of the right to have episcopal prelates, and to grant them jurisdiction at all?

Dr. Lee adds: "Moreover, it by no means follows, because a bishop be destitute of spiritual jurisdiction, that he is 'consequently schismatical.' These are hasty 'views,' without either sound foundation or theological accuracy."

It is no doubt quite true that a bishop without jurisdiction may be no schismatic: there are many such bishops in the Catholic Church. But to say this, is wholly irrelevant to the charge; for there is no parity between "a bishop destitute of spiritual jurisdiction," and "a *new episcopate* proposed to be set up, destitute of all spiritual jurisdiction:" this latter obviously implies, by its very terms and by its context, an organised institution of bishops devoid of jurisdiction, yet unlawfully assuming its exercise. And it is no hasty view, but a sound theological truth, accurately expressed, that such an episcopate is schismatical.

Dr. Lee however protests, and "Laurence Bishop of Caerleon" joins in the protest, that nothing schismatical, from an Anglican point of view, has been done by the Order. "No (Anglican) diocese was in any way invaded. No lawful episcopal rights were intruded upon. Strange as this may read to some, it is nevertheless strictly true. The grand act of charity and benevolence thus rendered to those Catholic Reunionists in the Church of England who can look beyond the length of their own noses was moreover, no injury to any diocesan prelate, and no contempt of lawful authority." "We boldly affirm—we challenge contradiction here—that in all we have done we have not violated one single known law of the English Church. We have not transgressed the limits of her authoritative teaching, fairly interpreted (as by Tract xc.)." I have already accepted the challenge, and have proved the contradictory of the affirmation to my own impartial specu-

lative satisfaction. And I should conceive that my contention on this point will approve itself to Anglican authority.

I quite admit however that, according to Dr. Lee's own view, his protest holds good; and that the affirmation may well challenge contradiction. For the Church of England having lost all vestige of corporate entity and its bishops all spiritual jurisdiction whatsoever, as Dr. Lee assures us, there is left, in fact, no Anglican Ordinary, Diocese, ecclesiastical law, authoritative teaching, or Church at all, in any proper sense; since each and all of these necessarily imply spiritual jurisdiction, of which they are strictly correlative terms, and without it have no real existence. And, of course, if there are no dioceses to invade, nor any lawful episcopal rights to be intruded upon, and no English Church exists, it is most true, or, I should rather say, a truism to assert that the O.C.R. has neither invaded or intruded upon them, nor has transgressed the authoritative teaching, or any known law of the English Church.

Apart from its connection with the Church of England, the O.C.R. is, in truth, to all intents and purposes, a little, new, independent, Church of its own. Dr. Lee takes Father Hutton somewhat severely to task for charging the O.C.R. with aiming at the formation of a new Church, and says this "is simply inexact, and obviously ridiculous, mere random rhetoric." Whilst admitting to the full Father Hutton's assertion as regards the endeavour to make a new Church of England, I go further and maintain that the new 'pétite église' is already formed. The O.C.R. itself constitutes in fact a little independent Church, very snug, and self-sufficing. It has taken up "an impregnable position, with a sure foundation built upon the Rock, is fully equipped, with divine instruments and materials, with a simple but perfect sacramental machinery, and has secured the keys of the citadel of truth." It has everything to make and provision a Church, an independent episcopal succession, with plenary authority to create bishoprics, to preconise bishops with titles, to convoke synods, issue Pastorals, promulgate doctrinal and disciplinary Decrees, restore lost Sacraments, revive obsolete Orders and antiquated Sees, authorise Pontificals with its own Forms for Sacraments and Rites, arrange its Liturgy, exercise jurisdiction, enjoin obedience on its clergy, impose terms of Communion on its associates, 'securely make persons within the Establishment members of the Church of God, feed, fortify, unostenta-

tiously govern them, supply their needs by grace, and preserve ever the unalterable Divine deposit on behalf of its Divine Giver.'

It is entirely independent, and subject to no external jurisdiction or control. Whilst exempt, on the one hand, from all laws, definitions, decisions, penalties, censures, irregularities, interdicts, impediments, &c., which are of binding force for Catholics in their Communion ; and, on the other, owing no obedience, within its own sphere at least, to any authority in the Church of England, it enjoys the singular happiness of being able to avail itself of whatever it may judge to be for its own advantage in both. And thus it claims as its right an eclectic use of all Canon law whatsoever, whether ancient or modern, that may suit its turn, and of any exemptions, privileges, or immunities, that have ever been granted in special cases.[1]

It thus, so to say, occupies a little house of its own in 'no man's land,' self-contained and completely furnished, and will not suffer any from without to meddle in its concerns. Hard by is a large, roomy, commodious, but much dilapidated State mansion, in which it holds a certain interest, and which claims over it some nominal right of seigniory—this the 'petite église' expects ere long will fall in to itself, and then will renew and settle it after its own fashion, and already in this view is making some needful preliminary arrangements.

Dr. Lee's answer to Father Hutton's charge that the O.C.R. Rulers are thus endeavouring to form a new Church, is characteristic.

He says: "It is exactly and precisely what they have *not* done. There is only one Church—into which both Father Hutton and those Rulers whom he condemns were alike admitted by the one door—Baptism. If, in either case, there had been any reasonable doubt of the supposed baptism of either, conditional baptism, for greater caution, would have followed as an obvious duty and as a matter of course." According to this reasoning then, all who are validly baptised, whether Catholics, Protestants, Anglicans, Reunionists, Dissenters, &c.—Father Hutton and the O.C.R. Prelates included—are alike housed in "the one only Church." Consequently Christendom is united, and what

[1] It is on this principle alone Dr. Lee's justification of the omission of all reference to perpetual chastity in the O.C.R. Form for ordaining a Subdeacon is really based. See his Article, *Nineteenth Century*, p. 749, *note*.

are called separate Churches, schismatical or heretical, and the various Christian Sects, have no real existence, as such; but are merely subjective ideas or aspects of "the one only Church." Here, however, we would observe that this "one only Church" must be either a visible body with a distinct corporate entity, or not. If it *is* such a body, and baptised Anglicans and Roman Catholics are both alike in it, that is, already corporately united, then evidently the O.C.R. is superfluous, and its occupation is gone. If, on the contrary, the "one only Church" *is not* a visible body at all, and has no distinct corporate entity, then clearly the very idea of an O.C.R. at all, is preposterous.

It is to be noted that, as Dr. Lee makes baptism his only essential principle of Catholic unity, so also would he derive from the right to revalidate doubtful baptism, the justification for receiving conditional Confirmation and Orders: this he maintains is a clear logical sequence. "Of course," he says, "it follows that a similar practice" (whereby is meant a right to conditional reception of sacraments) "would logically ensue in all sacraments which impart a character." And again: "Such a very sweeping statement (viz. Father Hutton's) is of course quite as much against conditional baptism, as against conditional Confirmation or Orders; if the second be wrong and sinful, the first is wrong and sinful likewise." But *pace* Dr. Lee, this is not a case for logic at all, but for Theology, for positive law, and ecclesiastical prescription.

For the right to receive baptism conditionally in case of doubt as to its former due administration, Dr. Lee appeals to the positive prescription of the Church of England; and in virtue thereof, and according to the form and by the lawful minister prescribed by that Church, the baptism is revalidated—and lawfully so, on Anglican principles. So far, so good. But does it follow from this that an Anglican clergyman who has doubts as to the validity of his Confirmation or Orders, has the same warrant for demanding the conditional collation of these rites? Certainly not: since no appeal can be made here as in the case of doubtful Baptism, to any positive rule of the Church of England—which, moreover, nowhere teaches that the omission of any particular points in the service for their administration would invalidate these rites, or that they impart any character at all. But waiving the appeal to positive Anglican law on the matter, the most that a clergyman, who has a well-grounded doubt (*dubium facti*) as to his valid Confirmation

and Orders, or who has had to have his doubtful Baptism revalidated, could, on Anglican principles, be allowed to do, would be, to seek for conditional Confirmation and Orders from his Anglican bishop, according to the prescribed forms of the Church of England. If, however, an Anglican clergyman has a practical doubt as to the validity of the prescribed forms themselves (*dubium juris*), he dare not in conscience seek to have them reiterated, or remain any longer in communion with that Church, without grievous sin. What is clearly against all reason and logical consistency is, for Anglican clergymen to have their Baptism revalidated in the manner prescribed by the Church of England in virtue of her positive permission or injunction, and then, on the strength of this injunction, practically to invalidate her authority, and to cast contempt upon her ordinances, by getting Anglican rites changed for them into sacraments, which, as such, she repudiates—and *that* by ministers unauthorised by her, and with sacramental forms she has deliberately rejected, and replaced by her own non-sacramental services; and then for these clergymen still to hold office, and minister in the Anglican communion. What is certainly against logic, and theology too, is for clergymen in, what is to them, a doubtful Church to make their doubtful Confirmation and Orders, the plea for revalidating their Baptism, and then to make their revalidated Baptism the ground for obtaining wholly new and valid Confirmation and Orders from an entirely foreign and a certainly valid source, and yet to remain in their doubtful Church.

And, by the way, it is surely against all reason and theology, for the Prelates of the Order to teach, as the "Bishop of Dorchester" (in a sermon reported in *The Daily Chronicle*) and Dr. Lee do, that Anglican Confirmation is *certainly no sacrament*, but only a new Anglican rite, that is, not Confirmation at all, and yet for them to revalidate this rite for the members of the O.C.R. by the sacrament of Confirmation *sub conditione;* as I gather is their wont. Were the primitive practice of washing the feet still in general use, the O.C.R. bishops might with as good reason, according to their own principles, supplement or revalidate this rite also by conditional Confirmation.

But I have said more than enough on the anomalous position of the O.C.R. in relation to the Church of England, and on the unreasonable principles, and many inconsistencies of the Society itself; and it only remains

for me to treat briefly of its relation to the Catholic Church.

We have already seen that that Church is, according to the principles of her faith, by divine right, sovereign and supreme in Christendom; that all spiritual jurisdiction belongs exclusively to her; that all orders and sacraments are in her keeping; and consequently to obtain them without her sanction, and out of her communion, is unlawful, and *per se* sacrilegious; and that the assumption of any spiritual jurisdiction, not derived from her, is null and void. Hence the principles and plan of action of the O.C.R. are, in the eyes of the Catholic Church, both anti-Catholic and immoral.

We know what would be thought of some secret society in the civil state, which should by clandestine means usurp to itself, powers, functions and dignities, derivable rightly from the sovereign authority alone—and should do this in contravention of express laws of the State, and in defiance of its threats and penalties. Such secret combinations are justly held to be of their very nature disloyal, treasonable, subversive of all rightful jurisdiction and authority, essentially immoral; and their members are accounted traitors and rebels. The mode of action is radically, essentially, bad; and no end, whatever it may be, can in any case justify such means.

In the Church of Christ, according to Catholic doctrine, the principles and acts of the O.C.R. are of a like nature. Its members combine together in a secret society, without sanction of any authority but their own, clandestinely to filch for themselves certain high powers and rights divinely bestowed on the Catholic Church, such as Sacred Orders and Sacraments, and presume to exercise their usurped powers contrary to her formal and express prohibition, and in spite of her most grievous threats and censures. Thus, they dare to offer up the Sacrifice of Holy Mass, to reserve amongst themselves the Holy Eucharist, to administer sacraments, and to perform other sacred functions.

They claim, moreover, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction, by assuming to convoke synods with the pretension of due canonical form and sanction, by legislating on doctrine, discipline, and rites. They even make use of, adapt, revise, or change at their will and caprice the defined doctrine of Sacred Councils, and the Liturgy and Ritual of the Catholic Church for their unhallowed work. Their self-titled bishops give themselves episcopal sees and pretended jurisdiction,

thus arrogating to themselves the prerogative conferred by Divine right on the Chief Pastor alone—to rule the whole of Christ's flock, and to divide the pasture for the sheep and lambs; for what they have done in this country with Dorchester and Caerleon, they might just as well do in any other part of the world.

I have said that the principles and action of the O.C.R. are anti-Catholic, and, I may add, exceptionally and emphatically so. This is evident from the fact, that just those very acts, by which the members of the Order are marked off from the rest of Anglicans, are acts most gravely forbidden by the Catholic Church under her severest penalties. And so, besides any censures to which non-Catholics in general may be liable, the clerical members of the O.C.R., by their clandestine ordination, their heretical or schismatical succession; their reception of other sacraments; their exercise of Orders, in saying Mass, ordaining and administering the sacraments; by their new-formed basis of faith; their appeal to a General Council; their constitution of episcopal sees—by each and all of these several acts—incur, *ipso facto*, according to the law of the Catholic Church, not only criminal clerical irregularity, but suspension and excommunication *latæ sententiæ*, specially reserved for absolution to the Roman Pontiff. Moreover, all exercise of their Orders is held to be sacrilegious, and their absolution from sin in the tribunal of Penance to be utterly invalid and worthless, besides being also an act of sacrilege. Thus, so far from being more Catholic or Roman than other Anglicans—notwithstanding their advanced opinions, leanings, and aspirations—they are really in a worse position as regards the Catholic Church; and were they to be reconciled with her (as we trust many may) they would have to seek for special absolution from censures incurred by their acts as members of the O.C.R., over and above whatever else to which they might have rendered themselves liable.

This view of the position of the O.C.R. is strictly in accordance with the very plainest teaching of the Catholic Church, as may be seen in any treatise of her theology. And to take a contrary view would be an implicit denial of the principles of her Faith; whilst for a Catholic openly and formally to defend or to commend the policy and action of the O.C.R. would render him in imminent danger of *ipso facto* incurring the Church's censures.

Hence we can now prize at its true value the suggestion

of Dr. Lee, that the tone and terms of the Pastoral setting forth the principles and doings of the Order, a single clause excepted, met with almost universal commendation from Catholics in the highest ecclesiastical and theological quarters.

So far from Catholics in general finding any satisfaction in the knowledge that there are valid Orders and Sacraments amongst Anglicans, they are thereby rather filled with sorrow and dismay at the thought of the multiplied sacrileges and indignities to which all they hold most sacred and divine will be too surely exposed. We rejoice indeed to know that there is outside the Church much of revealed religion, and of Christian principles, still surviving and yielding its fruit; and the more we can think there is, the more we rejoice. We rejoice too at the re-awakening to the light of Catholic truth that is again dawning over the minds of so many of our countrymen; and knowing as we do that the perception of truth is gradual and slow, and manifests itself diversely in diverse souls, we should be very patient and forbearing, ever ready to excuse and overlook inconsistency and error where we can, considering with how much of necessary misconception and prejudice and dawning light is mingled; and should hope on with charity in God's good time, for a fuller and more perfect illumination. But even so, we must not omit in season to speak the plain truth, though it may sound severe, especially when error is made openly to wear a fictitious garb, and what is wrong is publicly advocated as though it were right. And we must not forget that there are certain moral dispositions of heart, which ethically are more in harmony with fundamental Catholic principles than mere intellectual light and appreciation of objective truth, and that these are, most especially, docility and obedience. And granted that the Catholic Church is what she claims to be—a divine institution—all must see that these moral dispositions have necessarily with her *the first place*. *Since* she is the divine teacher, all who would seek union with her, must come to learn religious truth from her lips alone. *Since* she has divine authority, they must be obedient to her voice. Hence, those who in their former religious sphere have set themselves up at will to be masters and teachers, and shown themselves independent and indocile towards the authority to which they professed and engaged to be subject, should they not in measure first unlearn themselves, would notwithstanding their clearer perception of truth,

hardly find a congenial home in the Catholic Church. Whereas those who practise submission and obedience to the authority under which they are set, and so long as they hold it to be true, though with less knowledge of dogmatic truth, have dispositions more akin to Catholic principles, may be nearer to the kingdom of God, and more in the way of His blessing.

To sum up. For the Corporate Union of moral bodies, in any definite and proper sense, unity of spirit is just as necessary, as that one soul and life should animate the whole physical human frame. No two things of totally different and contrary natures can be in either physical or moral union, with the continued existence of each. The two parties in question, the Churches of England and Rome, are in their whole principles and nature essentially mutually opposed one to the other: one common spirit cannot animate both. The Catholic Church cannot change her faith; the Church of England, regarded in its spiritual aspect, has neither the will nor the power to change. Hence reunion is not possible. The O.C.R., which volunteers its mediation, is by its nature unacceptable to either party; it has a spirit and principles of its own, which belong to neither, and are equally opposed to both; whilst its mode of action for the cause it undertakes, is the worst possible on every account. I may add, that a reunion of separate moral bodies can be effected only by the mutual action of their responsible ruling authorities. Now, since the secular power originally separated the National Church of England from Rome, made it what it is, and continues to maintain and rule it, no other authority than that of the State could properly negotiate terms of reunion with the Holy See. For myself, looking at the matter speculatively, I should regard any such reunion, if initiated by the Crown, the Legislature, or the Executive Government, to be far more within the range of practical possibilities, than if attempted by the spirituality of the Church of England. And I am inclined to believe that, if, through example shown in high quarters, and through legalised public recognition of the Catholic religion, the many social hindrances, drawbacks, and discouragements to its profession were removed; and if the Catholic Church had all facilities at its disposal to make its doctrines known, and its moral and religious influence felt, a large number both of the English clergy and laity would be led in course of time to embrace its faith; and even Corporate Reunion eventually might not be impossible.

But this is only speculation, and not practical. One thing, at least, in this long discussion is practical and certain, and that is: if Corporate Reunion be of such great importance as the O.C.R. holds it to be, then individual reunion must be of an importance far more personally pressing.

"Fugite de medio Babylonis, et salvet unusquisque animam suam." (*Jer.* li. 6, 45.)

THOMAS LIVIUS, C.SS.R.

CONFRATERNITIES—THEIR OBJECT AND USE.

CONFRATERNITIES mean the amalgamation of the faithful for works of charity or piety, with the approval and under the guidance of ecclesiastical authority. They are called into existence by the Bishops, or, as it sometimes happens, directly by Papal Bulls or decrees; but in all cases, whether they exist in parochial churches, or in the churches or oratories of religious communities, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the Ordinary; in parochial churches the parish priest is, *ex officio*, the spiritual director, upon whom they depend for all ecclesiastical functions, and the administration of their temporal goods. For their exact position in the Church, and all ecclesiastical legislation regarding them, the reader may be referred to Ferraris, Article III., under the heading *Confraternitas;* Bouix, De Episcopo, tom. 2, p. 317; Manuale Juris Canonici, by D. Craisson, fifth edition, page 431; and the Sulpice Treatise on Canon Law, fifth edition, page 465.

There are some facts regarding Confraternities which are of great importance. In the first place, though they are of comparatively modern origin, yet they are found in every part of the Catholic Church, more especially in new countries and in English-speaking communities. In Ireland, at least, there is scarcely a parish that has not some one of the Confraternities in a flourishing condition, and many think that they are the great means, in this age, of preserving a spirit of fervour amongst the people. That is the first great fact, viz., that Confraternities are as widespread as the Catholic Church, and that they have the mark of universality upon them.

The second fact is, that the Roman Pontiff encourages the existence, growth, and extension of Confraternities in a most marked way; this is seen in the great number and variety of privileges and indulgences imparted from time to time to all who, either organise them, or join their ranks. Some national Synods have decreed that the faithful who studiously keep aloof from them, much more those who speak lightly or profanely of them, have not the true spirit of the Catholic Church.

The third fact need scarcely be stated, viz., that they are not necessary for the Church's existence, or for the salvation of individual souls, in the sense that "the preaching of the Word" and the administration of the sacraments are necessary. These are divine in their origin, not so Confraternities. But, if they are not necessary in the strict sense, they are, nevertheless, powerful agencies to induce Christians to ponder often on their destiny, and on all their religious and social duties, whilst they afford them attractive opportunities for listening to the Word of God, and receiving the Holy Sacraments often and suitably.

The men who aim at blotting out the name of God and religion from human transactions, and who have sought and still seek to undermine all legitimate authority in the world, have combined with other men for these objects; and the measure of success that may have attended their diabolical efforts depended on the strength and compactness of that combination. In fact, it may be broadly stated that all the evils by which religion and society have been more or less successfully assailed in modern times, found their only strength in the *union* of human wills, human intellects, and human hearts; and that, in those countries where religious and social disorders have taken the fastest hold, the aggressiveness and strength of such sinful combination have been busily at work. On the other hand, all social reforms of importance, as well as whatever promotes the well-being of mankind, is best secured by legitimate combination, and through that, by the mutual help and confidence that spring from union.

Admitting this to be true, and also that the souls of men must be saved, *humano modo*, not as those of angels but of men, it occurs to me that to combine, under legitimate authority, for purposes and objects that are higher and more lasting than those of any mundane consideration, and to secure by that combination the aid and sympathy and encouraging example of all others who are earnestly striving

for the same end, must be a good thing, and must make our success more certain than if we stood alone. That is precisely what every confraternity in the Catholic Church aims at doing. I will go a step further and say that confraternities, or institutions akin to them, are, in a certain sense, necessary in the present age, and that if our Irish congregations were to trust to the amount of religious instruction and religious ceremonial to which people were accustomed fifty years ago, they would not be so devoted to religion, and so distinguished for piety as, thank God, they are to-day. I know a rural parish this moment into which, about forty years ago, only one weekly newspaper used to enter, and its only reader was the priest of the parish. That parish then contained upwards of seven thousand souls. How changed is the scene now! Every household has its weekly paper, and the greater number enjoy the luxury of a "daily;" the young people indulge their tastes for light literature of some kind or other, and it is plain that they cannot be treated like those who held their places forty years back. The tendency of the present day is to lose sight altogether of the future life, and be satisfied with passing events, which succeed each other with such rapidity, that they must be very startling to be remembered at all. We have plenty of the present to occupy us. Electricity and steam-power, and the art of printing, bring us into direct and ready communication with all other people, and the great events that affect the lives of nations are as familiar to us now, as used to be the local or parish gossip to our ancestors fifty years ago. Living in an age of such frivolous distractions, and reminded constantly of the Mammon-worship and irreligion of all who have not the true faith, and which are so characteristic of our times, Christians are naturally more apt to forget all supernatural interests if not often and earnestly reminded of them. Confraternities, well and wisely directed, will be the best antidote against these peculiar spiritual evils. Through their agency, religious instruction can be more systematically and frequently delivered, as the same persons, at the same hour, and in frequent recurrence assemble in the church, where the members of confraternities are induced to think oftener of heavenly subjects, to pray better, and what is of the highest importance, are made to receive the Holy Sacraments with a frequency that would never exist if they were not members of some confraternity. Because of their peculiar fitness to produce such results,

and thus often the only means by which the religious indifference that marks the busy age in which we live can be counteracted, I do not hesitate to say that confraternities, or some such kindred institutions, are in a certain sense necessary.

The faithful people of this country like those admirable societies, which should be rendered as attractive as possible, and made to afford a rich and precious treat of which all shall gladly partake. The success of each confraternity mainly depends on the spiritual director, and on his zeal and tact for organisation. He must convince all his sodalists that he is in earnest, that he loves their association, and is jealous of its fair fame and success. So long and only so long as the priest is thus qualified to guide the confraternity with wisdom and earnestness, shall it continue to attract people to its ranks, or do the work for which it was raised up and endowed by the church. The religious exercises should be varied, and on ordinary occasions, should never exceed three-quarters of an hour's duration. As they are free devotions, as far as individuals are concerned, great care should be taken to avoid tedium, and, I think, that on any occasion the exercises should not be prolonged beyond an hour. The rules that guide confraternities should be known by the members, and good organisation requires that they shall not be departed from.

A well-managed confraternity is a source of great blessing, in any parish, and though its existence always places additional burthens upon the priest who organises or sustains it, still he is amply rewarded, even in this life, by the happy homes which it creates, and the public virtues and social order which it fosters amongst his people.

JAMES CANTWELL.

(To be Continued.)

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

Missa Cantata.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

Rev. Sir,—A case lately came before me for decision, which, as I cannot find it in any work accessible to me, I would feel much obliged for a solution.

A legacy was left to a priest, with the sole condition "to have Masses offered by him" for the soul of the deceased. Can he say a *Missa Cantata*, and charge the fund for the same, according to the statute regulations of his diocese, or must he offer all as *Low* Masses, and thus have a greater number offered?

Pittsburgh, U.S. Sacerdos.

Our correspondent will probably be dissatisfied with us if we give only a modified answer to his question. But he will remember that the various circumstances of the case, which are quite familiar to him, are unknown to us. In moral cases, particularly, it is much easier to give a correct *viva voce*, than a written, reply. When the questioner is present, information may be obtained regarding those incidental circumstances which so largely determine the solution of the question at issue.

When, on the other hand, we have before us only the necessarily bare statement of the case, which can be given in a short compass, we can only fall back on general principles, the statement of which must often seem no better than an evasion of the real difficulty.

In the present case, then, we can only say that *per se*, we believe our correspondent would not be justified in determining the value of the *honorarium* he has received, by the *honorarium* usually given on the occasion of the celebration of a *Missa Cantata*.

If, for instance, the bequest is so small as to require the celebration of only a few Masses at most, it seems to us that it would not be lawful to claim, on account of a *Missa Cantata*, an unusually large *honorarium*. The reason is obviously derived from the presumed intention of the testator, who, in the circumstances, seems to require as many Masses as will correspond with the number of ordinary *honoraria* contained in the sum which he has given. But if the amount of the bequest is large, and consequently requires the celebration of a large number of Masses; and if, in the ordinary discharge of his duty, our correspondent has,

within a fixed time, to substitute some few *Missae Cantatae* for the usual Low Masses, we are of opinion that he may offer these *Missae Cantatae* for the testator's intention, and may take credit for these *Missae Cantatae* in determining the value of the *honoraria*.—Ed. I. E. R.

II.

Indulgences.

Rev. Dear Sir,—I have seen with delight the paper on "Purgatory," in your last issue. I trust that the good and learned divine will publish many such leaves from his Note Books.

The fruits of the Most Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, explained and developed by such a master-hand, would diffuse a spirit of lasting piety throughout the land.

In No. 21, the learned writer says, "A person in a state of sin cannot perform a work either of merit or satisfaction." I should desire to know his views on the opinion held by some theologians, who hold that if you offer your Indulgences for the relief of the souls in Purgatory, such Indulgences will benefit them, even though at the time you had the misfortune of not being in the state of grace. I cannot see the reason. I would wish also to learn, with reference to those who die with deliberate venial sins on their souls, at what particular moment are those sins cancelled or remitted. L.

[As soon as his vacation comes to a close, we hope to have an opportunity of submitting to our venerable contributor the interesting questions referred to in our correspondent's communication.—Ed. I. E. R.]

DOCUMENTS.

Missa pro Populo.

WE regret that we are unable to insert in the present number of the Record the full text of the Apostolic Letter, in which the Supreme Pontiff has recently determined the extent of the obligation by which bishops are bound to offer Mass for the faithful committed to their care.

The *existence* of the obligation of offering Mass for the people was undoubted, but the *extent* of the obligation, as well as the *source* from which it was derived, when bishops were concerned, were questions on which Canonists held

different opinions. The Propaganda had been frequently consulted by bishops subject to its jurisdiction, on the matter. In order to secure uniformity in all future decisions, the Secretary of the Propaganda was directed to consult the Congregation of the Council to which the decision of the question more properly belonged. The following two questions were therefore proposed to the Sacred Congregation :—

I. *An Episcopi teneantur ad litandam Missam pro populo omnibus diebus dominicis, et festis de praecepto, etiam suppressis ?*

II. *Quatenus negative, quale sit et quomodo exprimi possit onus, quod Episcopis incumbit, Missam applicandi pro populo ?*

Owing to the importance of the questions proposed, the Sacred Congregation was unwilling to give a decisive answer at once. The first reply, therefore, was to the following effect :—

Dilata, et exquiratur votum trium Consultorum, reassumptis ex Secretariis Congregationum S. Rituum, et de Propaganda, omnibus ad rem facientibus.

The *Vota* of the three *Consultors* are given in a recent number of the *Acta S. Sedis.* They are very interesting, and will well repay perusal. Our available space does not permit their insertion here. Having considered the *Vota* of these Consultors, the Sacred Congregation at length gave the following definite replies to the two questions proposed :—

Ad I. *Episcopos teneri ad applicationem Missae pro populo ; et Consulendum SSmo. ut decernere dignetur, eosdem Missam pro populo applicare debere omnibus dominicis, aliisque festis diebus, tum de praecepto, tum suppressis.*

Ad II. *Provisum in primo.*

As a consequence of the application made to the Holy Father for a confirmation of the decision of the Sacred Congregation, the Apostolic Letter to which we have referred was published. After referring to previous legislation by Popes and Councils, supported by the authority of Sacred Scripture, of the Fathers, and of Canonists, the Supreme Pontiff in the following words definitively determines the extent of the obligation of bishops, and confirms the replies of the Sacred Congregation of the Council :—

" His itaque omnibus diu multumque consideratis, auditisque Venerabilium Fratrum Vestrorum S.R.E. Cardinalium Concilii Tridentini interpretum sententiis, decernimus et declaramus, omnes et singulos Episcopos, quacumque dignitate, etiam Cardinalitia, auctos, item Abbates jurisdictionem quasi episcopalem in Clerum et populum cum territorio separato habentes, in Dominicis aliisque festis diebus, qui ex praecepto adhuc servantur, et qui ex dierum de praecepto festorum numero sublati sunt, omni exiquitatis redituum excusatione aut alia quavis exceptione remota, ad Missam pro populo sibi commisso celebrandam et applicandam teneri."

"Et ne cui dubitatione aditus pateat, declaramus, eosdem Episcopos et Abbates huic officio satis esse facturos per celebrationem et applicationem unius Missae pro universo populo sibi commisso, etiamsi duas vel plures Dioceses et Abbatias aeque principaliter unitas regant."

From this and other decisions recently given we may infer:—

1. That Bishops are bound to apply the Holy Sacrifice for all the people committed to their care, on the same days that Parish Priests are bound to offer Mass for their parishioners.

2. That one Mass will satisfy this obligation in case of a Bishop or Abbot, even though he may rule two or more dioceses which have been united *aeque principaliter*, or with a union which extinguishes the separate and distinct rights of each, and renders the two former, one diocese.

3. That a Bishop is bound by this obligation only after he takes possession of his diocese.

4. That merely Titular Bishops are not bound by this obligation, but they are recommended to pray and offer the Holy Sacrifice for the good of the diocese from which their title is derived.

5. That a Bishop may not satisfy his obligation as Parochus, by offering up Mass for the whole diocese.

6. That to satisfy his obligation as Parochus, a Vicar should be appointed by the Bishop, and that in apportioning the revenues of the parish, the Bishop should take into account the onus imposed on the Vicar or Administator, of offering Mass for the people of the parish on all Sundays and Holidays.

The following replies were sent on the 23rd March, 1863, to questions forwarded from Ireland:—

I. An Episcopus qui officium parochi exercet, applicatione Missae pro suis diocesanis, satisfaciat quoque obligationi qua tenetur ad parochiale officium.

II. Si idem Episcopus non satisfaciat obligationi parochi propriae, quoad obligationem pro populo, quid dicendum super praeteritis omissionibus?

The replies were:—

Ad I. Juxta exposita negative et ad mentem.[1]

Ad II. Ad. d. Secretarium cum SSmo.

Ed. I. E. R

[1] The Editor of the *Acta S. Sedis* explains the *ad mentem* thus:—

"Mens est ut Episcopus, si in civitate Newry non habet Vicarium pro administranda illa paroecia, eundem constituere debeat; et per illum debeat quoque facere satis obligationi Missae pro populo; animadvertens tamen juxta. § 9 Constitutionis Benediti XIV. *Cum semper oblatas*, ut consideret hujusmodi onus dum eidem congruam statuit."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Restitution.

Bona Incerta Injuste Acquisita.

Very Rev. Dear Sir,—In common with many others, I have derived much pleasure from reading the thoughtful and suggestive paper on Restitution that appears in the August number of the Record. The writer of that paper treats a very difficult and involved subject with all the studied seriousness it merits, and gives us his views upon it with graceful and facile pen. But, like every other controverted question of Moral Theology that has occupied the thoughts and engaged the labour of our schoolmen, this question of the "Restitution of stolen goods whose owners cannot be found," is overshadowed with difficulties so many and so perplexing, that until they are removed, or sufficiently explained away, no theory, however specious, can be considered as satisfactorily established. My object in writing the present letter is to evoke from your learned contributor such elucidation of those difficulties as will smooth the way for those whose office obliges them not unfrequently to reduce specious theory to matter-of-fact practice.

Your contributor states his thesis in no uncertain words: "All theologians are unanimous in teaching that the possessor of *bona simpliciter incerta ex delicto acquisita* is bound *sub gravi* to give them up, and to apply them to the poor or for pious purposes, and any contrary opinion is a novelty devoid of all probability and utterly untenable." Further on, he "maintains that this obligation is, strictly speaking, restitution due from commutative justice."

Now, I would ask *in limine*, how could the handing over of, for example, a stolen horse, or a suite of drawing-room furniture, to a poor man be regarded as an act of *restitution*—a "*damni allati compensatio*," a "*rei acceptae redditio*," a "*juris alieni redintegratio*"? The poor man has suffered no diminution of property, for which he can claim to be compensated; he has been robbed of nothing to which he had an antecedent right; and his only regret regarding *res alienae* is, that no portion of them was ever *his*. Hence, the very etymology of the word seems to debar the poor man from all claim. And we should never forget that the approved and accepted terminology of theologians pre-supposes and involves a more test-proof accuracy to express the intended meaning than that of the most elaborately drafted Act of Parliament.

But, furthermore, the illustrations of a "practical bearing" which the writer submits, seem to intensify the difficulty and to

make the knot more puzzling. He says that if the possessor of these goods be himself poor, he may apply them to himself, *qua pauperi*. This would seem to imply that in applying them to himself he is discharging a *debt* to which he is bound "*sub gravi*;" that he is "making restitution" to himself for goods which he never possessed as his own, and never lost; that he is "despoiling himself of goods unjustly acquired," instead of giving himself a true title to their possession; that he is exercising an act of the highest virtue; that he is restoring a disturbed equilibrium; that he is thereby the protector and guardian of society, and the uncompromising asserter of the rights of property.

For we must ever remember that here there is question, not of expediency or of charity, but of STRICT NATURAL JUSTICE.

Neither are the inconveniences of this theory less appalling when the claims of others of the poor, or of pious purposes, come to be examined. What individual amongst the poor can prove, or decently assert, that he has a *right* to these goods? What congregation of poor? Who amongst the needy can say: this is mine, *because* it is not yours? Or, passing by individuals, what institution or society or pious Congregation can, without the intervention of positive law, seize on, or appropriate, these goods? Not the State towards the liquidation of the National Debt, nor the Local Government Board towards the lightening of the Poor Rate: nor the Harbour Board for the benefit of trade: nor the Orthopædic Hospital; nor the Sick and Indigent Roomkeepers; nor even those benevolent sisterhoods whose very shadow brings healing to the sick and comfort to the afflicted poor. Does a man by committing a theft open a debtor and creditor account with any or all of these, or with that intangible being—a poor man *in genere?*

These and many other cognate difficulties are not lessened, much less removed, by saying that society transfers to the poor, or to pious purposes, a *jus strictum* (and we speak of no other) to these goods. Man does not possess a joint ownership with the State or with society in his property. A man's horse or house is his own, and no one proclaims this right of ownership more emphatically than the State. The State may compel a man to pay taxes: but it gives (or professes to give) him an equitable equivalent in its maintenance of law and order. It never calls in taxes as a portion of its own property, with which it may do as it lists. It asserts no *jus strictum* to them, and therefore does not presume to transfer one.

But, perhaps, by the exercise of its *Dominium Altum*, and for the good of society, it does make such a transfer? Decidedly not. Should the rightful owner ever turn up, and satisfactorily prove his right, the State at once admits and asserts it, and furnishes him with "horse, foot, and artillery," by force of which to recover his goods.

It strikes me that the arguments of your contributor, and of the

theologians whose works he has so laudably studied, prove that those stolen goods form a matter on which the Church or society might well legislate, but prove no more. The Constitution of Alexander III., and other similar enactments on which they rely, have reference to Usury and Simony, and I will not offend the writer of your paper by reminding him that, in laws, an argument *a pari*, is of positively no value, and that "recognised custom and discipline" have force within their own domain only.

In conclusion, I will merely say that the axioms and principles so abundantly cited, are in perfect harmony with the above. The guilt of the dishonest man's theft is by no means diminished by the inability of the owner to show himself: he was guilty of a most grievous sin against society and natural justice, as well as against the law of God.

C. J. M.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Enchiridion Clericorum. By the Author of "Programmes of Sermons and Instructions," &c. Browne & Nolan: Dublin, 1882.

For our clerical readers, and more particularly for the younger priests, no book can be more interesting than one which, like the *Enchiridion Clericorum*, proposes to take the young priest by the hand, on the threshold of the seminary where he has made his studies, and to lead him into his sacred ministry, by putting before him a Rule of Life for his guidance, pointing out to him how he may "*present himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly handling the Word of Truth.*" (2 *Tim.* ii. 15). Such is the high and holy object which the author of this book has undertaken to accomplish; and if the execution at all corresponds with the design, a real and lasting benefit has been conferred on all priests into whose hands the book may come.

Before proceeding, however, to express any opinion on the author's success or failure, we desire to put before our readers some idea of the plan he has followed, and of the different subjects he has treated.

The central part of the book consists of the Rule of Life which a young priest should follow in order that he may live worthy of his vocation, and avoid the dangers to which youth and inexperience are apt to lead those who follow no settled plan in the discharge of their daily duties. To show how practical

and exhaustive this Rule of Life is, we need only quote the headings of the different chapters under which the whole matter of this section of the book is arranged. The first chapter demonstrates the *necessity* of such a rule. The second chapter proves clearly that the example of others is not to be adopted for a Rule of Life. Each one will, as the author says, have to stand or fall by himself, and it will be no excuse before the Supreme Judge that he acted as others act—that he followed others in the course they pursued.

The author by no means wishes that the young priest should not avail himself of the help which is to be derived from the good example of his elder brethren in the ministry. On the contrary, he desires the young priest to "look around him in all directions, so that he may find examples to imitate—examples of holy priests, true '*ministers of Christ, and dispensers of the mysteries of God,*' who, by the regularity of their lives, and their zeal in the service of the ministry, may say with St. Paul, '*Be ye imitators of me, as I am of Christ.*'"

What the author insists on, therefore, is, that the Rule of Life must be framed according to fixed, well-defined principles, and must not depend on the haphazard circumstances in which a young priest may find himself on his first entrance into the work of the ministry. What these principles are, to what particular duties they must be applied, and how these duties are to be discharged, we find explained at considerable length, and with sufficient detail, in the subsequent chapters under the following headings:—Retiring and Rising, Morning Prayer, Holy Mass, Guardianship of the Most Holy Sacrament, Spiritual Lecture, Study, Examination of Conscience, Solid Devotions, Devotion to our Divine Lord in the Most Holy Sacrament, Devotion to the Passion of Christ, Devotion to the Blessed Mother of God, Devotion to St. Joseph, Devotion to your Angel Guardian, Devotion to your Patron Saint, Monthly Retreat, Frequent Confession, Clerical Modesty, Visits, Mortification—of the Tongue; of the Temper; at Table—Avarice, Preaching, Hearing of Confessions, Care of the Sick, Short Addresses, Synopsis of a Priest's Life in the Public Ministry of the Church.

This Rule of Life forms, as we have said, the central part of the book, but it is preceded and followed by matter scarcely less important or less interesting. The Introduction to the Rule of Life is occupied with some general considerations "showing what a Priest in the first place ought to be; and secondly, by way of contrast, what he ought not to be, in the hope that, impressing these considerations deeply on his mind, he may see all the more the necessity of regulating his life in accordance with the prescriptions submitted for his adoption on the very outset of his Sacred Ministry."

What a Priest ought to be, is considered, first, with reference

to his Ministry at large; secondly, with reference to the Ministry of the Altar; and thirdly, with reference to the holy tribunal of Penance.

What a Priest ought not to be, is viewed particularly with reference to venial sin and to tepidity, as the baneful sources of the barrenness which marks the ministry of some priests.

The Rule of Life is "followed by an examination of conscience adapted to a retreat. . . . This examination of conscience will be found very comprehensive, so as to take account of all the duties of a priest in every position of the sacred ministry, so as to make the examination as generally useful as possible." In truth, the examination of conscience embraces all the duties which a priest charged with the care of souls, has to discharge. Under the different heads of those duties, the questions proposed for examination are searching and practical. We cannot conceive how any priest could, in time of retreat, or, indeed, at any time, read attentively this examination, and not be moved to correct whatever may be defective in the past, and to form strong and holy resolutions for the future.

After the examination of conscience, we find in Appendix I. *Monitiones S. Caroli Borromaei ad Clericos et Sacerdotes.* In Appendix II. *Quinque Puncta a Clericis serio Meditanda*; and in Appendix III. which is the longest and most important, a "Guide to the Programmes of Sermons and Instructions, pointing out how they may be adapted to the Gospels of the Sundays and holidays throughout the year." What the author does is, first, to select some one subject which naturally arises from the Gospel of the Sunday; secondly, to give a reference to the Programme in which this subject will be found treated; and thirdly, to give an appropriate introduction to connect the Gospel of the day with the subject of instruction. Thus, for example, let us take the treatment of the Gospel for the Fifth Sunday after Easter, as it happens to be brief.

The subject selected is:—*The Efficacy of Prayer.* The reference is to Programme on Prayer, Part III.; also Lesson XXII., Exposition of Christian Doctrine, Part V. Then follows the introduction thus:—

"In this Gospel our Divine Lord speaks very encouragingly of Prayer, and His words are in accordance with what we find laid down in various passages of the Holy Scriptures, and attested by the most remarkable facts respecting the power and efficacy of prayer. Let us, therefore, in God's name, bestow some reflections on the subject. It is vitally interesting to us, involving as it does our dearest interests, spiritual and temporal, for this world, and still more for the world to come.

"Invocation, and *proceed* to the subject."

We have now given a short analysis of the Enchiridion Clericorum, and we desire to express our opinion of the book very

briefly, but very forcibly. We cannot do so better than by echoing, with a slight change, the ardent wish contained in the closing sentence of the Letter of Approbation written by the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, and prefixed to the book :—

"Convinced, therefore, that the ENCHIRIDION will do great service to the cause of religion in largely contributing to the sanctification of her ministers, we wish for it the largest possible circulation" amongst the clergy of Ireland, and the clergy of every English-speaking country all over the globe. ED. I. E. R.

Elements of Ecclesiastical Law, &c. Adapted especially to the discipline of the Church in the United States. By Rev. S. B. SMITH, D.D. New York: BENZIGER BROTHERS.

We have before us the fourth edition of Dr. Smith's "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law," and a more valuable contribution to Church literature we have seldom seen. For order, clearness, and practical usefulness, "The Elements" deserve every commendation. Observing closely the method of Craisson's Manual, Dr. Smith divides his volume into three parts :—

"The first treats of the nature, division, &c., of ecclesiastical law; of the sources whence it emanates; and of the authorities from which it derives its efficacy. Next, the nature and force of national canon law, especially with reference to the United States, are discussed. The second part discourses, in a general manner, on ecclesiastics as vested with power or jurisdiction in the Church. Hence, it shows what is meant by ecclesiastical jurisdiction, how it is acquired, how lost and resigned. It therefore treats chiefly of the election of the Sovereign Pontiff, of the creation of Cardinals, of the appointment, dismissal, and transfer of bishops, vicars-general, administrators of dioceses, and of pastors, particularly in this country. The third part treats in particular of the powers and prerogatives of ecclesiastics as clothed with authority in the Church. Hence it points out the rights and duties chiefly of the Roman Pontiff, of the Roman Congregations, of cardinals, legates, patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, bishops, vicars-general, administrators of dioceses, pastors, and confessors."

The greatest want this book supplies is an exposition of what its author calls the "National Canon Law of America," that is, of the various modifications of Common Law which circumstances in America have made necessary or useful. Every country, and particularly every missionary country, has its own peculiar Canon Law differing less or more from the Common Law of the Church. The divergence is occasionally slight, but in some countries it happens to be very considerable. America is of the latter class, and hence for American priests and students Dr. Smith's volume has advantages which such admirable treatises as Craisson's Manual

and the Sulpice Tract cannot possess. The same may be said of Ireland, England, and the Colonies, and with some additions from plenary synods and diocesans statutes, "The Elements" will be found a safe guide in these countries.

One of the Consultors appointed by Cardinal Simeoni to examine this work expresses regret at its being written in English rather than Latin, "the language of the Church." We are, however, inclined to agree with Dr. Smith's reasons for the language selected, and we would add to those put forward this other. In countries like America and Ireland, where missionary labours engross almost the whole energy of the priesthood, everything should be done to make the study of ecclesiastical science as inviting as possible. It is not merely for students in seminaries provision must be made. Knowledge, unless kept up by constant revision, vanishes imperceptibly. Now a good manual of canon law well read, means revising a considerable portion of priestly science, and we are persuaded that in these countries, after the fatigues of the day, a priest will take up with greater pleasure a book written in English, than he would the same book if written in any other language.

It is no small praise of Dr. Smith's Canon Law that it has passed almost unscathed through the ordeal of the Consultors' examination. With some, of course, of his teaching, as for instance where he seems to take for granted that a custom "praeter legem" may induce an obligation, all cannot be expected to agree. On disputed points a canonist or theologian must be allowed freedom of opinion. The work it not yet finished. It is to be completed in another volume, and we are confident when the second appears it will merit that favour from the public which has been so deservedly extended to the first. Though published scarce four years, the work has reached a fourth edition, and we welcome it as a successful attempt to make canon law popular without lowering its dignity.

P. O'D.

Poems, Original and Translated. By H. I. D. Ryder, of the Oratory. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.

Father Faber published not only a volume of "Hymns," but a volume of "Poems." A less known Oratorian, the late Father Caswell, besides excellent translations of a great many liturgical hymns, wrote much beautiful poetry of his own. "The Dream of Gerontius" is one of the finest achievements even of Cardinal Newman's genius. And now another priest of the Birmingham Oratory has earned the epitaph which Dr. Johnson proposed for the poet-archdeacon of Clogher, namesake and ancestor of the senior Member for Cork city: "Qui, sacerdos et poeta, utramque partem ita implevit ut neque sacerdoti suavitas poetae, neque poetae sanctitas sacerdotis deesset."

Father Ryder has hitherto been best known as a controversial theologian. The late Dr. Ward found him a doughty adversary in a domestic controversy concerning the subject-matter of Papal definitions: but his most valuable work is the reply to Doctor Littledale's "Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome," which Protestant societies have scattered broadcast, edition after edition. "The children of light" are unfortunately much less zealous in such matters; yet Father Ryder's "Catholic Controversy," into which is condensed a great deal of accurate learning, brought down to the present date, has reached a third edition in a few months, and circulates widely in America.

The present elegant volume shows him in a new character; not a mere writer of religious verses, but a very cultivated poet. The nature of the book before us, and the nature of these book notices in a periodical like ours, do not allow us to analyse his poetical characteristics minutely, else we should wish to show by examples the tasteful variety of his themes, his skill in many kinds of versification, the freshness and beauty of his thoughts, and the purity and exquisite grace of his diction. Our readers will not be prejudiced against this volume—whatever its English critics may be—by the fact that it is published in our good city of Dublin, and that it is dedicated to an Irishman—"to Aubrey de Vere, as a slight expression of reverence for one whose life has been a happy blending of fidelities to his Church, his country, and his muse, in an age which presents but few examples of any such conjunction." R.

A Saint among Saints: Sketch of the Life of St. Emmelia, Mother of St. Basil the Great. By S. M. S. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.

The production of this biography has evidently been a labour of love for others besides the writer of it. The printers and binders seem to have been warned to spare no pains to make this "Life of St. Emily" as attractive without as it is within. They have succeeded. As an instance of the sudden access of popularity which has hence accrued to St. Basil's Mother, we have heard of a fair namesake of the Asiatic matron, who recently, at a very interesting crisis of her career, was presented with no fewer than three copies of "A Saint among Saints," one of the kind donors being the officiating Bishop. The picturesque vividness of the style is no surprise to those who have learned to recognize the letters "S. M. S.," as the initials of the religious name of a true poet's poet-child. One of the sweetest and not the least holy consolations of the last days of Denis Florence MacCarthy was the perusal of this first prose work of his Dominican daughter. R.

Essays on Various Subjects, chiefly Roman. By MONSIGNOR SETON, D.D. The Catholic Publication Society, New York. Dublin: M. H. GILL & SON.

This is a very readable volume. Its contents were published at various times in the *Catholic World*, and are now presented to the public by the author in an enlarged and amended form. We have just twelve essays in all, embracing a great variety of subjects —fine arts, history, and canon law. These essays are evidently the fruit of a mature and scholarly mind, and, we venture to think, will be read and re-read with pleasure and profit.

The author's long residence in Rome has made him familiar with the ways of the *Curia*, and lends additional authority to his statements on such subjects as "The Palatine Prelates of Rome," "Papal Elections," and "The Cardinalate."

The book is written very much in the style of "The Last Four Popes" of Cardinal Wiseman, and will form a useful addition to a priest's library.

J. H.

We have received for Review the following Books :—

From BENZIGER, BROTHERS—

Golden Sands. Third Series.

From Messrs. BURNS & OATES—

The Office of the Holy Ghost under the Gospel:—The Divine Interpreter of Holy Scripture. A Sermon preached by HENRY EDWARD, Card. Archbishop of Westminster.

Secret Societies: a Quiet Talk about Them. By W. H. ANDERDON, S.J.

The Catholic Child's Complete Hymn Book.

The Granville Series Reading Book. Fourth Standard.

The Life of St. Louis Bertrand. By FATHER BERTRAND WILBERFORCE.

The Life of St. Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome. By ALPHONSO CAPECELATRO, Translated by THOMAS ALDER POPE, M.A.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1882.

ON THE REMISSION OF SIN.

I.—What is Sin?

THIS question does not seem very difficult. One of the first truths children learn from the Catechism is, that sin is "any wilful thought, word, or action contrary to the law of God." The definition is St. Augustine's, and is plain enough to suit the meanest intellect.

What are the different kinds of sin? Original and personal, mortal and venial; all of which the oft-mentioned school-boy will glibly explain. But there is another kind not so easily understood, the fruitful subject of controversy, with regard to which the deepest thinkers—to use a journalistic expression—have advocated very different opinions. This is the division of sin into actual and habitual.

Actual sin presents no special difficulty. Its nature is very well explained in St. Augustine's general definition. It is, as its name imports, the act by which we transgress God's law. But, as no one can obtain remission of sin in the very act of transgressing, it is manifest that when we speak of such remission, we must mean the blotting out of something which remains after the act has passed away,—of habitual sin. What is it that remains? What is blotted out? What is habitual sin?

Let me, in the first place, try to set forth what used to be a pretty common notion, not only amongst the ignorant, but even amongst those who in other matters are cultivated enough. It was but a vague notion at most, put together in a straggling way, collected partly from sermons on the grievousness of sin, and partly from occasional writings

on kindred subjects. Thus was formed a general idea that sin is a sort of corrupting virus, penetrating, so to speak, into the very marrow of the soul; a sort of leprosy or small-pox, not only injuring the soul's powers, but rendering it hideous and deformed. The soul in sin was represented in a coarse material way, as something putrid, capable of corruption and corrupt; a sort of wretch who had by a long course of dissipation covered himself with ulcers and become an object of disgust. Do I err in thinking this not unlike the picture which is sometimes drawn in sermons on sin?

Indeed it is not to be wondered at that many should have formed such an idea; for loathsome diseases, notably leprosy, are the most usual figures under which sin is represented in the Scriptures. When the Sacred Writers wish to vary their expressions, the wicked are called "unclean," "filthy," "abominable." Who has been always thought the fittest type of the hardened sinner? Is it not Lazarus stinking in the grave? Of course there is also a general notion that many of these things are only types and figures, and that the descriptions are in some way metaphorical. But behind all that the confused idea remains, that sin is a kind of physical virus superadded to the soul, not substantially changing it, but making it corrupt and deformed.

It will serve as a corrective to this false notion to consider that the soul is not made up of parts—is not capable, like the body, of being chemically resolved into gases; and that, if it becomes deteriorated at all, it must be in its powers and tendencies. The intellect may be darkened—may think good evil and evil good. The will may be weakened in its better motions. Absolutely speaking, there might even be physical qualities superadded to the soul, which would render it as weak and ugly as it is strengthened and beautified by sanctifying grace. But all this should still be very far from substantial poison reducing it to corruption.

Again, it should be taken into account that the Bible was not written for theologians and philosophers, who may be able to form some idea of the beauty or deformity of spiritual substances. It was written for the poor; and, as regards the New Testament at least, the fact of its being preached to the poor is a mark of its authenticity.[1] But

[1] Matt. xi. 5.

were you to tell our workmen that the highest kind of spiritual beauty consists in an elevation of intellect and will, whilst the most horrible spiritual deformity takes place when these faculties are weakened and diverted from their proper objects, what a bald notion the poor ignorant men would be able to form of the glory or the ugliness you describe! The Sacred Writers took this into account. They knew that, as long as the soul is wrapped up in the flesh, deriving all its knowledge from material impressions, the material will make itself felt where the spiritual will lie quite unnoticed. Hence God and the angels are represented under human forms. The joys of heaven are oftenest described as sensible: the same is true of the pains of hell.[1] And so it is that, for the purpose of deterring us from committing sin, and also, perhaps, because it is often committed by acts in themselves gross, it is set forth under those disgusting outward forms of uncleanness, and filth, and corruption.

It was for want of taking these things into account that some of the so-called reformers made one of their most egregious blunders. This was the doctrine of Illyricus with regard to original sin. He was impressed with certain Scriptural phrases, such as "heart of stone," "wicked seed," "body of sin."[2] To explain them he supposed that man, at his creation, was endowed with—besides his soul—a certain additional substantial form; or, at least, with an additional substantial degree of the form which he already possessed. This was sanctifying grace, which raised the soul to the supernatural state and to the dignity of God's image. Sin came, and the image of God was blotted out, and the superadded substantial form was changed into another of altogether a worse and lower species, which is transmitted by generation from father to son and is now called original sin.[3]

Other Protestants strenuously opposed this doctrine of Illyricus. Some even went so far as to deny that it was

[1] To guard against mistakes I may remark that the text is quite consistent with the doctrine of real corporeal fire. For, as the essential joys of heaven are purely spiritual, though not excluding accidental sensible delights; so the essential punishment of hell is the pain of loss, which is in no way incompatible with the pain of sensible fire.

[2] See respectively Ezech. xi. 19; Is. i. 4; Rom. v. 6.

[3] Suarez, De Vitiis et Peccatis, Disp. ix., Sect. ii., n. 3 (Ed. Vives, vol. iv., p. 601). See also pp. 160, &c., of a dissertation *De Peccato Originali*, published in 1877 at Louvain, for the degree of Doctor in Theology, by Joseph Thys, a priest of the archdiocese of Malines.

his teaching at all. It is impossible, however, to explain his words away; the very title of one of his tracts is decisive.[1] Neither is it easy to understand why his view was so badly received. For if, as the Reformers asserted, original sin is nothing else than concupiscence; and if by concupiscence is meant "a corruption of the whole nature and powers of man, particularly of the superior faculties of the soul,"[2] involving the loss of the divine image; how does all this differ from "substantial deterioration?"

As this paper is not intended to be controversial, I may take it for granted that habitual sin is something intrinsic to the soul, real and inherent;—that when the guilty act has passed away, something remains by reason of which the guilty person is no longer what he was before, but in truth and reality a sinner. This is the teaching of the Council of Trent with regard to original sin, which, we are told, is truly in all men; "*unicuique inest proprium.*"[3] *A fortiori* with regard to the sins we commit ourselves.

This much at least is required for the verification of the Scriptural language to which I have already referred. It is admitted by all that there are metaphors and other figures, and hence the Sacred Writers are by no means to be understood in a downright literal sense. But at the same time it is manifest that sin is represented as something more than a transitory act, as something abiding in the soul. Take, for instance, this text of Josue:[4] "is it a small thing to you that you sinned with Beelphegor, and the *stain* of that crime remaineth in us to this day?" Or take this other expression applied by the Church to the Blessed Virgin: "thou art all fair, O my beloved, and there is no *stain* in thee."[5] It is manifest that sin is here represented as something permanent, not passing away with the guilty act, something which we do not fully understand, but which may be best described in metaphorical language as a *stain* upon the soul,—*macula peccati.*

Many such texts could be quoted, if it were necessary, in support of this doctrine. The very title, "Sinner," and more particularly the denominations "unclean" and

[1] "Quod homo sit corruptus et mutatus non tantum in accidentibus sed etiam in substantia." 1562.

[2] *Solida Declaratio* I. § 10; "Affirmatur . . . quod in locum imaginis Dei amissæ successerit intima, pessima, profundissima (instar cujusdam abyssi) inscrutabilis et ineffabilis corruptio totius naturæ et omnium virium, imprimis vero superiorum et principalium animæ facultatum."

[3] Sess. v., De Pecc. Orig., can. 3. [4] xxii. 17. [5] Cant. iv., 7.

"filthy," evidently suppose some foundation in the individual, something which is now but was not formerly, when he was the beloved of God and the heir of glory.

With regard to the nature of this positive something, very different views have been put forward.

I. Some of the older theologians taught that it is a kind of morbid physical quality produced by the guilty act. This was held principally with regard to original sin, and was extended to personal by a parity of reason. It will be seen that the opinion approaches somewhat the Protestant doctrine already referred to, with this great difference, however: the heretics maintained that sin, whatever its nature, is not blotted out in justification, but only not imputed; all Catholics maintain the contrary.[1]

Now, without taking into account the obscurity in which such things as qualities are always involved, let us ask: what produces this special one of sin? Not the mere act of the sinner; for man's act, if repeated, may produce *a habit* in the soul, but no other permanent physical quality; and that sin is not a mere vicious habit we know from sad experience, for it is only too often found that evil inclinations remain after the guilt has been washed away. It may be said that the morbid quality is produced by God on the *occasion* of the guilty act. But the quality is admitted to be the sin; and we know that God is not the author of sin, that He abhors it, detests it, and will not produce it. Besides, no quality can be of itself evil, as sin is; no quality can become evil except by reason of an accompanying privation; in which case the privation would be the evil, not the quality. This is substantially the reasoning of Suarez.[2]

Sin, therefore, is not a *physical* but a *moral* entity. In what does this moral entity consist?

II. Scotus held that it is a liability to the punishment due to the guilty act, and that the *state* of sin is the state of being liable to such punishment. This view is advocated by many eminent writers.[3] It will be seen that such liability is not a mere nothing,—is a reality; and this reality may be truly said to be in all sinners—"unicuique inesse

[1] The opinion is ascribed by many to the Master of Sentences; it had undoubtedly some supporters amongst the Schoolmen. See Suarez, De Vitiis et Peccatis, Disp. ix., Sect. ii., n. 2.

[2] Ibid. Disp. viii., Sect. i., n. 5.

[3] Vasquez in I., II., Disp. 139, n. 4, quotes Durandus, Joannes Medina, William of Paris, and Gabriel.

proprium "—inasmuch as all are really and truly deserving of punishment.

On the other hand, Scotus is not without his difficulties.

1. It is the teaching of the Church that the *stain* of sin may be washed away and yet some *punishment* remain. Hence the doctrine of satisfaction and purgatory. This would seem to show that the stain is something different from the liability. Dicastillo[1] replies with a distinction: the stain is distinct from liability to *some* punishment, he admits; it is distinct from liability to *eternal* punishment, he denies. To me the answer does not appear satisfactory. For, why is the temporal punishment due? Because of the sin. Now if the stain of sin means nothing more than liability to punishment, it would follow that liability to temporal punishment should be equivalent to a lesser stain; and that, as long as any punishment remains due, the whole guilt is not remitted.

2. There is another difficulty. Why is the person deserving of punishment? Because he is in the state of sin. Therefore the liability to punishment arises from the sin, is consequent on and quite distinct from it.[2] You may object that the liability to punishment arises from the guilty *act* and not from the sinful *state*.[3] The reply is manifest: it does not arise from the guilty act; for even after justification it will still be true that the act was committed, whilst at the same time there will be no liability to punishment. The liability consequently does not arise from the act merely, but from the fact that the act was committed and not retracted—which is quite a different thing.[4]

3. Again, there is a proposition of Baius, the 56th of those condemned by St. Pius V., which is suspiciously like the opinion we are considering. Here is the proposition: "in peccato duo sunt, actus et reatus; transeunte actu nihil remanet nisi reatus sive obligatio ad poenam." It must be confessed that good theologians see a great difference between the doctrines of Scotus and Baius, and most likely many would explain Scotus so as to back up that

[1] De Pœnit. Disp. i., n. 258. [2] So Vasquez, l. c., Disp. 139, n. 8.
[3] Ibid. n. 259.

[4] This is called by Dicastillo *radicalis dignitas poenæ*. It is a mere verbal question; but it should be noted that the absence of retractation, or, as De Lugo would call it, the moral perseverance of the act, is required.

view;[1] but considering his opinion as ordinarily set forth, for example in Vasquez or Suarez, it is not easy to see in what it differs from the condemned proposition.

III. According to a third view, habitual sin consists in the privation of sanctifying grace. This is, of course, in the present order. In the state of pure nature it would have been different, for then we should never have lost grace, for the very simple reason that we should never have had it. We should have been *denied* grace, not *deprived* of it. But as we are constituted with our supernatural elevation,—which for us is the real question,—to be in sin means simply to be deprived of the beauty and the glory which come from sanctifying grace.

This is said by De Lugo[2] to be "satis communis sententia." It is commonly ascribed to St. Thomas, and indeed he does seem to teach it in the Summa.[3] Yet it must be remembered that his writings, like the Bible, are quoted in favour of teachings the most opposed. Hence it is that Suarez, who does not by any means admit this third opinion as it stands, refers over and over to St. Thomas in favour of a different view.[4]

1. On the other hand it is urged that this privation of grace is rather the punishment of sin than the sin itself. Why is grace withdrawn? Because of sin. It may be objected that the privation of grace is not the punishment of *habitual* sin but of *actual*. The reply is easy. It is not the punishment merely of the act. For after justification it will still be true that the act was committed: and yet there will be grace in the soul. Therefore it follows that it is not merely the act which caused the privation, but the act as in some way persevering, that is, the habitual sin.

2. Again, according to this third opinion one mortal sin should be as bad as a thousand. For, what is sin? It is the privation of grace. But grace does not go by pieces: the first mortal sin expels it totally from the soul. When it has been expelled by the first, what additional injury in the way of expulsion can be done by the second?

3. There is a third reason. In speaking generally of the stain of sin we do not distinguish in our minds between mortal and venial, and we mean by the stain something which is equally applicable to both. This something can-

[1] So Dicastillo, l. c., n. 264.
[2] De Pœnit. Disp. vii. n. 9.
[3] I., II., Quaest. 86.
[4] l. c. Disp. viii. n. 14.

not be the privation of sanctifying grace, else it could not apply to venial sin.

Against this argument it is urged that, according to St. Thomas,[1] venial sin does not leave any permanent stain behind. It must be confessed that, in the special article referred to, the Angelic Doctor does seem to adopt that view. Yet, here again we see how difficult it is to arrive at the full meaning of his writings. For Suarez[2] calls attention to an incidental expression in the same article, which would go to prove that, in St. Thomas's opinion, venial sin does leave behind a *macula secundum quid.* Hence, according to Vasquez,[3] the Angelic Doctor simply means that venial sin does not leave such a stain behind as would be sufficient foundation for calling the sinner *defiled*, although it would be quite sufficient for saying *he has some little defilement.* If this be the true meaning there is no weight in the objection.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine all the difficulties raised against the argument from the stain of venial sin. Many opponents admit the necessity of some stain but differ as to its nature. Some would have it consist in privation of fervour, others in privation of the right to be immediately admitted to the enjoyment of God. When, however, these opinions are carefully considered, they resolve themselves, with regard to venial sin, into the doctrine we have already rejected regarding mortal, that it consists in the deserving of punishment.

There is another view. It is that the stain of venial sin consists in the privation of a certain intrinsic physical form superadded to sanctifying grace and of such nature as to remit venial sin. To discuss this fully it would be necessary to enter on the very disputed question of remission of sin by physical forms,—a matter which is more pertinent to a subsequent paper. For the present let us suppose that venial sin is remitted by such a form as those writers describe. Would the privation of this form be sufficient to explain the venial guilt or the stain? Would not the privation be still a punishment, not a sin? Again; would there not be the same privation before the first venial sin is committed? The form is admitted to be absent at the time in question; and this absence may well be called a privation, inasmuch as, if this form exists at

[1] Summa I., II., Quast. 89, art. 1. [2] Disp. viii., Sect. ix., n. 18.
[3] In I., II. Disp. 139, n. 18.

all, it must be a perfection connatural to the supernatural state. Besides, if this theory were admitted, we should say that in the matter of theft, for example, mortal sin is specifically distinct from venial; for the former would be a privation of grace, the latter a privation of something else. This would upset all our notions of the distinction between sins.[1]

These are some of the objections to the third opinion; let us now examine just one argument in its favour.

Actual sin is a turning from God to the creature; consequently, habitual sin is the state of one who is so turned. How can one withdraw from that state? Only by turning or being turned back again. But remark: as in the present order sin is immediately and formally remitted by sanctifying grace, so it is by the same grace that one is formally turned to God. It is urged accordingly that sin and grace are immediately and formally opposed; and hence the privation of grace must be what is meant by sin.[2]

There is no denying the strength of this argument. It forced De Lugo[3] to admit that, in the present order, "the privation of sanctifying grace is an intrinsic part of habitual sin, not an adequate and determinate part, but inadequate and indeterminate." That is also the opinion of Suarez,[4] For, according to these writers, besides the privation, there enters into the constitution of sin the guilty act morally persevering. We shall see presently how that may be explained.

IV. Don't be annoyed with me, most patient reader, for inviting you to consider yet another opinion. As many as nine or ten are usually given by writers on this question; I have, so far, mentioned but three, and for your convenience shall put all the rest into one. You will see that this theological mixture has in it a sort of convenience, for the disciples of many masters will find their pet theory represented as true. May I hope to avoid the usual inconvenience of being denounced by all for not representing any one correctly!

De Lugo shall supply the substance of my explanation of this fourth opinion; it will be necessary to point out afterwards how others differ from him.

[1] So Dicastillo, Disp. I, n. 273.

[2] So Suarez (from St. Thomas), l. c. Disp. viii., n. 15; also Thys, p. 230.

[3] Disp. viii., n. 19. [4] Ibid.; see also Dicastillo, Disp. i., n. 295.

According to this great theologian, habitual sin is nothing more than the guilty act morally persevering. It does not persevere physically, as is manifest; for the act of theft, for example, may have long since passed away. In what does this moral perseverance consist?

It is evident that acts of the will—in which principally sin consists—may remain *in some way* after they are physically past. Thus, for example, by virtue of an intention formed before mass, a priest may validly consecrate and apply the holy sacrifice. His former act remains in some way. Hence theologians usually distinguish three kinds of intentions—actual, virtual, and habitual. It might be interesting to explain these, but there is another kind more to my present purpose. For an act of the will may be physically past, and remain neither virtually nor habitually, and yet be said to remain in some way.

This will, perhaps, be most easily shown by examples. Take the making a vow. Julius is bound by his act not merely when he makes the vow, nor for two or three days or weeks afterwards, but as long as he intended to bind himself; and, if there be no restriction, for his whole life. Here we have neither actual, virtual, nor habitual will. For, virtual intentions, if not renewed, are interfered with by lapse of time; and even those which are habitual will be destroyed by retractation at least; but even though Julius retracts his vow ever so often, still, without a dispensation, it will continue to bind.

Again, take a case in contracts. If Julius gets married his act will not immediately pass away. For his whole life he must stand to his contract; nor, should he find it inconvenient, will it suffice him to retract. This is a special kind of perseverance, which is called moral for want of a better word.

For, let us examine these cases and see what it is that remains. Why is Julius bound by his vow or by his contract? Because in the common estimation of men he is in the same position after a year as when his act was being elicited. When he made his vow or his contract he engaged to do a certain thing. After some time he wishes to retract but cannot. Why? Because, as people ordinarily judge, he ought to stand to his bargain; and if he does go back of his word, all good and honest men will condemn him for doing so. Of course he will be also obliged by the law of God; but it will not bind him without the concurrence of his own act, which is not a

mere condition but has a positive influence in the sense explained. It is because of this appeal to the common sense of mankind that we use the term *moral* perseverance.

Let us apply this to the question before us. When Julius sins he does what is offensive to God,—what God has a right to punish. But put it to any honest man: does God's right to be offended and to punish cease when the guilty act passes away? Has Julius in five minutes afterwards a right to be on the same terms with Almighty God as he was before? You may distinguish: if Julius could make complete satisfaction, or if God forgave him, yes; otherwise, surely no. Hence, the guilty act does not pass away, but morally perseveres,—in this sense, that as long as he cannot make complete satisfaction, and will not be forgiven, so long will all good men think he should take the consequences of his act.

Hence, in De Lugo's view, habitual sin is nothing else than actual sin morally persevering so as reasonably to render a man hateful to God. The foundation of this moral perseverance is, that the man sinned and cannot make complete satisfaction, whilst God has not pardoned the offence; on which account all good men will think that the past sin remains, equivalently rendering the sinner as deserving of God's hate as if he actually entertained the very physical guilty act of the will.[1]

There is just one observation which it may be useful to add. An act may morally persevere so as to produce one effect and yet not produce others. Take the case of a law binding under a heavy penalty. The superior may dispense in the penalty and retain the obligation; or he may dispense in part of the penalty and retain the remainder. How will it be retained? By virtue of his former will morally persevering, which yet does not remain with all its former force.

So in sins. The guilty act gives God two rights—to be offended and to punish. He may, therefore, cease to be offended without yielding his right to punish; or he may yield more or less this very right of punishment. Thus we shall have a scientific foundation for the doctrine of satisfaction for sin.

So far I have been trying to explain De Lugo's opinion. In connection with him, it is interesting to read Dicastillo, who always takes up the views of the distinguished Cardinal

[1] Lugo, Disp. vii., n. 48: he quotes Suarez, Granado, Vasquez.

and subjects them to a severe examination. There are many things with which Dicastillo finds fault in this whole theory; it will be sufficient to notice one or two special points.

1. In the first place he is not at all pleased with that moral perseverance of the actual sin, nor with the examples from which it is illustrated. Dicastillo contends that in vows and contracts it is not the act of will which perseveres so much as the obligation which that act caused. And just as heat once produced can last after the fire is extinguished, or as the character of Baptism outlives its cause, so this obligation can survive the act from which it sprung. It is true that we are accustomed to speak of the permanence of vows and of marriage, but this is only a figure of speech; what does remain is the obligation which, by metonymy, gets the name of that by which it is produced.

This may be all very true; but, in reply, may it not be asked: what is the obligation which remains? Is it merely the binding will of God on the one side, and the state of being bound on the other, the former human act being merely a condition? Or has that human act—the act of vowing or of marrying—a positive influence on the obligation? If it has, may it not be well said to morally persevere?

2. For himself Dicastillo would have habitual sin consist in this, "that a person sinned actually and has not retracted."[1] Such, he says, is the common opinion except amongst disciples of De Lugo. He continues: actual sin consists in turning away from God to the creature; and accordingly it can be retracted only by the contrary process,—that is, by turning from the creature to God. We need not at present inquire how this can be done. Let it be any way you will, formally or radically, by an act or by a habit; once the retractation takes place,—once the sinner has efficaciously turned from the creature to God,—that moment his sin ceases to exist. Hence Dicastillo's doctrine, that habitual sin does not consist of the guilty act alone, but requires in addition the absence of retractation.

Now all this would seem to be only De Lugo's doctrine put into different words. De Lugo would have habitual sin consist of the guilty act *morally persevering* as long as it is not *condoned or satisfied for*. Dicastillo would have the same habitual sin consist of the same guilty act as long as it is not *retracted*. If, therefore, the act can be *retracted*

[1] Disp. I., nn. 295, &c.

only by free *remission* on the part of God or *complete satisfaction* on the part of the sinner, one view is merely a different expression of the other.

3. Hence, for the purpose of this paper, I consider myself justified in treating these and all other kindred opinions as practically one. They do indeed differ in minor points. Thus, for instance, De Lugo[1] would have the absence of retractation, such as practically he requires, enter into the intrinsic constitution and essence of the sin. This Dicastillo denies.[2] Again, they and others differ somewhat with regard to the necessity of some intrinsic change in the sinner before his sin can be remitted;—that is, speaking absolutely and not considering the present order of things. Some of these and like controversies are mere disputes about words. Others are more important but more pertinent to the scope of another paper which will tell how sin is remitted. For the present this conclusion may be drawn, that, according to the common opinion, habitual mortal sin is nothing else than actual sin morally persevering as long as it is not retracted, or as long as the soul is deprived of sanctifying grace.

It may not be out of place to add a few words with regard to original sin. Great difficulty would be avoided if we could admit the opinion of Pighius and Catharinus, that habitual sin is nothing more than the privation of sanctifying grace. For it is easy to see how all children may be born with such privation. It just is as if a father by his folly and extravagance squandered an immense property and reduced himself to beggary. His children will have no right that people should endow them anew with their father's riches. They will be born beggars; yet not like common beggars, for what in others is want will be privation in them. They have to suffer, not for their own fault but for their father's folly, in whom they may be said to have lost their property.

In like manner we have no right to the possessions of our first father; yet are we not in the same position as if these treasures had never been ours in right? They should then have been *denied*, we are now *deprived* of them, not through our own but through our father's fault. In him, therefore, we may be said to have sinned.

This opinion, though not formally condemned by the Church, has found no supporter after the Council of Trent.

[1] Ibid. Sect. vi. [2] Disp. I. n. 290.

For, according to the doctrine laid down by that learned and holy Council, original guilt, whatever it may be, must be acknowledged to be real sin and to be truly in all men. Now, according to St. Augustine, who says the same is the teaching of all, there can be no sin except it be voluntary. But not merely did Pighius and Catharinus require no voluntariety, only privation in the sense explained; but also, in their view, original sin would not be a thing intrinsic, but a mere extrinsic denomination,—the imputation to us of Adam's fault.

Hence something more is required by those theologians who are of opinion that all habitual sin consists in the privation of grace. They recognise that we are all born in real sin, and that our original sin must be in some sense voluntary. But how voluntary? Not by an act of each individual will, for original sin is found in infants who are not responsible for their acts. It is voluntary, therefore, in the will of Adam; "by the disobedience of one man many were made sinners."[1] How this can be I shall try to explain by-and-by.

So far for one explanation. Those who prefer the other view of habitual sin, that it consists not so much in privation of sanctifying grace as in the moral perseverance of the guilty act, will have to follow out their theory consistently, and to show that it will suffice to explain the nature of original as well as personal sin. It can be shown, fortunately, almost in De Lugo's[2] very words.

What actual sin is it that morally perseveres, or if you will, is not efficaciously retracted? Not the sin of each individual, as is manifest. It must therefore be the sin of Adam, which is in some way ours also, and which being once committed by us and ascribable to us, abides in our souls, as already explained, until atoned for or forgiven.

But every sin must be in some sense truly voluntary. How voluntary in this case? Not in our own will but in the will of our first father Adam, by whose disobedience we all are born in sin. Remark how the two explanations come practically to the same thing.

Here then, whatever view you take, comes the real difficulty. How can one man sin in another's will? This is a mystery which no theologian proposes to clear up fully. We know that it must be so; we don't know *how* it can be. At most, some little may be done to show that

[1] Rom. v. 19. [2] Ibid. Sect. vii.

the doctrine is not, as many Protestants contend, evidently repugnant.

It is admitted freely that if two persons be in no way connected, one cannot sin by the other's act. What we have to do therefore is, to point out some link between our first father and ourselves, by reason of which his wilfulness may be ascribed to us. It will not suffice to say he is our common parent; for that would prove not merely his first but all his subsequent sins to be ours also.

There is one thing quite certain in this very difficult matter; it is that the supernatural gifts with which Adam was endowed, were intended not for him alone but for all his posterity. Let us therefore make a supposition. Let us suppose that when God decreed to give these supernatural gifts to men, he did not consider the individuals as such, but viewed them in a body as forming one human family. This one moral person he elevated to the supernatural state. Of this great family Adam was the head; and to him in his capacity of head were given those gifts and graces which he was to transmit together with human nature to his children. It was not as an individual man, but as representing the human race, that Adam received these favours. He could dispose of them well or ill, by obedience or disobedience, but still in his representative not in his private capacity. His will was the will of the whole human race whose representative he was; and as, if he had persevered, his descendants should thereby have been made partakers of his blessings; so, when he fell, the whole moral person was made to share in his guilt.[1]

Of course all this is only a supposition. Not only so; it is but one of many suppositions which may be and have been made. That each one is truly born in sin we cannot deny. If our supposition or any other serves to show, were it only "through a glass in a dark manner," how this can be, let it be accepted with thankfulness, not indeed as fully explaining all difficulties. They will disappear finally only when the veil shall be withdrawn, and we shall see face to face the infinite exemplar of all creatures, the source of all knowledge, and the key to every mystery.

WALTER M'DONALD.

[1] See St. Thomas I. II., Quaest. 81, art. 1; Suarez, l.c. Disp. ix. sect. III. n. 29; Thys, p. 264.

STUDIES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Elizabethan Period.—V.

Miracle Plays—(continued).

BUT not only in simple pathos and in broad humour do these Miracle Plays abound; they at times show a power of imagination which we often assign exclusively to a more recent period. In the thirty-first Coventry mystery the subject is Pilate's Wife's Dream, and this is how the dramatist accounts for it.

The devil, in revenge for his failure at the temptation in the wilderness, has brought about all the sufferings of Christ. He is now expecting the crucifixion, and that our Lord will then descend into hell; he knows that, and yet he is half afraid of what will come of it. So he calls out to a devil to prepare to bind him with chains as soon as he comes down. The devil below exclaims in anger—

Demon. "Out upon thee, we conjure thee
That never in helle we may him see;
For and he once in helle be,
He shall our power brest."[1]

So Satan thinks he will save Christ's life, and keep him out of hell: whereupon he hastens to Pilate's wife and inspires the dream.

Previously, in the twenty-second Coventry mystery, the temptation is preceded by a council in hell, where the arguments are not unworthy of Milton, though, of course, the language is much simpler. Satan begins with becoming compliments to his advisers—

Satan. "Now Belyalle and Belzebub, ye dear worthy devils of hell,
And wisest of council among all the route,
Hark now what I say, a tale I shall tell
That troubleth sore my stomach, thereof I have great doubt."

The question is how shall it be found out whether Christ be the Son of God or not—

Belyalle. "The best wit that I can say
Him to tempt forsooth it is,
With subtile wiles if that thou may
Assay to make him do amiss."

[1] Burst or destroy.

When the temptation has been determined upon, and its form arranged, Satan is sent forth to the work with their diabolic blessings—

Belzebub. "Now, lovely Lucifer, in hell so derke,
King and lord of sin and pride,
With some mist his wits to merke
He send thee grace, to be thy guide,
And evermore be thy speed!"
Belyalle. "All the devils that be in hell
Shall pray to Mahound, as I thee tell,
That thou mayest speed this journey well,
And comfort thee in this deed."

Mahound, or Mahomet, is constantly invoked alike by pagans and devils in these mysteries, by a bold anachronism.

Some of the kingdoms of the world are thus set forth in the temptation :—

"Turn thee now on this side and see here Lombardye
Of spicery there grow many an hundred balys :
Archas and Aragon, and grett Almonye,
Parys and Portyngale, and the towne of Galys,
Pownteys and Poperynge, and also Pycardye,
Erlonde, Scottlonde, the londe of Walys."

England is not mentioned, either because, as we suppose, it did not belong to Satan, or, as others may think, because he wished to keep it for himself.

The Chester collection has, we said, one play, "*De Adventu Antichristi*, which has no counterpart in the other volumes. The argument is sufficiently curious to require some notice.

Antichrist assumes almighty power, and raises two dead men; moreover, he dies himself and comes to life again. There are four credulous kings who are convinced by these seeming miracles, and in reward he gives them what are called the four kingdoms of the world—

"To thee I give Lomberdy,
And to thee Denmarke and Hongarye,
And take thou Ponthus and Italy,
And Rome it shall be thine."

Which distribution, to say the least, would have puzzled the kings to carry into effect by drawing the boundary lines. But to proceed with the story.

Enoch and Elias arrive to dispute the claim of Antichrist,

and the three wrangle away in pretty strong and personal language. At last Elias challenges Antichrist to make the dead men, whom he has before raised, eat something which he will give them.

Thereupon Elias blesses some bread in the name of the Trinity, signing it with the sign of the cross. The men raised from the dead, dare not taste it. This convinces the four kings, who return to the Faith and reject Antichrist, who thereupon in a fury draws his sword and kills them, and also Enoch and Elias. The archangel Michael arrives and does execution on Antichrist. The devils carry him to hell, while Enoch and Elias arise and depart with Michael to heaven.

The acting of the Miracle Plays continued through Reformation times and thus were contemporary with Shakspeare, to whom, at least as a boy, we may be sure they were familiar; Coventry being within easy reach of Stratford-upon-Avon. But, as we should expect, they did not pass altogether unscathed through that fiery period. The Widkirk collection has what may be called reformation erasures. Such a passage as the following of course fell under censure, and so was to be omitted in acting, being decidedly Popish:—

> "Here I thee anoynt also with oyle and creme in this intent,
> That man may wit whereto they go, this is a worthy sacrament.
> There are [ ] others and no more, to which thyself to teach was sent,
> And in true tokyn one of these, the first, on thee now is spent"

'*Corrected, not played*,' says the margin significantly, while the blank in the third line is made by a complete erasure; for, by this time five of the seven sacraments had gone, and were scratched out of the new faith as clean as the obnoxious word out of the old play.

But though the Miracle Plays held their own for so many centuries, the time came when they had at first to admit characters of another kind among them, then to yield the front place to these intruders, themselves dropping into the back ground, until at last they quitted the mimic scene entirely, and left the people to the tender mercies of these new comers. Not that the old plays were re-written on the new model, but that fresh authors produced works in these different stages until the Morals or Moralities, as they were called, became for a time the fashion.

In this class of drama the characters are allegorical, abstract, symbolical, and the story is intended to convey a certain moral lesson, "for the better conduct of life," says a commentator, though how far they attained their end, and how the people relished this half-veiled preaching, he does not say. Probably the success was not great, for they soon passed away in England at least, though as Mr. Denis Florence M'Carthy[1] teaches us by his admirable translations, they were a real and abiding power through Calderon in Spain.

So abstractions forced their way among the living realities, and in time fairly, or unfairly, ousted them from the popular drama. Morals came into the place of religious facts; Veritas, Justitia, Pax and Misericordia superseded Joseph, Mary, and our Blessed Lord Himself; and those who cried out lustily for the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, closed its inspired pages, and sought elsewhere for material for public instruction. The new Moralities required a popular element, and so a vulgar buffoonery was invented to serve the turn, and comic abstractions frisked and clattered on the stage. Strangely enough Death and Vice were selected for these ludicrous parts, Death with a bottle nose, ugly face and long tail, crying out for pity and help, while Vice castigated him, frequently mounted upon his back; Vice being dressed in motley, the fool's wear, with cap and bells, as might in those days be seen in many a noble and royal household. Such plays prevailed in the reign of Henry VI., and came to perfection in that of Henry VII., but they had no real life in them. However, they helped on the dramatic advance, and created a taste, when the love for simpler things had passed away, which only the drama of real life in the hands of Shakspeare could satisfy.[2] But this brings us on from

[1] Alas! that, while these pages are passing through the press, Ireland should have to mourn the loss of one of her sweetest singers, and the English-speaking world that of the most successful translator that perhaps it ever possessed, for such in truth was Denis Florence M'Carthy.

[2] That the old form of Miracle Plays lingered on in England into more recent times we have proofs in chance notices, like the following play bill which is to be found in Hone's edition of *Struth's Book of Sports*, p. 273, and belongs to the reign of Queen Anne. "By Her Majesties permission, at Heatly's Booth, over against the Cross Daggers, next Mr. Nillar's booth, during the time of Bartholemew-Fair, will be presented a little opera, called *The Old Creation of the World*, newly revived; with the addition of the glorious battle obtained over the French and Spaniards by his Grace the Duke of Marlborough." Then

the region of early manuscripts, and lands us amid the printed plays which careful authors edited for themselves. Among these we may mention the productions of one which attracted attention in his day, and that in Ireland, though not exactly in a way an author could desire. Bishop Bale of Ossory—'foul-mouthed Bale,' as Anthony-a-Wood called him—wrote four miracle plays or moralities, "to promote the Reformation," as we are told. Once he was Prior of the Carmelites at Norwich, but in time turned Protestant and married, for which double act of heroism he was protected by Cromwell—the first of that name—he retired for awhile on the death of his patron, was lost to sight in trying times, but turned up again on the accession of Edward VI., and was rewarded with the Bishopric of Ossory in 1552.

He has left us a highly characteristic account of what came of this in a pamphlet which has been preserved in the Harleian Miscellany (vol. 6, p. 437), which he calls *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande, his Persecutions in the same and final Delyveraunce.* Publishing it in foreign parts, in Mary's reign, he, with his usual impudence and mendacity, says that it is printed in Rome, opposite the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the Feast of St. Peter. It is in black letter, and fills 98 pages. He fortunately raised difficulties about his consecration in Dublin, insisting upon the new rite, and thus made his consecration null and void, and saved the Irish roll of bishops from the blot of his name. When he reached Kilkenny, he set himself to preach the new religion with a zeal and courage worthy of a better cause. He shows in this pamphlet how well he deserves the name Wood gave him: for he abuses other bishops, his own clergy and people, and indeed all he names—except a favoured few—in most unmeasured language. However, before a year has past, Edward VI. dies, and Mary becomes queen. The abused Chapter turn upon him, and urge that he should sing a

follows "the contents" in fourteen miracle plays; much scenery is promised (especially in the last, when Lazarus is carried into Abraham's bosom) "to the admiration of all spectators." But lest their attractions backed by the Duke's victory, should not draw, there is an additional promise of "dances, jiggs, saraband, anticks and country dances between each act, with several other things never yet exposed. Performed by Matt Heatly. Vivat Regina." The taste for the primitive drama had evidently died out, when such accessories were needed to make them acceptable.

requiem Mass for the dead king, as the queen had ordered to be done in London!

When the Ladye Mary is proclaimed, on August 20, 1553, "I took," he says, "Christ's Testament in my hand and went to the Market Cross at Kilkenny, the people in great numbers following. . . . In the meantime had the prelates gotten two disguised priests—one to bear the mitre before me, and another the crosier—making three procession pageants of one." Evidently they had no mercy upon him. But what more concerns our present purpose is what follows. "The young men (who seem to have been a certain number of hangers-on of the Parliament held there, and so maintainers of Bale) in the forenoon, played a tragedy of *God's Promyses in the Old Law*, at the Market Cross, with organs, plainges and songes, very aptely. In the afternoon, again they played a commedie of *Sanct Johan Baptiste's Preachings*, of *Christ's Baptisynge*, and of his *Temptacion in the Wildernesse*, to the small contentacion of the prestes and other papistes there." The first of these three in no sense deserves the name of a tragedy; for it is simply a series of seven dialogues of Pater Caelestis, with the following personages thus designated:—Adam, primus homo; Noah, justus; Abraham, fidelis; Moses, sanctus; David, rex pius; Esaias, propheta; and Johannes Baptista. Good works are at a discount, and faith is all in all. It is a dry and hard production, and must have wearied the young men who played it, as the general audience to whom it afforded "small contentacion." The afternoon comedy is certainly more lively, and with its palpable hits at contemporary events, and a really clever misapplication of the language of Scripture to the controversy between the old faith and the new teaching, may have raised a laugh among the thoughtless, however it must have made the judicious grieve. Its full title is more explicit of its aim: "A brefe Commedie or Enterlude of Johan Baptyste's Preachynge in the Wilderness, openynge the craftye Assaultes of the Hypocrytes, with the gloryouse Baptysme of the Lord Jesus Christ, compyled by Johan Bale, Anno MDXXXVIII." The characters are Pater Caelestis, Johannes Baptista, Publicanus, Pharisæus. Jesus Christus, Turba Vulgaris, Miles armatus, Sadducæus. It opens with an address, after which the publican, soldier, and a plebeian come for instruction to S. John, and duly receive his baptism. Then a Pharisee and a Sadducee come to argue and quarrel with the Baptist, and are evidently intended to

represent Papists, while S. John is a model Protestant. The dispute grows warm, as may be judged by a few lines—

Pha: "It becomes not thee to show what we shall do,
We know the laws and prophecies too:
Go teach thy old shoes, like a busy prating fool;
For we will none be of this new-fangled school.
We are men learned, we know the ancient laws
Of our forefathers, thy news is not worth two straws."

Then they prudently retire lest a tumult should arise. The baptism of our Lord then follows, and the whole winds up with a long address from the author in his own person. Baleus prolocutor, of which our readers will probably be content with a modernized specimen—

"The way that John taught was not to wear hard clothing,
To say long prayers, or to wander in the desert,
Or to eat wild locust; for he never taught such thing,
His mind was that faith should purify the heart.
Give ear unto Christ, let men's vain fancies go,
As the Father bade by his most high commandment,
Hear neither Francis, Benedict, nor Bruno,
Albert nor Dominic, for they new rules invent.
Believe neither Pope, nor priest of his consent,
Follow Christ's Gospel, and therein fructify,
To the praise of God, and his Son Jesus' glory."

We have not been able to find the third play here spoken of as performed on this memorable occasion. There is yet another of the same character and apparently still more violent in its abuse, which he seems wisely to have kept back from his trilogy. He calls it "A new Commedie or Enterlude concerning *Three Laws, of Nature, Moises and Christ.*" He says, "therein is largely declared how that faytheless Antichrist of Rome, with his clergie, hath been a blemysche, darkener, confounder, and poisoner of all wholesome laws."

He made his residence, at Holme's Court, so hot for himself, that "Robert Shea, a man sober, wise, and godly, which is a rare thing in that land, whom they name the Suffren,[1] escorted me, with a hundred horsemen and three

[1] Previous to 1609, Kilkenny was simply a borough, governed by a corporate body, consisting of the "upper twelve" and the "lower twelve," who annually elected from among themselves a *Sovereign*. At that date James I. granted Kilkenny the great charter, which raised the town to the dignity of a city, styling its chief magistrate mayor, instead of sovereign, as previously.—*Journal of Kilkenny Archeological Society*, vols. for 1864–6, 1870–71.

hundred footmen, and so with great strength brought me that night to town (Kilkenny), the young men singing psalms and other godly songs all the way in rejoice of my deliverance." But soon he shook the dust off his feet, and "early in the morning, by help of friends, I conveyed myself away to the Castle of Lechline, and so forth to the city of Dublin, wherein I, for a certain time, among friends remained."

It would occupy too much space, and carry us too far from our subject, to follow Bale through his many misadventures, until he settled himself at Basil in Switzerland, where he remained until the accession of Elizabeth brought him back to England, and to a prebend of Canterbury. He never set foot in Ireland again, and so the people of Kilkenny saw the last of him on that morning when he conveyed himself away, and doubtless bore with equanimity the loss of the bold, impudent, and "foul-mouthed" intruder.

There were Miracle Plays performed at that market cross before the intrusion of Bale, but there seems to be no copies of them in existence. After his time, amended and adopted performances took place, until the Cromwellians brought them to an untimely end. In more recent days Kilkenny revived its reputation for dramatic performances; but with these we have nothing to do, Bale having already carried us too far away from the ancient Catholic Plays, of which we have ventured to write.

We must not, however, conclude our paper without giving what is the first[1] express mention found by a diligent inquirer of the representation of mysteries and moralities in Ireland. He quotes from the manuscripts of Robert Ware the following:—

"Thomas Fitzgerald,[2] Earl of Kildare, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year 1528 was invited to a new play every day at Christmas; Arland Usher being then Mayor, and Francis Herbert and John Squire, Bayliffs, wherein Tailors played the part of Adam and Eve; the Shoemakers represented the story of Crispin and Crispianus; the Vintners acted Bacchus and his story; the Carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcan, and what related to him, was acted by the Smiths; and the comedy of Ceres,

[1] Historical Essay on the Irish Stage by J. C. Walker, Transactions of Royal Irish Academy, vol. 2, 1788.

[2] This name is obviously a mistake which Mr. Gilbert (History of Dublin, vol. 3, p. 3) has corrected by substituting "Pierce Butler, Earl of Ossory."

the goddess of corn, by the Bakers. Their stage was erected at Hoggin Green (now called College Green), and on it the Priors of S. John of Jerusalem, of the Blessed Trinity, and of All Hallows, caused two plays to be acted; the one representing the Passion of our Saviour, and the other the several deaths which the Apostles suffered."

It may be noted, in illustration of the tenacity with which corporate bodies cling to ancient traditions, that the trades of Dublin in the present day carry on their processional banners the symbols of the very plays which they performed three or four centuries ago.

Here we have a scene of peace and festivity which it is pleasant to note in days of change and tumult. The Corporation entertains the Lord Deputy with a literary banquet, and the whole is crowned by the religious mysteries with which the three Priors bless the feast.

But within a very few years how changed is the scene. A new Lord Deputy comes on the stage who, we may say, inaugurates his rule by open rebellion; the citizens resist him stoutly, and defend successfully the metropolis; and for their reward King Henry, with characteristic generosity, gives them what does not belong to him—namely, the whole property of one of the Priories which took part in the recent revels. The Prior and Canons of All Hallows are forced in 1538 to surrender all they have to the Royal Commissioners, of course, as they are made to declare, of their own free will, and "for certain just and reasonable causes thereto moving their mind and consciences,[1] and in 1539 the Corporation receives the Royal Gift, for an annual payment of four pounds four shillings and three farthings. But what of the rebellious Lord Deputy who, at least indirectly, brought about all this change? His story is well known, but so striking is its opening scene that it will bear telling again.

When Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, was suddenly called to England in 1534, he left his young son Thomas as Lord Deputy in his place. The rumour reached him in the following June that his father had been beheaded in the Tower of London. It was not true, for the Earl was alive at the time, though he died six months later a natural death in that prison. "Silken Thomas," as the young Deputy was called, for his love of splendour and the refined taste he

[1] Registrum Prioratus Omnium Sanctorum, p. xxix. Irish Archiological Society, 1845.

showed in indulging it, believed what seemed so probable a report, and rose in arms. He was very young, scarcely of age, and was perhaps hot-headed, as he was certainly hot-hearted. So he put himself at the head of a following, and rode in silk attire to the council chamber, and poured out his grief and indignation in memorable words with which all must sympathize.

In the very tumult of his feelings he showed himself as chivalrous as he was brave, as true a knight as he was a loving son, and thus he spoke:—

"However injuriously we be handled and forced to defend ourselves in arms, when neither our service nor our good meaning towards our Prince's crown availeth, yet say not hereafter but in this open hostility which we here profess and proclaim, we have showed ourselves no villains nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen. This sword of state is yours, and not mine; I received it with an oath and used it to your benefit, and I should stain mine honour if I turned the same to your annoyance. Now have I need of my own sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge, already bathed in the Geraldines' blood, and now is newly whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore save yourselves from us as from open enemies. I am none of Henry's deputies, I am his foe. I have more mind to conquer than to govern, to meet him in the field than to serve him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that have cause thereto, would join in this quarrel, as I hope they will, then should he soon be made sensible, as I trust he shall, of his tyranny and cruelty, for which the age to come may lawfully score him up among the ancient tyrants of most abominable and hateful memory."[1]

In vain the Venerable Primate and Chancellor, George Cromer, of Armagh, besought with tears, the impetuous youth to renounce his desperate design; he would not listen, and so the Rebellion of Silken Thomas began, raged with more or less success for nearly two years, when another Geraldine fell, not even with the knightly honour of the sword, but by the ignominious death of the halter.

But we must in conclusion say a word with respect to the destination of the property of which the Priory of All Hallows was deprived.

In 1592 the Corporation of Dublin surrendered the greater portion of it to the College of the Holy Trinity, which Queen Elizabeth had just founded, and for which, unlike their predecessors, they were duly paid. A large portion

[1] *Annals of the Four Masters* (*note A.D.* 1537).

remained, and still remains in their possession, and this they call the estate of All Hallows. A more remarkable memorial of the good old times is, however, to be seen on the Clonturk portion of this estate, of which the great Missionary College of Ireland holds a thousand-year lease. For this reason it is called All Hallows' College, standing as it does upon the very ground which, more than six centuries and a half ago, was "given by Thurstan, son of Vincent de la Stande and the Bishop of Ossory, to God and the Church of All Hallows, and the Canons who serve God therein."[1]

HENRY BEDFORD.

THE EFFECT OF EMIGRATION ON THE IRISH CHURCH.

WHEN Emerson on his second voyage to England, thirty-five years ago, passed along the southern coast of Ireland, looking with the eye of a poet on the green fields that clothed the bold headlands of Cork and Kerry, he observed: "As we neared the land, its genius was felt. There lay the green shore of Ireland, like some coast of plenty. We could see towns, towers, churches, harvests; but the curse of eight hundred years we could not discern." The experience of the Irish priest differs from the experience of the American philosopher. The curse is only too visible to us. Nor is there any sign that it is about to be immediately lifted. Nay even, as the years go on, and civilization advances, and new republics are created, and new races spring into existence, and with buoyancy and vigour push along in their course of success and happiness, that awful curse seems to be sinking deeper and deeper into the fate and fortunes of our country. Strangest problem of all, to which no historian will ever find a key, which the great day of Retribution alone will solve, our people, banned, persecuted, and exiled, with the curse clinging to their very garments, are yet not only the apostles of a saving faith, but the only elements of the stability and strength with which these new races, proud but powerless, can be ever cemented together.

[1] Registrum Prioratus Omnium SStorum, p. 54, A.D. 1230, for this deed of gift, and p. 55 for that of the Bishop of Ossory, of his portion of the same, A.D. 1229.

Yet Ireland has not wanted physicians to cure her temporal ills, nor seers and prophets and conjurors to exorcise the evil spirit that possessed her. With terrible iteration she has been subjected to the operation of every new method of statecraft and spiritcraft that human ingenuity could devise. Remedial measures, alternately drastic and soothing, have been applied; and yet she remains what she was made seven hundred years ago, an 'interesting case," confessedly incurable, and with morbid symptoms enough to engage the attention of every fresh expert that shall come to the front during the next fifty years in the schools of English politics. In our days, however, a new departure has been made—not "new" in a historical sense, but in the sense that a well-tried system has been revised and refitted with all modern improvements. It has been discovered that, notwithstanding the loss of half her life blood, three millions of her people in thirty years, Ireland is still suffering from congestion. And not only professional, but amateur politicians are hurrying forward with zeal to relieve her. A Bill has just passed through Parliament for advancing State aid to assist emigration; private speculators, very active within circumscribed limits, are carrying out the new experiment; it is urged on and warmly recommended by leader writers and pamphleteers; thousands of pounds are subscribed by philanthropists and doctrinaires; tens, and hundreds of thousands are subscribed by the landed gentry for the same purpose, and a new plantation of the country openly suggested. Now, how does all this affect us, Irish priests? How does it affect the Church with which we are so closely identified? What influence has this perpetual, never-ceasing exodus of our race upon the future fortunes of the Irish Church? We desire to discuss the question without any reference to existing controversies, except where facts are to be adduced in corroboration of principles or statements. We have no desire to import the angry elements of political strife into the calm pages of a theological journal. We simply wish to show the effect on the Church of this terrible drain on the strength of the country. It is a question in which we are deeply interested. We may belong to that section of the Irish priesthood, whose sympathies with our long suffering people are so intense, that the master passion of their lives is to see that people glorified, and its unutterable wrongs avenged; or we may belong to that milder school who believe that politics is "that mighty drama, where

men vex themselves, and God leads them;" but whatever shades of opinion the Irish priesthood may profess, all are blended in a passionate pride at the glories of the Irish Church in the past and present, and an enthusiastic faith in the extension and perpetuity of those Christian triumphs, which form at once her martyrdom and her crown.

Now, to what extent has the Irish Church suffered in the past? Our losses for the last thirty years have been so frequently mentioned that they no longer excite either curiosity or pain. It is enough to say that the Irish Church has been shorn of half its strength during that period. It has lost half the merits that would have been accumulated in that time by a nation of saints, half the merits that would have been stored away in the treasury of Heaven, gained by the patience and the prayers, the humility and stainless purity of our people. It has lost, too, half its material strength[1]—half the assistance that might have been given to works of religion and charity by a people who would sacrifice their last shred of clothing or food for the honour of God and the glory of the Church. We are afraid we should scarcely be believed, if we drew from the experience of the present a picture of what Ireland would have been, had her three millions of children been spared her. With all her poverty and misery, she has spent on works of ecclesiastical architecture alone £4,000,000 in thirty years; and during that time she was afflicted with three famines that would have swept from the earth any nation not endued with her marvellous vitality. What would the Irish Church have been if the towns, now half deserted and impoverished, were filled with Catholic populations, full of Celtic faith and generosity, carefully directed under the skilful hands of holy directors through the medium of confraternities and sodalities? What would she have been if her rich valleys teemed with life, the fruitful life of the "first peasantry in the world," as Lucas used to call them? What would she have been if her schools were filled with that brave, strong, bright-hued, bright-eyed youth, who have upheld the honour of Ireland and Ireland's faith in the sanctuaries, the senates, the forums, and the exchanges of the world? What would she have been if her convents were filled with those gentle, holy children, whose innocence and simplicity shining

[1] The total population of the county Tipperary in 1841 was 453,553. In 1871 it was reduced to 249,106, and in the Census for 1881 it was set down as 190,612.

through their faces attracted the attention of Dr. Newman thirty years ago, and showed him what hereditary faith and holiness can do in effecting even a transfiguration of the features? What a mighty army of trained missionaries we would have sent forth if Ireland's power and the energy of her children were unimpaired! It would have been in truth the ideal of a Christian Church. Well, God's will be done! God knoweth best! We cheerfully made the sacrifice, and behold our reward! The exiles have prospered. The 3,000,000 have grown to 10,000,000. The Irish towns are deserted, but the American cities are filled. We miss many a stately spire, many a sanctuary of learning and piety; but the same hands that would have built them here, have raised them in ten-fold number and grandeur and magnificence through every city of the States. Our valleys no longer echo with the murmur of the Rosary, told in the fields and cottages, but the Indian has learned that dear prayer from the Irish exile, and it echoes from Aherlow through the gorges and canons of the Rocky Mountains. Our people no longer dwell under the "little span of sky, the little patch of stars," that covers the land of their birth; but the blue firmament springs over them from the horizon of the boundless prairies, and the eye of God is there.

Let us come back to the present. During the last three years, emigration, that might be almost said to have ceased, has set in, in a full strong tide that reminds us of the panic of the famine years. During the first four months of this year, 39,000 Irish people passed through this port of Queenstown *en route* to America; and I think we shall not exaggerate when we state, that during the same period at least 10,000 left for America or England, through Londonderry, Limerick, Galway, and Dublin. This is a total of 50,000. During the same months of the present year, or rather during the first quarter, 7,000 persons were evicted without being reinstated as caretakers, and during the second quarter that number increased to 11,000. In the month of May alone 1,198 persons were evicted in one riding in the County Galway, and the evictions became so alarming, that they drew forth a protest and remonstrance from the official reticence of the Chief Secretary. Again, we are not exaggerating in stating the number of evicted persons this year as 50,000 more. That is, 100,000 of her population have been lost to Ireland this year. That means the "million a decade," which, in 1848, drew forth an

indignant and despairing threnody from the pen of Speranza. One million lost to Ireland every ten years! What will the Irish Church be in the dawn of the 20th century?

But these figures are vague. Let us apply them. The departure of 100,000 people in twelve months, means the destruction of thirty Irish parishes—it means the annihilation of an Irish diocese! If the city of Cork, with its bright intelligent population, its wonderful charitable and educational institutions, its wealth and its public buildings, were suddenly engulfed by an earthquake, or swept to destruction by a tornado, Ireland would mourn the loss for years. Yet she suffers an equivalent loss year by year, and remains apparently unconscious of it. If twenty-five towns of the size and population of Youghal or Tipperary, or Kilkenny, were suddenly destroyed, with their inhabitants, Ireland and the world would be appalled. Yet, so far as our country and Church are concerned, we are actually suffering this pictured calamity. The student of Irish history reads with horror the attempted extermination of the Irish people by Cromwell. Eviction and emigration are doing more than Cromwellian work in our day. Such, briefly, is the extent of the depopulation that is going on at present. Now, what is its character? There is a marked difference between the emigration of 1850 and succeeding years, and the emigration of 1882. During the former period, Queenstown was thronged with a multitude of pale, panic-stricken people, flying from that awful vision of plague and famine that had haunted them night and day for three years. They made no account of the wretched vessels that were to bear them on a tedious and perilous voyage across the Atlantic. They did not reckon their chances of reaching the shores of America alive, in those dreadful hulks, justly designated "coffin-ships." They felt as if escaping from a prison of death; and yet it was with tearful eyes and heavy hearts they turned from the dark masses that lined the quays, to the dark chambers and the dismal daily duties of an emigrant ship. For their future was very uncertain. They did not know what awaited them in the strange land beyond the waters. And the crowds of friends on shore shared their apprehensions and their fears. "Shall we ever see them again?" was the question that passed from lip to lip, as they looked and strained their eyes after the vessel, until she turned to the west, and passed from their sight beyond the headland. Then arose, day after day, in the ears of the tortured

inhabitants those awful cries and lamentations, that even to this day are a troubled memory to our people.

> Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
> Infantumque animæ flentes, in limine primo.

All this is now changed. Instead of "coffin-ships" we have now the floating palaces, where even an emigrant must be treated with humanity. Instead of a long and doubtful voyage of three months, we have a quick, short passage of seven or ten days. Instead of the shadowy country, half colonised and half civilised, there is the mighty empire with its fairy cities, its broad fertile prairies, its warm welcome to outcast humanity, and where frugality and industry are certain to lead to wealth and opulence. And, therefore, instead of the poor half-starved, emaciated emigrants of thirty years ago, the pinched and pale-faced women, the tiny weaklings, the grey and stooping veterans, we find passing through this port in the spring and summer time the very pick and choice of the land—fair women, and "stalwart, muscular, dauntless young braves," to borrow the words of an American writer, "brimful of push and energy, and royally endowed with every attribute that goes to make up a peerless and magnificent manhood." No longer labourers, with their wives and children, who, after many years and much labour, have put together the few pounds that will pay their passage; but the strong, intelligent artisans of our towns, and farmers' sons, who prefer the bustle and life of an American city to the monotony of country life at home: and farmers' daughters who sacrifice their dowries, and a certain prospect of marriage, for the pleasure of serving in a business house in New York, or even going into situation as housemaids in American families. And hence, too, there is no longer the sad weeping and melancholy farewell, but buoyancy, and cheerfulness, and hope. Nay, even, they do not carry with them, like the emigrant of 1850, one single reminder of their nationality, not a shamrock nor a ribbon, as if they were casting off all allegiance to the mother land. And the crowds on shore look with envy at the fortunate friends who are escaping. They no longer shout an everlasting farewell, but a ringing cheer, which is strengthened by the hope that when the letter and passage-money arrive, they, too, will be able to leave this land of bondage, and follow their friends to the promised land in the wake of the setting sun.

And this exodus threatens to become recurrent, until either the country becomes quite exhausted, and reduced to the 800,000 who survived the Cromwellian extermination, or something is done to counteract the attractions of foreign countries by giving our people a means of securing a decent maintenance at home. America must become the ultimate destination of our race, and this in an incredibly short space of time, unless something is promptly done to equalise the conditions of life in the two countries. The wonderful advantages it offers to the young, who are intelligent and enterprising, will increase as fresh contingents add to its population, its wealth, its activity. Fresh fields of enterprise are being daily opened up in the Western States, whose mineral and agricultural resources cannot be even conjectured; and when the pioneers of the coming race shall have surmounted the stubborn obstacles which untamed Nature always presents to her conquerors, a prospect of infinite prosperity will open up to the future and fortunate possessors.

Whilst America is beckoning and leading, friends at home are pushing and driving the Irish peasant in the same direction. The provisions of the Bill that has just received the Royal sanction are well known; it may not be so well known that private enterprise had anticipated the Bill, and was carrying into effect the object of the Bill, whilst it was being debated in the Commons. The Committee, of which the Duke of Bedford is president, and Mr. Tuke, the active voluntary agent, have published their report, from which we take the following extracts:—

1. "The committee claim that upon the whole the results of their work have been successful. They have done the work cheaply and thoroughly, having emigrated some 1,200 persons, chiefly in families, at a cost of a little over £6 a head."

2. "Taking into account the distressing poverty of the people in the special districts named, and their proved desire to emigrate, the committee are convinced that a vast amount of work in the way of emigration still remains to be done."

3. "A systematic emigration judiciously assisted seems to be the only hope for the population, the best chance alike for those who go and those who remain."

4. "The population of these districts is so large, the holdings are so small, and the soil generally so poor, that even if the tenants had no rents to pay they would for the most part be unable to maintain themselves even in good seasons."

5. "The subscriptions to the fund already paid in or promised

amount to £9,613, including £1,000 each from the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Devonshire, and £500 each for two years from Mr. Wm. Rathbone, M P., and Mr. Forster, M.P."

We cannot throw a doubt on the philanthropy of Mr. Tuke. He belongs to a family which has always taken a deep interest in Ireland. Nor shall we say a word of the propriety of scattering the population of Connemara on the deserted plains of Meath, instead of banishing them to Manitoba. Nor yet shall we deny that the members of the above-named committee are "all honourable men." We are simply quoting facts and figures to prove the extent and character of emigration. We are neither criticising motives, nor imputing intentions. Mr. Tuke's scheme is but one of the many that are working towards the same end. He is the type of the practical worker. The best example of the doctrinaire and dreamer is, we suppose, Lady Wilde. Her opinion of the present is:—

"The vital force of our people is wasted year by year in the bitter strife with other men as destitute as themselves, for an acre of land, more or less, some wild tract of dreary bog, or a few stacks of turf on some desolate moor, while all the time a new world is waiting to be occupied, where everything they had dreamed of vainly, and worked for sadly, from their youth up, can be realised and enforced."

Her vision of the future is:—

"What can be more bright or gorgeous, or better suited to the Irish nature than the golden vales and emerald plains of their fair country, covered with flocks and herds, or the silver salmon leaping in the nets under the shadow of the purple mountains of the West, where the fiords of the Atlantic bite deep into the land, and the rushing streamlets murmur a divine music through the chains of the hills? Such a landscape never should be desecrated by the tall chimneys of the factory prison, nor by the smoke of furnaces rising up to obscure heaven."

No! and, therefore, Lady Wilde would reduce the population of Ireland to 2,000,000, and make it a pleasure-ground for æsthetic Britons, for whom there should be "good roads, good country hotels, pleasure boats on the lakes, branch railroads for safe and rapid transit, with a line of passenger steamers to Southern Europe." The accomplishment of this day-dream requires the expatriation of the Celtic population, and for this purpose Lady Wilde would grant a colossal State subsidy. And this was the "Speranza" of '48. How are the mighty fallen!

Now, while Government officials and private speculators, while politicians and philanthropists, committees and companies, by threats, promises, subsidies in money, and gilded prophecies, are vying with each other in effecting the depopulation of Ireland, what are we doing? Even some American bishops are seeking to establish and extend new dioceses in Minnesota and elsewhere by the aid of Irish colonists, and we see all this going on without a murmur. Are we fatalists, believing in the inevitable destruction of our race? Do we suppose that the traditions of Ireland and Ireland's faith are coming to an abrupt and inglorious termination? Or are we merely apathetic, leaving all things to chance, in the good old Irish way? If so, we shall be rudely awakened. For if wise men foresee the future rightly, the emigration from Ireland next spring and summer will be unprecedented in Irish history. Even now in the dull autumn season, hundreds are passing through Queenstown. In the spring-time of next year the emigrants will be numbered by tens of thousands!

If this state of things continue, in less than ten years, the ancient ecclesiastical divisions of Ireland will be obliterated, and parishes amalgamated with parishes. The young Irish priests of the year 1900 will have the novel experience of going fifty or sixty miles to a sick call by rail: and the few who will be left to celebrate the centenary of Catholic Emancipation, will make it the event of the day, like Cromwell's soldiers, to see smoke issuing from the hut of a Catholic peasant, and will have the gratification of hearing those splendid churches that we are building with Irish money and Irish hands echoing with the "grand old Puritan anthem," sung by the Scotch planters and English yeomen who are coming to take the place of the "Irishrie."

But it has been said again and again: "Is not this our destiny? Do we not see that we are the 'chosen people, the kingly nation, the missionaries of the world?' That we are not tempted with earthly wealth, but royally endowed with all spiritual affluence; and that as the priest on Holy Saturday breathes on the consecrated water, and scatters the saving element to the four points of heaven, so God's spirit breathes on our people, and scatters them, and with them the gift of saving faith amongst the less favoured nations of the earth?" We will not retort by asking our questioners what they have done for the Faith. For whatever be the motives of those who habitually vilify our people, but grant them at least this high prerogative,

we are certain that this is our destiny, and that we must accomplish it. We should be impious to disclaim it: we are proud to admit it. We see the miracle of Christian Rome under the Pagan Cæsars repeated in our day. A little band of neophytes, persecuted and despised, carried the Cross under the very shadow of the eagle to victory, and saw territory after territory, and race after race, conquered by the sword, pass under the peaceful sway of the crozier. Another empire has arisen in our day, rivalling and even surpassing that of Pagan Rome in material and intellectual wealth, and another race has been the victim of oppressions that surpass the cruelties of Nero and Diocletian. Yet, wherever the mightier race has gone, the weaker race has followed, and established a spiritual empire, conterminous with that political empire, on which it is boasted the sun never sets. Nay more. We claim for Ireland the proud distinction of being the right arm of the Church in the present age. France, once so distinguished, is paralysed by the Red Terror, and has to devote all her energies to saving the faith of her people. Spain, cradle of Doctors and Saints, is lethargic and indifferent. Italy, centre of Catholicity, is disturbed by revolution. Ireland alone still sends throb after throb of energy and vitality through the Catholic world. Remove the Irish element from England, and what would the Church in England be? Take away the Irish operatives in the factories of Lancashire and York, the Irish dock labourers in Liverpool and Birkenhead, the Irish miners in Wales, and the half million Irish in London, and where would be the flourishing dioceses of Beverley and Leeds, Liverpool, Shrewsbury, and Westminster? Take the Irish element from America, and that empire-Church would consist of a few straggling dioceses, colonised by Germans and native converts. Is it not admitted by all who can look below the surface, that the Catholic Church in America would not maintain for a quarter of a century its purity of faith, its fidelity to the Holy See, its energy in withstanding the violent assaults of free-thought and atheism, its zeal for the glory of God, and the triumphs of Holy Church, were it not for that continuous stream of Irish immigration, which vitalizes a population that has the natural tendency to become torpid through excessive prosperity? Who founded, and still maintain, the Catholic Church in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand? The Irish exiles, and their descendants, who, whatever their faults may be (and we are not disposed to deny or excuse them)

must still be allowed the singular credit of having adhered with unwavering fidelity to those great principles, enunciated by our Blessed Saviour, embodied in the teaching of the Apostles, developed by the Church, and interpreted by the lives and examples of the saints. Well might the great French preacher, Montsabré, apply to Ireland the words of the Psalmist:—

"'The strangers have upon their lips the language of vanity, and their deeds are full of iniquity. Yet their sons spring up among them like fresh plants; their daughters are dressed out like idols; their barns are so full that they send to each other their abundance. Their oxen are sleek and fat; their walls are strong, and defy the night-prowler; no complaint or murmur is heard within their walls; and it is said—Happy the people who possess all these riches.' Well no, brethren; happy rather are the people who have the Lord for God: Beatus populus cujus Dominus Deus ejus."

This lofty destiny, of course, involves a mighty sacrifice—a sacrifice on the part of the people, and a sacrifice on the part of the priests. On the part of the people it involves the abandonment of home, and the rude severance of all those sacred ties that are formed in infancy and strengthened in manhood. It involves a change from the quiet holy life of the Irish mountain and valley, to the tumult and the bustle, the ambition and the sin of mighty cities. It involves that ordeal of "white slavery," through which most of our countrymen have to pass, before they reach independence—it involves the hatred and contempt that are liberally poured on our people by those who, trained in the Neo-Paganism of our century, have neither intelligence to understand Irish faith, nor grace to appreciate Irish virtue, nor charity to excuse our failings, nor humanity to sympathise with our sufferings. It involves the inevitable spiritual destruction of thousands, who would live and die in sanctity at home. It involves the melancholy belief that many of the children of Irish exiles forget their country and their faith—that many of the second or third generations, while bearing Irish names, are the enemies of the Irish race and religion.[1] And for us priests, is it no sacrifice to see our parishes depopulated, our churches deserted, and the flower of our youth passing

[1] It is generally understood that the Irish population in America, by birth and by descent, ought to be *at least* 20,000,000. Yet the number of professing Catholics in America varies from 7 to 10,000,000, and a great many of these are Germans.

away from us for ever? Is it not a trial for us to see the fields lying waste, and the houses unroofed, where many a pious Catholic family was worshipping its God in all humility and patience? To see the children whom we educated from their earliest years, and whom we are handing over to strange pastors as pure as we raised them from the font of regeneration, transferring their virtues and their faith to illustrate other lands, and edify an alien nation? It is a sacrifice, but necessary. The Apostles would never have evangelised the world had they yielded to the passionate love of their race, for their city and temple. Europe would not have been converted so rapidly were it not for the Irish doctors, who carried the lamp of learning and sanctity through its cities and kingdoms. Ireland itself would not possess the priceless gift of faith, had its great Apostle put the claims of his country before the wants of the people who cried to him in his dreams. It is a sacrifice, but also a glory, not that we care for glory—

> "No lovers of glory we;
> Give us the glory of going on, and for ever to be."

Ah! there it is. Keep the fountain running, and you may scatter its waters where you please. Keep the vestal fire of Irish faith and Irish purity burning, and let the nations come and take with them whatever they need to enkindle similar sacred fires in their own lands. Secure for us the simple certainty that the population of Ireland will not fall below its just and normal standard, and we engage to make saints and scholars for the Universe again. This we ask for the sake of the Irish Church, which cannot survive the extermination of the people; and for the sake of the Universal Church, whose faithful son Ireland has ever been.

Little though the demand be, however, it will take all the energy and activity that we can put forward to enforce it; but surely we ought to be as anxious to preserve our dioceses as foreign bishops are to create theirs. For this purpose, emigration should be strongly discountenanced in all those provinces, dioceses, and parishes, where the irremediable poverty of the people does not make it absolutely necessary. It is certain, and that certainty is confirmed by every bishop and priest to whom we have spoken on the subject here, that nowhere can our people live so wisely or so happily as at home, and that so long as an Irishman can obtain a decent maintenance in Ireland, he should not attempt to emigrate.

Again, let us not expect prosperity for our people so long as they are dependent on the agricultural resources of the country. Employment must be created for the surplus population of town and country by the establishment and development of local industries. The "whirr of the wheel, the gliding of shuttles, the ringing of steel," must be the Resurrection March of our people. In that very department over which we have immediate control, ecclesiastical art and architecture, it is in our power to help and even create fresh industries, and possibly revive that handicraft in which one visit to the Royal Irish Academy will prove the ancient Irish to have been proficients. A glance over a single church will show the mighty power we possess, even without travelling outside the sanctuary. Stonework and sculpture, iron and brass fittings for altar-rails, castings, pedestals, brackets, and altar-furniture; stained glass for windows; oak-carving for pulpits, sedilia, thrones and stalls; gold and silver and jewel work for the sacred vessels; embroidery and embossing with gold and silver, lace-making, &c., for vestments; organ-building, bell-founding, &c., &c.: these are but a tithe of the industries we can foster and protect, if we once learn the useful lesson of keeping our money at home, and not being too solicitous for the welfare of the artificers of Paris and Lyons, Munich and Manchester.

We commenced this paper with something like a dirge. We desire to close it more hopefully. It is highly probable that at last we are moving forward—that the patience and prayers of ages are about to be rewarded. As the poet persuades himself in all his doubts and misgivings, that "somehow good will be the final goal of ill," we, too, persuade ourselves that under the hands of a benign Providence, a mission of usefulness, and yet of happiness, is before us. Through the long period of their captivity, the Jewish exiles were cheered by the prophecies and promises that had been made them. They believed in the infallibility of the former; they trusted in the inviolability of the latter. Again and again have our priests and bards compared the Irish race to the chosen people, in their selection by Providence, in their trials, their captivities, their hopes. Perhaps it would not be quite out of place if we repeat and apply to our own beloved nation a promise, replete with joy, with hope, and with triumph:—

"'I will close thy scar, and will heal thee of thy wounds,' said the Lord. 'Because they have called thee, O Sion, an out-

cast; this is she that hath none to seek her. Behold, I will bring back the captivity of the pavilion of Jacob; and out of them shall come forth praise, and the voice of them that play; and I will multiply them, and they shall not be made few; and I will glorify them, and they shall not be lessened. And their assembly shall be permanent before Me, and their leader shall be of themselves; and their prince shall come forth from the midst of them.'

"The Lord will not turn away, until He shall have executed and performed the thought of His heart. In the latter days ye shall understand these things." (*Ezech.* xxx.)

P. A. Sheehan.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

On the Telephone in relation to the Sacrament of Penance.—An Inquiry.

What according to the principles of theology is to be thought of the validity of sacramental absolution given through the Telephone, and of its lawfulness at least, *sub conditione*, in a case of necessity?

The very idea of the Telephone as a medium for the Sacrament of Penance is one so entirely new, that in vain should we seek for any direct light to be thrown on the above question by theological writers. Modern experimental science has, indeed, in many respects so completely changed the formerly recognised aspect and conditions of physical phenomena; and has shown that to be now practical which would once have seemed naturally impossible, that often it is very difficult to apply even the general principles of moral theology, and to adapt the dicta and terminology of its authors, to a question such as this.

Perhaps the best, and indeed the only way to arrive at any satisfactory solution of the matter, is to put together what is laid down in theology to be essential to the Sacrament, so far as this may bear on our subject, and then to consider whether or not it is compatible with the conditions of the telephone.

To this end I will first briefly notice a seemingly cognate question once mooted by theologians, and the authoritative decision given thereupon: and then recal some of those

truths and principles of theology which appear most relevant to our enquiry. I shall afterwards compare these with the conditions of the Telephone in relation to the Sacrament of Penance.

I. Certain grave authors formerly maintained that absolution could be given validly, and for a just cause licitly to a penitent at a distance, whether by letter, or through a messenger, or simply by the priest himself orally pronouncing the form of absolution in favour of the absent penitent.

Their ground for holding this opinion was that, according to the Council of Trent, the Sacrament of Penance by divine institution is administered after the mode of a judicial process, and that the nature of such an act does not necessarily require for his trial and sentence the personal presence of the accused—as is evident in the case of excommunication.

They argued, moreover, that the absence of the penitent would not of itself hinder the verification of the form of absolution, viz. *Absolvo te:* inasmuch as an equivalent form, v.g. *Absolvo Petrum*, or: *hunc hominem*, or: *Excellentiam tuam*, or even: *absolvetur Petrus* (in the imperative mood), is held by theologians to be valid; and that such an equivalent form does not necessarily indicate the presence of the person absolved.

This opinion is now, however, utterly untenable, since it is quite certain, from the declaration of the Apostolic See, that sacramental absolution can never be given either licitly or validly *inter absentes:* so that the Sacrament of Penance conferred on an absent penitent is always invalid, irrespectively as to whether the confession itself was made in the absence, or in the presence of the priest.

"Condemnatio S. D. N. Clementis VIII. a.d. 1602. 19 Julii.

'Re mature ac diligenter considerata, hanc propositionem, scil. licere per litteras, seu internuntium confessario absenti sacramentaliter confiteri et ab eodem absente absolutionem obtinere, ad minus uti falsam, temerariam, et scandalosam damnavit ac prohibuit, præcepitque ne deinceps ista propositio publicis privatisve lectionibus, concionibus et congressibus doceatur, neve unquam tanquam aliquo casu probabilis defendatur, imprimatur, aut ad praxim quovis modo deducatur;' et adjunxit excommunicationem ipso facto incurrendam et sibi reservatam contra violantes hoc decretum præter alias pœnas a judicibus injungendas."[1]

[1] Suarez, De Pœnitentia. Disp. xix. sect. iii. 10-13.

That such absolution, scil. *inter simpliciter absentes,* can never be valid, is clear from the fact of the Pontiff's prohibiting it as unlawful in any case whatever : for were it ever in any case valid, divine and natural law would be opposed to so universal a prohibition, and would sanction such absolution as licit in a case of extreme necessity.

Its invalidity may be inferred also from the words of the Council of Trent: "ante hoc tribunale tanquam reos sisti voluit (Christus), ut per sacerdotum sententiam ab admissis peccatis possent liberari." (Sess. 14, cap. 2). Whereby, according to theologians, the Council signifies that the penitent is to appear in person, that by a formal sentence from the lips of the priest he may receive absolution—for this they say is the sense of the word : *sisti.*

Another proof is drawn from the nature of the essential form of absolution, *Absolvo te*—words which must be pronounced orally by the priest, and be directed to some definite person designated by the personal pronoun, *Te,* and which, according to the common use of speech addressed by one individual to another necessarily require the mutual presence of the two parties.

Once more: since the Sacrament of Penance is by its institution a judicial act, the confessor, before giving absolution, needs to have an adequate knowledge of the penitent's moral state and dispositions; and this he cannot satisfactorily obtain in the absence of the penitent, who himself alone holds the part of accuser, witness, and culprit, as well as in a certain sense of advocate in the case. Besides, after a confession previously made in the presence of the priest, or transmitted to him by letter, the penitent may have meantime changed in his moral dispositions, or may have committed some fresh sins, so that the priest could not be sure that he had that knowledge of the penitent's conscience which is necessary for *hic et nunc* pronouncing the sentence of absolution.

Before concluding this first point of our discussion, it may be well to note:

1. That though the ordinary mode of the penitent's accusation is oral confession, yet, as other ways are valid, and for a just cause licit, the Sacrament would be valid, should the penitent manifest his sins by letter to the confessor, and afterwards in the presence of the latter intimate that he accused himself of what was contained in the letter, and then receive from him absolution.[1]

[1] S. Alph. Mor. 429, 493. Gury, 467. 6°

2. With regard to what was said above about equivalent forms of absolution, these could be valid only so far as they imply the personal presence of the penitent: in the same way as the Greek form for Baptism: "Baptizetur servus Christi," is understood to mean: "*Hic* servus Christi baptizetur."[1]

II. I would now recal some principles and truths of theology concerning the Sacrament of Penance, which seem more particularly to bear on our subject.

1. The Form of absolution cannot be validly expressed otherwise than orally: since absolution consists essentially in formal words uttered vocally by the priest (modo indicativo); and they must be spoken under such circumstances, that according to human judgment they would be considered addressed to the penitent, who consequently must be present.[2] It is certain that if the words: *Absolvo te* could not be held in any way thus to fall upon the penitent, he would not be validly absolved, being in no sense present, but simply absent.

2. The presence necessary and sufficient for valid absolution is then not a physical but a *moral* presence, which has to be determined by the nature and end of the form of absolution, since it is for its due and efficacious utterance that such presence is required at all. Suarez says: "Illa ergo præsentia (vel propinquitas inter pœnitentem et confessorem) quæ sufficit ad sensibilem designationem et locutionem cum alio, ad hujusmodi formam valide et efficaciter conferendam satis erit; nam cum ratio hujus præsentiæ præcipue fundetur in forma, ex illa etiam colligendus est modus ejus."[3]

3. Authors say that, as a general rule, the confessor and penitent should be able to hear one another speaking, at least with a loud voice—hence they propose certain distances, 20 paces, etc.—and that in a case of necessity a priest can and ought to absolve a penitent who is perceptible by any one of the senses, *v.g.* should he be within sight, or even when, though not distinctly recognisable, he is known for certain to be amongst a number of people not far off[4]. They teach, moreover, that in a case of urgent necessity, should any one be visible at some con-

[1] Conf. Mastrii Disputationes Theolog. Lib. IV. Disp. V. 349. 359—62.

[2] S. Alph. Mor. Lib. VI., 428. [3] Suarez, loco supra citato.

[4] Gury de Sacr. Pœn. n. 429.

siderable distance, he is to be absolved, at any rate *sub conditione;* for instance, one who may be seen falling from a roof, perishing in a conflagration, or drowning in the sea. And, as a rule, when moral presence is doubtful on account of the distance, absolution in a case of necessity is to be given *sub conditione.*

4. Theologians concur in teaching that (servatis servandis) conditional absolution may and ought to be given in doubt of its validity to one who by its denial would be exposed to the danger of grievous spiritual loss. Hence amongst other cases is that of doubt whether the penitent be morally present or not.[1]

5. Absolution may be given with one single form: *Absolvo vos,* to a whole multitude of people, at one and the same time, in a case of necessity, and when their confessions cannot be heard, *v.g.* to a number of dying persons; in a shipwreck, or fire; to soldiers on the eve of battle, etc.[2] We may well conceive that many thus absolved on such occasions would be at some considerable distance from the priest, beyond the reach of hearing and out of sight, or only collectively and indistinctly recognisable by him.

6. We should note that whilst a mutual moral presence is required on the part of priest and penitent for the validity of the sacrament, it is not required *equally, and in the same way for both.* A greater moral presence is necessary for the priest than for the penitent; since the form for absolution which the priest must use, together with the necessary conditions for its valid and efficacious expression, has been determined by Christ Himself, and these require the priest's presence; whereas the mode necessary for the penitent's confession has not been thus defined at all; and though ordinarily it should be oral, yet for just cause it may be otherwise: all that is essential being that the penitent make known the state of his conscience as best he may be able. Hence it is, that in case of necessity a person may receive absolution, though wholly unconscious of any presence of the priest, should the latter perceive some sign of contrition and desire of the Sacrament on the part of the former, or be able to reasonably presume the existence of such dispositions, even though there be no perceptible sign. But, on the other hand, in no case can the priest validly absolve, unless he

[1] Gury, n. 435.

[2] Gury, 428, Qu. 4.

has some sensible perception of the penitent, that is, without moral presence. "Hoc judicium," says Suarez,[1] "primo et per se institutum est a Christo Domino ex parte judicis, dando illi potestatem ad remittenda peccata, unde ex parte illius etiam designavit modum et signum, quo uti debet ad remittenda peccata, et pari etiam modo determinavit conditionem necessariam ex parte ipsius judicis ad talem causam definiendam, quæ quidem est præsentia ejus . . . Ex parte pœnitentis non est omnino definitus modus aut signum ad confessionem necessarium, sed solum ut suam conscientiam aperiat integre, prout moraliter poterit. Ac proinde major determinatio requiritur ex parte formæ, et consequenter major præsentia ex parte sacerdotis absolventis, seu examinantis causam, quam ex parte pœnitentis."

III. We have now to consider the question of the Telephone, and whether or not its use in the Sacrament of Penance is compatible with the foregoing theological principles.

But it may serve, perhaps, to put the matter in a clearer light, if I first propose a few practical cases in point.

The London correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal*, October 10th, 1877, writes as follows: "I am informed that experiments with the Telephone have now been carried to such an extent that *viva voce* communication has been successfully effected through wire representing 5,000 miles. Negotiations have already been opened with the inventor with a view to introducing the Telephone into cable companies having offices in London, Paris and Madrid." Assuming the correctness of this information, I suppose that a Telephone cable has now been laid down between London and the Falkland Islands.

Case 1. Gregory, the only priest in the Falkland Islands, distant more than 1,000 miles from the nearest confessor, has been seized with a mortal sickness, and is expecting his death within a week or fortnight. He communicates with Peter, a priest in London, and makes to him *viva voce* through the Telephone a general confession, and receives from him by the same means absolution.

Q. Is such absolution valid? or probably valid, so that it may be licitly given, at least *sub conditione*, under the circumstances?

Case 2. Paris is once more in the hands of the Communists. Priests and good Catholics are imprisoned and

[1] Loco supra citato.

in danger of massacre. Francis, a priest in his prison cell, has access to a Telephone, which communicates with a distant part of the jail, or with some other building in the city, where is confined another priest Dominic: they confess one to another and receive absolution.

Q. Are these valid sacraments?

Case 3. The Catholic Poles, through fresh religious persecution, have risen in arms against Russia. Their army of 20,000 men is drawn up in regiments at certain intervals on the field of battle, and an engagement is imminent. Stanislaus is the only priest surviving in the neighbourhood. It has been arranged that at a preconcerted signal (the firing of a cannon) all the soldiers are together to kneel down and make publicly an act of contrition with the view of receiving sacramental absolution. Stanislaus at this moment, standing on an eminence, absolves them by the single form, viz. "Ego absolvo vos, etc."

Q. Do all those who are duly disposed receive valid absolution?

Case 4. In the Afghan War, during an engagement, the Catholic chaplain sees from a hill, through a powerful field-glass, some soldiers of an exclusively Catholic regiment in a valley at a considerable distance off, to all appearance mortally wounded, and raising their hands to heaven in an attitude of prayer and contrition. He gives them absolution.

Q. Is the absolution valid, supposing those soldiers have due dispositions?

It is not my intention to offer any resolution of the above cases, which I have proposed only by way of illustration. But I will proceed at once to inquire whether the conditions of the Telephone are compatible or not with what we have seen is essential to the Sacrament.

And first as regards the *materia proxima*. One of the chief arguments Suarez uses to prove the invalidity of absolution of a penitent at a distance through letter or a messenger is, that in such case the priest could not have that knowledge of the penitent's conscience, which is necessary for him as judge before pronouncing the sentence, and that thus there would be a defect in the *materia proxima* of the Sacrament. This objection cannot hold with regard to the Telephone. No difficulty has place here on this score. So far as concerns the manifestation of sins with expression of sorrow up to the time for absolution, the priest and penitent are as morally present to one

another, and can hold as close mutual communication, as though they were physically present together in the same room.

With regard to the *Form* greater difficulties may appear to lie in the way, and all may not be so clear and easy. The Form being of divine institution not only in itself, but also as to the nature of the medium and mode of its expression, the conditions of these have to be determined with greater strictness and precision; and no room should be left, if possible, for any uncertainty.

What, however, theology lays down as essential on this point is concise and simple.

For valid absolution the priest must pronounce the words of the form orally, and under such circumstances that, according to human estimation, the words are considered to fall upon the penitent, designated and addressed in the second person, *Te*. It is of the nature of human speech that the penitent thus addressed should be morally present to the speaker. Or, to put it in another way, whenever the words of absolution *do* actually thus fall on the penitent, then he is in fact morally present, and the absolution is valid.

Now, can one doubt that anyone's words to another spoken through the Telephone do according to common human estimation really fall upon and come home to the person to whom they are addressed? Suppose, for example, that a superior should give an order *viva voce* through the Telephone to his subject; the superior's words would certainly be held to fall upon the subject, to affect him as individually and directly, and as much to determine his conduct, as though the order were spoken close at hand. No one would deny that we can in a real and true sense speak to another *viva voce* in the second person through the Telephone immediately and directly, and that thus he would understand us as speaking to him, and answer us accordingly. And what is all this but a description of that moral presence required by theologians as essential and sufficient for valid absolution, and for the full efficiency of the sacrament?

If it be objected that the human voice comes through the telephone, not in a natural, but in an artificial and mechanical way; such an objection has of course no force against the *materia proxima*, which can be validly expressed in other ways than by the voice. And so far as the penitent is concerned, the objection does not affect him, since for his being validly absolved, he need not be conscious of

the priest's presence at all by any sense; all that is essential being that his due dispositions for absolution should be manifested, or reasonably presumed, even though not apparent.

As regards the priest, we have seen that he can absolve a penitent whom he perceives by some one sense. But this certainly does not mean that he must necessarily be able to perceive the penitent simply by his own unaided natural powers. Were, for example, a deaf priest in one room, and the penitent in another adjoining, and by means of a long speaking tube, the priest were enabled to hear the penitent's voice, no one would doubt that the priest could validly absolve. Here a moral presence is effected, and by what may be termed artificial and mechanical means.

The principle is the same in the case of the Telephone: there is moral presence through the sense of hearing one another's voice, and this is that sense which of all others is the most important for the end and purpose of the sacrament.

To further illustrate this point, take another sense, viz. that of *sight*. Theologians say that in an urgent necessity absolution may be given, at least *sub conditione*, to one who is visible at some considerable distance. Suppose, for instance, a very short-sighted priest is told there is a Catholic man seen off the coast drowning in the sea. The priest cannot see so far at all with his naked eye, but putting on his spectacles, he distinctly sees the drowning man, and absolves him. In this case if the *materia proxima* be there, the absolution would be valid, or probably so, and licitly given too, under the circumstances; and with the use of artificial means.

To return to the Telephone. Should it be granted that through the sense of hearing there is a moral presence of the priest and penitent, together with the *materia proxima* of the sacrament; if the priest *hic et nunc* pronounces the form of absolution, what is to hinder its validity? He utters the words orally over a penitent morally present, and the union of the Form with the *materia proxima* makes a valid sacrament. For my own part, I cannot detect any flaw, or discover any theological principle that would stand in the way.

But I leave a more definite answer for those who are better qualified to form a decision.

If the question were here asked: Must the priest pronounce the form of absolution through the medium of the Telephone, or could he do so validly, independently of that medium? I should incline to answer, that the words of

absolution must be spoken through the Telephone. For though, on the one hand, it is true that the penitent need not hear the words, nor the priest utter them in an audible voice, yet since, on the other hand, the Telephone is the only means whereby the moral presence is communicated and maintained; by the interruption of that medium, the moral presence would cease, and the words of the form would fail to be verified, and not falling actually on the penitent, the absolution would thus be invalid.

Post-Scriptum.—Should any one be inclined to extend the foregoing speculation[1] on the telephone to the electric telegraph, and seek to maintain that sacramental confession and absolution could have valid effect through the latter medium also, such a thesis would not in my opinion fall under the prohibition and condemnation of Clement VIII.; but, at the same time, I should hold that it had no grounds of probability, and was utterly untenable according to received principles of theology.

In alluding here to the Telegraph, I suppose, of course, the case of priest and penitent holding mutual communication together directly by wire, and each working himself at either end the telegraphic apparatus. The difference between such mode of communication, and that by letter or messenger condemned by the Pontiff, is obvious. Communication by means of the electric wire is morally instantaneous and simultaneous on either side, so that more than one grave objection to the former mode would not hold good against this. And so far the telegraph resembles the telephone. But, on the other hand, that which goes to form the main strength of the argument for the telephone is wanting in the case of the telegraph. There is in telegraphic communication no sort of mutual moral presence through the perception of any one of the senses. Intercommunication is carried on from a distance, without any moral presence, *inter simpliciter absentes*—conditions which, according to the principles of theology, are wholly incompatible with what is essential for securing the validity of the Sacrament of Penance. C.

[1] It is perhaps unnecessary for me to remark that the present article is put forth, not as any resolution of a practical moral case, but simply as a speculative inquiry. A practical decision on a modern question so important as this, would require the sanction of competent authority.

II.—Sponsalia.

Rev. and Dear Sir.—Some months ago the Record entertained its readers, in several consecutive numbers, with a correspondence you carried on with some friend on the subject of "sanatio in radice." The correspondence was highly interesting, not only on account of the very important subject treated of, but also on account of the edifying deference you and your correspondent showed throughout in maintaining your respective views, though so diametrically opposed to each other.

The Sacrament of Matrimony presents a multitude of most important questions, and it is only when a priest is at work in the exercise of his sacred ministry that he finds the necessity of having correct and clear ideas respecting them.

Some time ago, a clerical friend of mine told me of the following case, which had been related to him by the priest concerned:—

One fine morning a young woman came to him, and said: "Your Reverence, I hear you are going to marry my sister and such a young man" (naming him.)

"Yes," replied the priest, "and have you anything to say about it?"

"I have everything to say about it," resumed the young woman. "That boy is pledged to me these many months past—he has sworn two book-oaths to me, and given me three hands-and-words that he would marry me, and this is how he is going to treat me after all."

With great presence of mind, the priest asked her: "And would you have a man that would be capable of breaking his oath and promise in that way?"

Calming down, she replied by asking: "What would your Reverence advise me to do then?"

"Oh, I have no hesitation in telling you not only to have nothing to do with him, but to thank God that you are not to be his wife."

"In the name of God, your Reverence, I will follow your advice, and I don't grudge him to my sister, except, poor girl, I am afraid she will have a sad life with him. But she will have to blame herself for going between me and a person who had engaged himself to me in such a way."

My friend, on hearing the case out, inquired:

"And what about the espousals in the case?"

"Really, I never thought of them," was the reply. But, reflecting for a moment or two, he said:

"It seems to me that the case, now that I reflect on it, was one of simple promise, and that, when she remitted the promise, the course was clear."

"Take care," resumed the other; "I would, for my part, have hesitated in the case. It is often difficult to distinguish between

espousals and mere promises with these simple people, who express themselves so clumsily, and whose meaning is to be gathered not unfrequently from acts and deeds, to which a certain acceptation amongst themselves gives often a more definite meaning than what they say on such occasions."

Here we have the question of espousals brought on the *tapis*, to distinguish between them and mere promises of marriage. The distinction is often very puzzling in practice, and it seems to me, if I could take the liberty of making such a suggestion, that you would do good service to our working clergy, whose labours in the ministry leave them so little time for study, if you would, in your zeal for the interests of religion, clear up the following points:—

1. What is a promise of marriage, and what are espousals, and in what do they differ one from the other?

2. Being both matrimonial impediments, in what way, and to what extent, do their respective effects reach as such?

3. Can the parties engaged, either by espousals or promise, remit to each other such espousals or promise?

4. In case of such remission, do any effects yet remain to bar a future marriage, and what are these effects?

5. If one of the parties die, what then, in either case of espousals or promise?

6. What would be *a strict technical form* of espousals to be realised, at least *substantially*, in what takes place between parties intending marriage, so as to form a practical rule of guidance for a priest in the public ministry, who has so often to distinguish between promises and espousals?

7. In case of doubt, ought the doubt be resolved in favour of the espousals, or against them?

8. Are *private* espousals valid, so as to entail an annulling impediment equally as public espousals in Ritual form?

Besides these questions, others, no doubt, will occur to you when you will have entered on the subject, which may be still more interesting and useful, and you would assuredly clear up many a difficulty and do away with many an embarrassment to be met with in what is found to be a very intricate department of the public ministry of a working priest.

Pray pardon the liberty I venture to take in proposing to you such a task, which I should not be warranted in doing if I were not aware of your great desire to render your excellent Periodical as useful as possible, especially on subjects of applied Theology. I use the expression, because we find that after having read the ordinary course in College, we take with us little more than a speculative knowledge of our duties, and that, as in other professions, we have yet to learn how we are to apply our knowledge in the functions of the sacred ministry.—Allow me to remain, Reverend and Dear Sir, very truly yours,

A Correspondent.

[We hope to have an opportunity of considering these questions in the next number of the RECORD. Meantime we shall be glad to receive the views or suggestions of some of our readers who have a practical knowledge of the ideas, manners, and customs prevalent amongst the people in regard to espousals and other promises of marriage. We may take this opportunity of asking the indulgence of many correspondents who have sent us Rubrical and other questions to which we have been hitherto unable to attend.—ED. I. E. R.]

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY FAMILY.

AMONGST the many useful confraternities that have sprung up recently in the Church, the Holy Family holds a high and honoured place. Its origin, no doubt, was very humble, but, like the little grain of mustard-seed that produces the largest tree and the richest foliage, this confraternity has produced results—lasting and wide-spread—for nearly half a century, that have startled many and have given additional lustre to our Church services. A brief sketch of its origin, results, and the manner of conducting it, may not be out of place in the pages of the RECORD.

Henry Belletable, a great patron of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, and an officer of engineers, was its founder. He was born of virtuous parents in the Netherlands, in the year 1811, and joined the Belgian army at the age of nineteen. His regular conduct and intelligence soon attracted the attention of his officers and secured for him rapid promotion. But whilst thus serving under the Belgian flag, he did not forget that he had a higher Master to please, for we read in his biography, "that his piety was very fervent, his love of prayer unceasing, his daily life a bright example of virtue, and that, when stationed at Brussels, an official of one of the churches asked, 'who can this good military man be who is seen every morning so recollected in the church? He never misses Holy Communion, and he seems so absorbed in prayer that one could hardly say whether he was living or dead."

Like all such true and fervent Christians, he had the heart of an apostle, and wished that men should feel that

real happiness can only be found in doing what is good, and in the knowledge and love of Almighty God. When transferred to Liege, as an officer of engineers, he had daily intercourse with workingmen in the cannon foundry, and observed before his eyes enough to excite his piety and animate his zeal.

He saw that these men, who laboured for the life that perishes, forgot the life of the soul, that religious practices had no charm for them, but rather, that they led the lives of drunkards, neglected Mass and all Sunday duties, and, in consequence, totally overlooked the education of their children. He, however, despaired not of their reform, and it need not be told, as it can be inferred from the tenor of his own life, that he relied on religion as affording the only cure for their disorders. He fancied that if he and they met on one evening in the week after the toils of the day were over, for the purpose of prayer, pious instruction, and reading, much good might be effected. Accordingly, having made known his design to F. Dechams, Superior of the Congregation of the Redemptorists in Liege, and having obtained his approval, he, with seven others, held a first meeting in the house of a poor carpenter, May, 1844, under the patronage of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. Thus began in apparent littleness, the society which has since produced such lasting good, and which holds to-day a high place in the great army of the Church.

Gradually men flocked to him in such numbers, that he, a trained military man, found discipline and organization necessary. Hence, after the plan of the army, he divided them into divisions or sections, placing over each a prefect or sub-prefect, and arranging them so that each section being distinct, all at the same time should obey a commander-in-chief, the spiritual director. The Redemptorist Fathers offered their own church for the meetings of the society, and, in taking charge of its spiritual interest, they found Henry Belletable its founder and organizer, the first and most docile member. The bishop of Liege seeing that it would be of immense benefit to his flock, had it canonically erected as a confraternity in his diocese, and obtained not only the sanction of the Holy Father, Pius IX., but also many indulgences, and the great favour of being raised to the dignity of an arch-confraternity, with the power of affiliating to itself other confraternities of the same name and object, and communicating to them all its spiritual favours and indulgences.

Humanly speaking, a society with such an humble beginning, and to which no earthly interest is attached, was not destined to make a noise in the world, or even to attract large numbers to its ranks. Still, the ways of God are wonderful, and in His dealing with men He often employs the weak things of earth to confound the strong, and thus to show that what is held to be unworthy of mention may become, in His hands, even a power unto salvation. This confraternity, founded by a layman in the obscurity of a carpenter's shop, and commenced by the illiterate and newly-reclaimed, is one such instance. If we judge by the results—immediate and remote—we must conclude that few confraternities have had so bright a career of usefulness and blessing in the Catholic Church during the past forty years. Scarcely had it received the Papal sanction when its banner was raised aloft in triumph in almost every country—commencing in Belgium, then in Italy, France, Holland, England, Scotland, America, Spain, and distant Australia, and five years ago it reckoned seven hundred and ninety branches, with at least 350,000 members. In Ireland it has found a congenial soil, and at this present day there are more than one hundred branches with 75,990 members, thus allowing an average of more than three branches for each diocese.

I will now answer a question that may be asked, viz.: What has this confraternity done to promote the sanctification of souls, and how has it served society? My answer shall be brief and succinct. Its distinctive feature of *organization* serves these purposes well. It organizes into a distinct society, almost an entire parish, wherever it exists. The members in each locality come together to the church, kneel and sit and pray together in the church, are presided over in the several sections by the trusted and pious members, whose duty it will be to know and love those confided to their care; to visit them in their homes if afflicted or sick, to admonish the careless, and, in a word, to take a deep and practical interest in all. The modern secret societies, which seem to constitute the main battle-ground for the Church in our day, are formidable because of the close bonds by which all their members are knitted into one, and through which their united strength becomes as a wall of brass against every opposing influence. Apart from the Divine power of the Catholic Church, and her innate certainty of success against every foe, open or secret, the Holy Family Confraternity, as a human means blessed

by God, is one of the most effectual weapons that can be used to check and uproot this peculiar evil, as it meets it on its own lines, and uses the same tactics in a legitimate way. Organization, then, close and effective, is the first advantage to be derived from this confraternity, and the order and drill that partially mark kindred societies have sprung from this; and the pious, well-trained military man to whom we are indebted for this association would seem to have been specially raised up by God to put his impress on them all, and thus do valuable service for Holy Church. It is, plain, however, that every parish cannot be blessed with such an association. It is necessary to have large numbers, in order to organize with effect. It suits only cities and large towns, and villages having a population of eight hundred or a thousand souls. In all cases, many of the parishioners who live in country districts, and within a radius of three miles from the church, will be always found attentive and satisfactory members. The Association of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, or a well-sustained Christian Doctrine Society, will supply the want of purely country districts. The Holy Family Confraternity is a great source of delight to the greater number of our people; and it seems to be a necessary means, in large centres of population, to attach many persons to the Church, and to induce the younger members of the flock to receive the Sacraments regularly. Its organization will be a powerful help in these respects.

The spiritual advantages of the Holy Family Confraternity, thus organized, are many and valuable. *In the first place*, all the members are bound by rule to assemble in the church once each week, to listen with respect to some religious discourse, to take part in public prayers and the singing of pious hymns, and to assist at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. This is a special and peculiar feature of the confraternity, and it is plain that it renders the preaching of the Word very effectual, as the same people are invariably present, and thus a series of instructions can be imparted without interruption, and with great advantage to the audience, because of its continuity.

The members are bound by rule to receive the Holy Sacrament of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist at least eight times during twelve months, and the peculiar advantage of this practice in the confraternity arises from the fact that, as at least on two occasions during

the year, *all* the members approach Holy Communion at the same time, they can receive special instructions on the conditions required in the recipients of the Sacraments, and may have an opportunity afforded them of making in common the necessary preparation.

The vice of intemperance is strictly discouraged, and the rule that regards it, and that generally prevails in English-speaking countries is, "that no member shall be ever seen under the influence of drink, and shall not enter a public house on Saturday evening or Sunday for the purpose of drinking." Scandal-givers in this respect—especially if brought publicly before magistrates—ought to be expelled if, after due warning, they do not amend. Unfortunately, such a rule is needed, and the honour and fair fame of the confraternity require that it shall be enforced.

The singing of religious hymns is a most interesting part of the exercises of the Holy Family, and every effort should be made to have it rendered in a pious and soul-stirring manner. Besides the charm that music always possesses, congregational singing of this kind enlivens and varies the exercises, is a source of great delight and edification, and we have the authority of St. Augustine for saying, that it elevates the mind to heavenly things, fills the heart with compunction, and gives us a longing for the New Canticle that shall be always sung before the throne of God.

The sick members are carefully looked after, and public prayers are offered for them, when they desire it, and for all the deceased members at each weekly meeting; a private Mass is offered for each member immediately after death, and an *annual* Requiem Mass is celebrated for all deceased members. Each sodalist receives a Patron Saint at the beginning of each year, and is supposed to invoke daily the protection of that saint, and to say one Our Father and a Hail Mary in his honour. Thus the golden links that bind all the members of the Church Militant, Triumphant, and Suffering, are duly provided for in this confraternity. And the doctrine and practices of devotion to the Saints, and of prayers for the dead, which the Church teaches and fosters, are constantly kept before the minds of all the members. The *Annual Retreat* should never be omitted and a member of some religious order may always be profitably invited to conduct it. The Retreat will maintain a spirit of fervour, recall the tepid or the

fallen, and induce new members to join, who will fill up the places of those whom death or other causes may have removed. That the Church wishes the faithful to join the ranks of the Holy Family Confraternity, is clearly demonstrated by the fact that its members can gain *thirty-six* Plenary Indulgences during the year, a partial Indulgence when they perform any pious act prescribed by rule, or promote the interests of the confraternity generally, and that they enjoy the valuable privilege that all the Indulgences, Plenary and Partial, can be applied for the relief of the souls in Purgatory. The parish into which those blessings enter, and in which they are spread, is thrice blessed indeed. And these blessings are sure to follow wherever the Holy Family is established and well maintained.

Its success mainly depends on the Spiritual Director who must necessarily be a priest. The meetings should be always held in the churches—not in schoolrooms or class halls as sometimes occurs. The exercises should be varied, and never too protracted or monotonous. Those who wish for detailed information, in order to establish or conduct a branch of this confraternity, will find it in Manuals, published by Duffy & Sons, and Gill & Son, Dublin. I will only suggest, firstly, that perfect order and discipline, in coming to and leaving the church, and during all the exercises should be maintained, and that the members should never be suffered, if possible, to relax on these points. Our people love order, and it will render the confraternity attractive. The sermon, or moral discourse, will be the chief attraction, and during the first three years of the existence of the confraternity, the members should be well instructed in all their moral and social obligations. Until this end is secured—one of the great objects of the confraternity—no other topic should be introduced. Afterwards, the instruction, for the sake of variety, may occasionally assume the form of a lecture on some historical or theological subject. Such a plan has been used with profit, but I believe it should be sparingly used. A short, *well-prepared*, and well-delivered sermon will always have most interest for the sodalists, who, on account of their deep respect for everything religious, consider it the most fitting address in the Church. It would be a pity not to encourage this partiality and respect for the Word of God. JAMES CANTWELL.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

Restitution.

Bona Incerta Injuste Acquisita.

Very Rev. Dear Sir—I am glad to learn from the letter of C. J. M. that my paper on Restitution is not without interest to readers of the Record, and I beg to thank your courteous correspondent for what he says in its favour.

As his objections, which cover a large field, may, I think, find their solution in the article itself, I must resist the temptation to go over my ground again; and, for the sake of brevity and conciseness, I shall here do hardly more than tabulate them.

1. Your correspondent contrasts my "specious theory," with a confessor's "matter-of-fact practice."

By the former I presume is meant the thesis I seek to maintain in the 2nd Part: viz., that the obligation in question reposes not alone on positive ecclesiastical enactment, but also on principles of reason, and natural and divine law; and is, strictly speaking, restitution due from commutative justice. For I cannot conceive that he would dispute the existence of the obligation itself (*sub gravi, per se*), or look on its assertion as but a "specious theory;" since to do so would be to go in the teeth of all theologians, ancient and modern, as is shown in the former part of my paper.

The certain obligation alone is what has to guide and determine the "matter-of-fact practice" in the tribunal of penance, together with the ordinary principles of prudence and *epikeia*, which the confessor will make use of according to the particular case and circumstances; some of which principles I pointed out at the close of my article.

All that comes under the head of "specious theory," viz., the grounds on which I prefer to base the obligatory restitution, can in no way affect the "matter-of-fact practice," or the duty of the confessor.

2. The thesis defended in my 2nd Part, is, however, no "specious theory" of my own, but is drawn from or supported by a large number of Doctors and Theologians, *v.g.*, The Salmanticences, Molina, Sporer, St. Thomas, St. Alphonsus, Carriere, Scavini, Bouvier, Gury, Crolly, and others. Relying on principles, of natural and divine law, it maintains that the possessor has no right to his unjust acquisitions, and cannot keep them himself: that besides the wrong done to the *dominus* which cannot now be personally repaired, he has done an injury to society, which can and ought to be repaired: that thus society has a claim on the

goods from commutative justice ; and that the State—and also the Church, inasmuch as this is a matter which directly concerns the consciences of the faithful, and the spiritual direction of souls—has the right to legislate on them, and to determine their application for the public good ; that reparation is made by applying them for the benefit of society, and especially by giving them to the poor, or for what is considered by all theologians to be tantamount, viz., religious and charitable purposes, as being those public objects which most need assistance; and that Catholics are, moreover, bound to apply them in this way by positive ecclesiastical law, according to the unanimous teaching of theologians.

3. The Doctors and Theologians who thus teach do not suppose that the poor, *qua tales*, or any individual amongst them, or again any religious or charitable institution, benefitted by the restitution, have any inherent right to the goods

4. Your correspondent treats in rather rhetorical phrase the notion that the possessor may apply the unjust goods to himself, *qua pauperi*. This, however, is the plain and express teaching of such grave theologians as De Lugo and Lessius, &c., who give very good reasons for it ; and I have met with no author who controverts it.

5. All the D D. and T.T. I have consulted, unanimously teach that the ecclesiastical ruling of Alexander III. is certainly and everywhere in force, at the present day too ; and extends to all uncertain unjust acquisitions *ex quocumque delicto :* for in this sense it was always and everywhere received and practically applied, and so has become the universal custom, discipline, and law of the Church, which no novel or modern opinions can set aside.

In my article I have simply stated the commonly recognised teaching of moral theology as to what is certain and practical in the question. With regard to what is controverted amongst theologians, I have quoted their authority for that opinion which appears to me most solidly founded. Beyond an incidental remark here and there of very minor importance, there is nothing of my own. And with these explanations I have not anything more to add by way of further elucidation of a subject which, it must be confessed, is not without its difficulties.

It is now for your correspondent to state positively the views he himself holds as to what is of practical obligation in the question, together with the principles on which his practice is founded. But he must at the same time take care to support his opinion on both these points by the extrinsic authority of approved theologians, otherwise he will hardly save it from the imputation of being but a new and specious theory.

C

II.

Bona Incerta Injuste Acquisita.

Very Rev. Dear Sir—In the September number of the Record I ventured to solicit from your learned contributor of the previous issue, a solution of some few out of the many difficulties that may be raised against the more generally accepted doctrine regarding the disposition to be made of property unjustly acquired, when the owners are unknown. Have the poor or pious purposes a *jus strictum* in commutative justice that such goods must, *sub gravi*, be handed over to them as the rightful owners?

I am aware that the great bulk of theologians maintain, in their books, that they have this *jus strictum;* and, though many of them are satisfied with merely saying so and vouchsafe no proof, others give elaborate proofs and arguments, and supply in support of their theory texts of Canon Law, and numerous maxims and axioms derived from acknowledged principles of natural justice and ecclesiastical discipline. Hence I must, at the very threshold, bespeak for those who presume to raise difficulties and to suggest objections, all the indulgence and kindly treatment due by those who are rich and affluent towards their poorer friends.

It is necessary also to disclaim, on the part of those who thus object, every shadow or suspicion of disrespect towards the larger number of theologians; for, those so objecting aver that they are wholly indebted to the same writers for the lucid and unassailable establishment of the principles of sacred science from which they themselves conceive those objections to arise; and that, therefore, instead of showing disrespect, they are paying to them a loyal and dutiful homage.

The commonly received doctrine may be concisely stated thus in the words of Layman: "Debita incerta, provenientia ex delicto, pauperibus vel ecclesiæ restitui debent"—because, as few of them omit to add, this is the presumed will of the owners.

It is vital, therefore, to determine in the first place, and to determine even *in specie sua infima*, what are the essential elements of that presumption by which a new ownership is created.

"Fundantur præsumptiones," writes Ferraris, "rationibus *naturalibus*, quæ, *ut plurimum* locum habent, et *in vita communi* contingere *solent*." "Non sufficit," adds Molina, "quæcumque *verosimilis* aut *probabilis* præsumptio, sed requiritur præsumptio *moraliter certa* aut *longe magis probabilis*."

Having thus ascertained the specific character of a "presumed will," they immediately encounter other theological principles that hamper the practical application of a presumption to an unknown will, even when that presumption is invested with all the prescribed attributes. Presumption, from its very nature, gives us at best only a probable knowledge of the object regarding which it forms its conjecture. It cannot detect the object as it is; neither

can it transform it. The man who *presumes* is in the condition of a sentinel who knows, only by surmise, that the armed soldier who approaches is a friend; and who may be made aware, when it is too late, that by his mistake he has imperilled the safety of the citadel. Presumption vanishes before the inexorable logic of fact; and hence the maxim in laws: "Præsumptio cedit veritati." In so far as it is only a presumption, it has no objective existence, and is found only in the mind of the *fur et latro*—liable at any moment to an ignominious ejection without notice to quit or term of redemption.

Coming to the subject that immediately concerns us, let us examine whether or not the designs and desires of men as to the property that has been stolen from them, assume so uniform a direction and ever tend so harmoniously towards the same point as to be the *ut plurimum contingere solet* of common life—giving not alone a *likely* and *probable*, but also a *morally certain*, key to their intentions. If not, we have no substratum on which to found a rule of guidance, and the theory falls to the ground. If we fail in discovering a general uniformity of will, we have not those elements of presumption without which it degenerates into rashness.

Now, in this search for the Golden Fleece of moral unanimity, a strange variety of character must be examined. We shall be favoured with letters of introduction into "Vanity Fair" and others into the classic corridors of Newgate Prison. We must, as story-tellers are privileged to do, obtain an *entrée* into the drawing-rooms of those in high station and be eaves-droppers in the taverns and billiard dens where those socially of a lower rank most love to congregate. We must become familiar with the intricacies of mind and morals that influence the actions and thoughts of Rawdon Crawley, and Montague Twigg, and Becky Sharp, and the estimable Mrs. Clennam. We shall have to bear with the grasping knavery of Quilp, and applaud generous open-handedness in Captain Cuttle. In our roving commission we shall meet cases of worldliness like that of the elder Dombey, and splendid disinterestedness like that which characterized those "glorious old gentlemen," the Brothers Cheeryble. In one word, we must mingle with men and women of every class and degree—with the pertinacious and the penitent; the poor and the rich; those who lead the lives of saints, and those who wallow in the mire of sin; those who die with prayer on their lips and charity in their souls, as well as those whose last words are a blasphemy, and their last desire a thirst for vengeance. And when, after a weary journey, we have read the secrets of all men's hearts, we are asked to recognise as the *ut plurimum* of our enquiry, that, whereas, in all other details of life they are as widely separated as the poles—each moving in a great circle of his own—they unite in a marvellous homogeneity of soul and sentiment in one deliberate will—that their *bona incerta* be distributed among the poor.

This, we are desired to believe, is a spontaneous growth in the soul of every man (*e ratione naturali*); the thing that almost always happens, the experience of every-day life.

Perhaps so; but do we find it so?

Furthermore: the theory of the "Præsumpta Voluntas" involves many amusing consequences; for its advocates undertake to formulate a law by virtue of which we may, with a moral certainty of acting rightly, dispose of all uncertain property—one so comprehensive and all-embracing in its provisions as to reach lost goods of every complexion, whether they have come into our possession in good faith or in bad.

They take us into the "Lost Property Office" of the G. S. W. Railway at Dublin, and thence into the office of the L. N. W. Railway at Euston-square, and thence into the Bureau of the Lyons and Marseilles Chemin de fer at Paris, and similar establishments all the world over. In all these we shall find massed and shelved in orderly confusion, portmanteaus, tricycles, Alpine staves, watches, overcoats, purses, rugs, rings, books, filagree, bijouterie, and the thousand materials for an Exposition Universelle, that travellers persistently carry about, ostensibly for the purpose of losing them. Next, we follow them to the death-beds of the millionare *maitresses des maisons d'assignation*, and help them to count over the tiers of cabinets in ebony and gold that groan under their burthen of jewellery and deposit receipts, representing the ransom of many kings, and representing also what had been the property of men who, be assured, will never return. Or, they may take us to the romantic grottoes of Monte Christo, and dazzle both eye and brain by the gorgeous display of diamonds and rubies that have repaid the toil, and skill, and strategy, and now enrich the palaces, of banditti. They may take us whither they please in a voyage round the world; and, when our eyes are heavy with gazing upon treasure-trove and our brains weary with dreaming of some algebraic formula by which to estimate the value of all these accumulated masses of wealth, they will relieve and disenchant us by applying their rule and proving to us that all we have seen and wondered at belongs to the poor—by the presumed will of the owners.

Verily, the poor shall be rich, when they come by their own.

Unfortunately, however, men whose intimate dealings with their fellow-men extend uninterruptedly over a quarter of a century, are forced to lament that, in their experience, they have not found any such all-pervading will.

They find, on the contrary, that the great majority of men carry with them to the grave an insatiable longing to regain possession of what they have lost, and that they never once think of alienating it. If you ask them to surrender their claims to the poor, they marvel at the simplicity of your innocent heart; if you tell them that these goods are practically lost to them for ever, they smile at your want of knowledge of the world, and knowingly

observe that such is not *their* opinion. Hence, they tell us, that the bulk of men so circumstanced go to their grave, bequeathing to others the suspicions and hopes that had haunted themselves during life, and not once thinking of the poor.

They tell us that they find others who, admitting the hopelessness of re-entering into possession, simply abandon all hope. That they find not a few who, in the same despairing condition, are satisfied that those goods, now beyond their reach, *may* yet benefit the needy or charitable institutions. That they find others too, who, obeying the impulse of their own benevolent nature, or through the operation of grace, lovingly bequeath their lost possessions to the poor, but that,

Alas! for the rarity
Of Christian charity,

they are the fewest in number.

And here, and frequently throughout the argument, we should recall to our minds, that we do not argue from what men ought to do: from what they should be counselled to do: but from what they have actually done *ut plurimum*, of their own free, deliberate choice. None other transfers dominium.

Much more might be added to the same purpose, especially regarding those who have lost all recollection of their losses, and the reckless multitude who "let this go where the rest is gone;" but it is needless to multiply exceptions, "quæ in communi vita contingere solent."

These difficulties seem well grounded on principles of sound theology and experience; and, until the statements as to fact are displaced and the arguments are proved to be fallacious, those men whose views I have even so feebly sketched, contend that their adversaries have failed to establish a law "ex præsumpta voluntate." C. J. M.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Poems by D. F. MacCarthy. Memorial Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

This beautiful volume deserves a hearty and general welcome. For a long time past we do not think better value has been offered for the money. Of course this volume does not contain all the poetry written by D. F. MacCarthy—the translations from Calderon would make a large volume by themselves—but it contains a very choice selection, nearly all his best poems. We have specimens to please every taste—patriotic and historical Songs—Poems of the affections, the Centenary Odes on O'Connell and Moore, Sonnets, and Verses on various subjects. D. F. MacCarthy was an ardent lover of Shelley's poetry which he carefully studied, and we can easily trace the influence of his brilliant imagination in the

"Underglimpses" of the Irish Bard. The "Skylark" at once recurs to our mind, when we read the "Spirit Voices," an ethereal music rings in our ears, and the "airy offspring" floating from the fountains of the past bear with them visions of beauty that send warmer pulses through the feeling heart.

The "Bell Founder," however, and the "Voyage of St. Brendan," are our special favourites. The story of the old Campanaro, whose heart is broken when he hears once more the sound of his "musical, magical bells," freighted with the memories of the dead, is told with exquisite melody and pathos. We think the "Voyage of St. Brendan" is not nearly so well known as it deserves to be. The wonderful tale is substantially true, and the poet tells it with great fidelity to the original. The glowing imagery, the stately flow of the verse, the sweet and solemn thoughts, lend so many charms to the wonderful Celtic story that we wonder it is not as familiar to every Irishman as one of Moore's Melodies, or the Songs of Davis. The Foray of Con O'Donnell is a dashing War Song of one of the Bards of Tir Hugh, a "thoughtful, wandering, minstrel man," whose envious lay lights up the clansmen's angry eyes, and arms their chief for instant battle. The fairy tale of "Alice and Una," tells us of the mad ride of Maurice on the phantom horse through the wild gorge of Ceim-an-Eich; and in Ferdiah is described the combat at the ford between that brave champion of Royal Meave and the renowned Cuchullin, the Hound of the North. There is great variety and beauty in the poems. The book is splendidly brought out with excellent paper and printing, in an appropriate binding of light green, and it may be had for a mere trifle. It is a memorial worthy of the poet, and ought to be in the hands of every Irishman.

The Life and Times of the Most Rev. John McHale, Archbishop of Tuam. By the Rev U. J. Burke, P.P., M.R.I.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

In writing the "Life and Times of the Most Reverend Dr. McHale" there were at least three serious obstacles opposed to the author's success. In the first place, he had to address a disappointed public. Soon after the death of the Archbishop, it was announced through the public press that Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M.P., had undertaken to write the life of Dr. McHale. The biography of "John of Tuam," written by Mr. Sullivan, would have been another "New Ireland."—Sed aliter diis visum est.

A second and seemingly an insuperable obstacle to success arose from the fact mentioned by the author in his Preface, namely, that he had not access to a single document left by the late Archbishop. In such circumstances we cannot be surprised that notwithstanding the solicitations of many friends and literary circles, the writer hesitated to undertake a work which pre-eminently required for its satisfactory execution much more information than

could possibly be gleaned from casual conversations with the Archbishop, or from the previously published accounts of the part he had played in the stirring events of more than half a century. Neither can we wonder that the absence of trustworthy documentary evidence regarding the aims, and hopes, and fears, of the different stages of Dr. McHale's life, has frequently driven the author to take refuge in what an eminent historian has well described as the easy refuge of circumjacent historical facts.

There was a third obstacle which, whether real or imaginary, must have been a source of serious embarrassment to the author. It was the limited space at his command. The size of the volume, he tells us, was fixed by the publishers, so as to suit a shilling series. If allowed to give full expression to his views, the volume would have been three times its present size. There are times, no doubt, when it is useful for the writer to feel the rein gently pressing, but a pressure so severe as to reduce any work to a third of the desired dimensions, must act very injuriously on the author.

But we must candidly say that we cannot bring ourselves to adopt Canon Burke's view regarding the space he required. It seems to us that the space at his disposal was more than sufficient for the materials he had at hand. Otherwise why occupy a whole chapter with a rhetorical bird's-eye view of the surrounding country as seen from Mount Neifin, and embracing, as the writer tells us, the whole of the counties of Mayo and Sligo, and part of Galway.

Most of his readers, we imagine, would prefer some short account of the "several public events in which the late Archbishop had acted a part," here omitted from want of space, to the large amount of extraneous and not always important matter scattered up and down through the book. Although we honestly admire the dutiful devotion to the memory of the illustrious dead, and the varied research displayed by the author in the composition of this book, still we cannot help thinking that he has neither done justice to the subject of the memoir, nor reached the standard of his own former productions.

We have received for Review the following Books :—

From Messrs. Burns & Oates—

The Granville History Readers:—No. 4. Edited by J. Livesey.

Extracts from the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws regarding Marriage in this country (England), for the use of Lay Persons.

The Groundwork of the Christian Virtues: A Course of Lectures. By Bishop Ullathorne.

From Messrs. Gill & Son—

The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Translated from the French of Abbe Orsini, by the Very Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, D.D., V.G., Provost of Northamton. A new Edition with Illustrations.

Uncle Pat's Cabin: or, Life among the Agricultural Labourers of Ireland. By W. C. Upton.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1882.

THE WRITINGS OF CARDINAL CULLEN.[1]

THESE three volumes, which contain the Pastoral Letters and other Writings of his Eminence the late Archbishop of Dublin, form the most valuable contribution of the present century to the Ecclesiastical history of Ireland. They cover a period of nearly thirty years, from February, 1850, to October, 1878, and it is not too much to say that during that most important period of Irish history, the late Cardinal was not only the head of the Catholic Church in Ireland, but also the most influential and energetic champion of its interests. He guided its policy, he shaped its destiny, he moulded its discipline. It is his voice that speaks at the Synod of Thurles in 1850, and at Maynooth in 1875. He had a purpose which he steadily pursued, and a mission which he almost completely accomplished. He spoke with no uncertain voice on all the great questions affecting Catholic interests, and no government could ignore his influence. His history is the history of the Irish Church during his episcopate, and these volumes furnish ample materials for understanding both. The Editor, as might be expected, has done his work well; but we venture to think it would add much to the interest of these volumes, if Dr. Moran had given us a brief memoir, of his illustrious Uncle. It would serve to fix the reader's attention on the noteworthy events to which the various documents refer, and render them more intelligible to the ordinary reader by marking their connection and mutual dependence. Nor

[1] THE PASTORAL LETTERS AND OTHER WRITINGS OF CARDINAL CULLEN, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. Edited by the Bishop of Ossory. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1882.

would such a memoir lessen the interest with which a fuller life with appropriate extracts from these letters would be read by all intelligent Irishmen. No doubt such a life will shortly make its appearance, and will be eagerly read by very many persons who would be unwilling to undertake the perusal of these three bulky volumes.

The first document in the collection is the Pastoral Letter to the clergy of Armagh, addressed from Rome by Dr. Cullen on the 24th February, 1850—the day of his consecration as Archbishop and Primate of all Ireland. In this, his first address, we naturally seek the keynote of the new Prelate's character and policy, and we can easily find it. Every page breathes the spirit of a charity as intense as that of St. Paul, and I believe that most people would agree that charity in its widest sense was the late Cardinal's most characteristic virtue. He puts forward, too, the principles that were to guide his future conduct, and the foes whom he meant to attack. As faith is the root of all spiritual life, he signals out the open or covert opponents of the Catholic faith as the most dangerous enemies of the Church. Hence he cautions the clergy from the very beginning against, "the many systems of education in which snares are laid for unsuspecting youth." He warns them to beware of those "who pretending to promote the interests of society preach up sedition and licentiousness under the sacred name of liberty." He denounces proselytism in exceedingly vigorous language, as "a base and degrading traffic" in immortal souls; and implores the clergy to stop "the torrent of bad books by which society is inundated, or if they cannot remove the poison to try and procure an effective antidote by giving those under their charge a sound religious education."

With these four enemies the late Cardinal was in perpetual conflict, he never for a moment forgot them, in all his public utterances the reader will almost invariably find reference to some one or the other of these "wolves" who prey upon the flock of Christ; and most certainly he did much to scare them away. Proselytism, secret societies, mixed education, and bad books, were for him a hydra begotten of Satan, having one body and four heads. It was well to strike down the monster if possible; if not, at least to try and smite the head that was nearest and greediest.

In this same Pastoral we can note the cardinal virtues of the Archbishop's sacerdotal character—an intense devo-

tion and unswerving fidelity to the Roman Pontiff, which we, like his enemies, may call Ultramontanism—a tender love for the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a great zeal for the renovation and maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline. It will be seen that in every one of his public acts, the Cardinal gives ample evidence of his love for these three virtues, which in him were cemented by a most unselfish charity.

The next important pronouncement was the Synodical Address of the National Council of Thurles, dated Sept. 9th, 1850. If this document was not actually written by Dr. Cullen, it certainly expresses his views. He was, as he himself tells us, sent from Rome to procure the condemnation of the newly-established Queen's Colleges, and found a Catholic University after the model of Louvain. He presided in the National Synod held mainly for this purpose; and hence we find special prominence given to the great question of Catholic Education. The new governmental system is described as "fraught with grievous and intrinsic dangers" to the faith and morals of Catholics, and Bishops and Priests are forbidden to take any part in carrying it into effect. At the same time the people are solemnly cautioned against those condemned versions of the Scriptures, which were in the hands of the proselytisers, and also against all those publications "in which loyalty is treated as a crime, a spirit of sedition is insinuated, and efforts are made to induce the people to make common cause with the apostles of sedition and infidelity in other countries." These words were certainly not designed to convey any censure of the Tenant League, which had been established in the previous month of August; but were rather directed against the leaders of the secret societies, who in spite of the abortive attempt at rebellion two years previous, still continued to excite the people to sedition and bloodshed, and were undoubtedly in league with the revolutionary propaganda of the French capital. Doctor Cullen declared, at a later date, that at this period his own diocese of Armagh was infected with these secret societies, and that they were only eradicated by the zealous efforts of the Vincentian Fathers during their missions, especially in Dundalk and Crossmaglen.

The country was just then in a very excited state. "Clearances" of the wretched tenantry, who had survived the famine, were taking place in many counties over wide areas. Hence, although the prelates caution the people against the agents of sedition, they denounced in eloquent

and forcible terms the horrible cruelties of the ruthless exterminators, "which have no parallel except in the atrocities of savage life."

The disciplinary enactments of this famous Synod have done much, as every one knows, to infuse that vigorous and fruitful spiritual life into all classes of the Catholic community, which has ever since manifested its presence in multiform works of charity and religion.

Meanwhile Dr. Cullen lost no time in carrying out the other portion of his scheme—the establishment of a Catholic University. A committee of prelates had been appointed by the Synod of Thurles, consisting of the four Archbishops, and four Suffragans—one from each province. This committee issued an address to the people of Ireland in Sept., 1850, on the subject of the new University: and this address was supplemented in November by a Pastoral Letter from Dr. Cullen to the clergy of Armagh on Catholic Education. This document is of considerable importance, because it contains an elaborate exposition of Dr. Cullen's views on Catholic Education, from which he never afterwards swerved. At a later date, in February, 1869, we find a still more extended exposition of the same principles given before the Royal Commission on Primary Education; but a careful study of both documents will show that Dr. Cullen still adhered to his original views on all points. These views were enunciated with admirable clearness and force before the Royal Commission, and will well repay careful perusal.

He declares that all "sincere and enlightened Christians are agreed that religious education is necessary, that without it no man can know what to believe, or what to do, and that both faith and works are necessary for salvation." The greatest writers, philosophers, and statesmen of every party and sect, whom he quotes at length, all admit that religion is an essential part of everything worthy of the name of education. But to have a religious education, "the teacher should be religious, the atmosphere of the school should be religious, every hour of the day religion should be inhaled," in order to maintain the moral growth of the rising generation at all stages of their education—primary, intermediate, and university.

From the necessity of religious education, the Cardinal adds, follows the right of the Church to direct and control it, a right which she has not received from man, but from God, and which she can never consent to forego.

The first objection of the Chairman of the Commission was that this doctrine was impracticable in a country like Ireland; but Dr. Cullen pointed out that if it was practicable in England, it could not fairly be deemed impracticable in Ireland, and he formulated a scheme which he showed was quite feasible and at the same time denominational.

A more serious difficulty was urged when a member of the Committee observed that Dr. Murray had sanctioned what he, Cardinal Cullen, condemned. "No," answered his Eminence, "Dr. Murray did not *sanction* the National School system; he only tolerated it as an experiment, and he took a place on the Board to observe how it worked. He thought it might succeed, but in this he was mistaken, the mixed system as such could never succeed. Whenever the clergy put forward their views on the education question, they always required the denominational system." The Cardinal was particularly emphatic in showing that Dr. Whately intended and believed that the system would undermine by slow degrees "the vast fabric of the Romish Church" in Ireland, and he roundly accuses him of "treacherous" conduct in his capacity as Commissioner. When asked to explain how Dr. Whately's conduct could be regarded as "treacherous," his reply is crushing. "Dr. Whately," he says, "repeatedly asserted in the official reports signed by his hand, that all proselytism was strictly prohibited, but declared in private to his friends that the system was a vast engine of proselytism undermining the faith of Catholics, and he intended it to be such." Such conduct was hardly fair; it was *treacherous;* and few will gainsay the statement from an impartial point of view.

But was not opposition to the National system an outcome of that Ultramontanism which had its expression in the Synod of Thurles and in Ireland dated from the Cardinal's own appointment to the See of Armagh without consulting the clergy, observed one of the Commissioners? However, his Eminence met this difficulty too. Ultramontanism, he said, is nothing except a term of opprobrium as used in the English newspapers. As applied to Irishmen in so far as it means anything, it signifies devotion to the Supreme Pontiff, that is devotion to the Catholic Church, and therefore every true Catholic is an Ultramontane, and in that sense of the word the Irish Catholics, or nearly all of them, were Ultramontanes.

As regards his own elevation to the See of Armagh and his subsequent translation to Dublin, both, he added, were

in strict accordance with canon law. The Pope had originally the right of nominating to all the Irish Sees. About 1830 he granted to the Parish Priests the right of selecting three names, but that rescript reserved to the Pope the right of nominating whenever he thought proper. He did think proper in the case of Armagh to exercise his right, and acted accordingly; but he followed the recommendation of the clergy in translating Dr. Cullen to Dublin.

As regards the books used by the Board, the Cardinal observed that they were objectionable, because most of them were composed by Protestants, especially by Dr. Whately and the Rev. Mr. Carlisle. Regarding their literary merits, his Eminence made the pregnant observation, "that if all the books printed by the National Board were sent to the middle of the Atlantic and cast out into the ocean, Ireland and her literature would suffer no great loss." That is not to be wondered at, seeing that in the Fifth Book of Lessons, in 124 pages of history, the first mention of Ireland is to the effect that in the 12th century "Henry II. received the submission of the Irish kings." The second fact, mentioned under the date 1800, is "the Union of Great Britain and Ireland." The Cardinal's evidence before this Commission covers nearly 300 pages of the second volume, and certainly deserves careful study. There can be no doubt, too, that his able and skilful exposure of the defects of the National system did much to induce the Commissioners to remove the principal causes of complaint. It is to him, and to others who so vigilantly watched the working of the National system, that we owe its practically denominational character in many parts of Ireland. So far from becoming, as Dr. Whately anticipated, a proselytising agency, it has become just the reverse; proselytism has been successful to any appreciable extent only in those places where the National schools did not exist.

In the case of Intermediate Education, the efforts of the late Cardinal to secure the denominational system were crowned with complete success. In spite of the parsimony of the Government the system is working well, and seems to give satisfaction to all parties.

In the matter of University Education, however, the denominational system has hitherto met with greater opposition and achieved a more dubious success.

The Queen's Colleges were founded in 1845, and at first received considerable support from influential quarters, both

clerical and lay. Even the hierarchy itself was divided; and, after some discussion, it was decided to refer the question to Rome. After a mature discussion during the summer of 1847, the Congregation of the Propaganda pronounced, in a rather hesitating way, against the new institution—"*Religioni institutionem hujusmodi detrimento existere arbitratur.*"

Meantime great efforts were made to avert anything like a formal condemnation of the new Colleges, whereupon Dr. M'Hale and several other Prelates went to Rome in 1848, just before the Revolution broke out, and their representations determined the new Pope, Pius IX., to condemn the Colleges at the earliest opportunity. So, when the revolutionary storm had blown over, and Pius had returned to his capital in 1850, instructions were given to the new Archbishop of Armagh to convene the Synod of Thurles, and have the Colleges condemned. This was accordingly done; but lest Catholics should complain that there was no place of higher education for them, it was resolved to found a new University in Dublin after the model of Louvain.

From this period, until the time of his death, there was no other project which the late Cardinal had more at heart, and to which he referred oftener in all his public addresses. The Committee appointed by the Synod of Thurles, of which he was the head, at once took vigorous measures to ensure success. A strong appeal was made to the country; large sums of money were collected. England, America, and even France, were invited to give sympathy and support to the new movement. Public addresses were delivered, large subscriptions flowed in, remonstrances were made to the Government on the gross injustice to which Irish Catholics were subjected; and of all these sustained efforts the Cardinal was the soul.

Almost from the beginning, however, difficulties arose. There was no other Irish Prelate who more vigorously opposed the Queen's Colleges than Dr. M'Hale, yet so early as 1854, he began to hold aloof from the Catholic University scheme. Canon Ulick Bourke, in his "Life of Dr. M'Hale," declares, on the authority of the Archbishop himself, his reasons for so doing. In his opinion the new University should be a national institution, the Board of Bishops should have a voice in the nomination of its professors, it should "be 'universal' under a two-fold form—first, in its directive administration, and next, in its objective exten-

sion." The last expression is somewhat vague; but we suppose it means that the Catholic University, like the College of Maynooth, should be national in its government, its professoriate, and its students. Dr. Cullen, it is added, could not accept this view. He claimed to have received from the Pope the supreme government of the new University. "The advice of Dr. M'Hale was not heeded; nay," the writer adds, "it was treated with complete disregard."

If, indeed, the Catholic University was not meant to be a national institution in every sense indicated above, many persons will think it deserved failure; but as far as we can form an opinion from the materials in these volumes, there is nothing to show that Dr. Cullen ever meant it to be anything but a truly national institution. He would of course naturally be the Chancellor of a University within his arch-diocese: but everything points to the fact that he was prepared to take the advice of the Irish Prelates, whether or not he was willing to give them a definitive voice in its government. A National Committee was appointed—the four Archbishops and four Suffragans, one from each province—a national collection was organised, which, so early as May, 1854, had produced £17,000. The Rector, although an Englishman, was, as all admit, the best that could be chosen. Celtic talent was, however, many people think, too much ignored in the composition of the original professoriate.

In spite of Dr. Cullen's best exertions, the institution from that day to this has led a struggling existence. Two well-meant attempts were made by Government—one by Lord Mayo, and the other by Mr. Gladstone—to do justice to Catholics. Both attempts miscarried, unfortunately as some people think, but such was not the opinion of Cardinal Cullen. He was not a man of compromise when he thought principle at stake. He would have the denominational system pure and simple, or nothing at all.

What he would have thought of the Royal University Scheme it is difficult to say. We earnestly hope it will work well for the interests of Catholic education, and wish it every success; but there are many thinking men who watch the experiment with some distrust, or we should rather say, with a kind of benevolent anxiety, lest perhaps it might accomplish the very purpose it was designed to counteract.

We said in the beginning that secret societies were always an abomination to Dr. Cullen; the vigorous on-

slaughts which he makes on them in these volumes abundantly prove it. And certainly this is not unnatural. An Irishman who only knew their action in Ireland, which is bad enough, and saw with his own eyes the cruelties and oppression against which they vainly struggled, might, while condemning them, have some sympathy for their members; but he had none. He was, in truth, in some respects, more a Roman than an Irishman. He went to the Eternal City at the age of twenty years, and had lived there twenty-nine years when he was made Primate. He had, moreover, seen with his own eyes the diabolical conduct of these secret societies in Rome. He had seen them expel a liberal Pope, assassinate his Prime Minister, and outrage religion in every possible way. He knew that those societies, in various countries, were in league with each other, and that their leaders were in frequent and intimate communication. So, from the very beginning, he denounced and crushed the Ribbonmen in Armagh. When he came to Dublin, in 1852, he carried on the warfare; but there was no occasion for speaking out for some years. In 1858 Fenianism really began. Mr. James Stephens and Mr. John O'Mahony made their escape to Paris after the unsuccessful movement of 1848. They remained there for some time, and were thoroughly trained in the principles, and honoured with the friendship, of the worst leaders of that central revolutionary school.

After completing his political education in the French capital, Mr. Stephens returned to his native country in 1858, and worked so successfully, especially in the neighbourhood of Skibbereen, with the assistance of Jeremiah O'Donovan—Rossa was afterwards added—that before the year was over the district was ripe for revolt. But the Government had heard all about the plot. A raid was made upon the conspirators on the 3rd December, 1858, their leaders were tried and convicted in the following spring, and the Phœnix Conspiracy disappeared from history; but not the men. Henceforward America became the basis of operations, although Ireland was to be the theatre of the war. What has since been called the Dynamite Policy was openly advocated, both in New York and San Francisco, by Mooney's *Express* and other journals. Terence Bellew MacManus, one of the '48 refugees died in the last-named city in 1861. It was resolved to bury him in Ireland, and give him a national funeral. The 10th of November was the day named for interment;

but Dr. Cullen refused permission for the corpse to lie in any church within his jurisdiction.[1]

In a Pastoral Letter on the 8th of December, the very next month, he attacked the revolutionists with vigour. "They render more intolerable the grievances they pretend to redress, drunkenness is encouraged at their meetings, their members are taught to violate the rights of property, and their deeds often terminate in bloodshed and murder." This is severe enough; what follows is worse. "Not only are they cut off like rotten branches from the Church, but amongst them are traitors, who, while most noisily denouncing the Government, are in the pay of the Castle as spies."

Public denunciations like this did not tend to make Dr. Cullen a popular favourite. He never was beloved by the "Nationalists," and he never valued their applause or feared their hatred. In October, 1865, when Fenianism was ripening for its doom, he published another letter, "On Orangeism and Fenianism," in which he attacks the leaders of the movement: "Who are its leaders? What public service have they rendered to the country? What claim have they to demand our confidence? Are they men

[1] Mr. A. M. Sullivan, in *New Ireland*, thus refers to this incident:—"Some one suggested that the body of the dead rebel should be disinterred from its grave in foreign soil, and be borne with public ceremonial across continent and ocean to the land of his birth. The proposition was enthusiastically embraced. It was a proceeding which appealed powerfully to the sympathies of the people.

"It was only when the 'funeral' preparations had been somewhat advanced, a whisper went round that the affair was altogether in the hands of the Fenian leaders, and was being used to advance their projects. Indeed, at one time, the purpose was seriously entertained of making the MacManus demonstration the signal for insurrection. The idea was vehemently and successfully combated by Mr. Stephens, on the ground that his preparations had been only begun. The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, *aware of what underlay the proceedings*, refused to permit any lying-in-state or other public ceremonial in the churches of his diocese—a decision which drew upon him the wildest denunciations. With great cleverness the revolutionary leaders called any opposition to their arrangements 'enmity to the dead,' 'hostility to love of country.' Five years later, when the Fenian chiefs themselves avowed that the funeral was the expedient whereby they really established their movement in Ireland, the conduct of the Archbishop was better understood by many who were among the loudest in censuring him at the time. That day gave the Fenian chiefs a command of Ireland which they had never been able to obtain before. Some of the Fenian authorities have estimated that a larger number of adherents were sworn in during the three weeks of the MacManus obsequies than during the two previous years," page 245.

of religion? Are they men remarkable for sobriety, good conduct, and attention to their business? Are they men to whom *you would lend money*, or entrust with the management of your property?" He evidently expects the answer "No," and adds that the Fenian paper called the *Irish People*, "was a vehicle of scandal, and circulated in its columns corrupt and poisonous maxims." Even ten years later, when Fenianism seemed to be dead and buried, he had it again condemned in the Synod of Maynooth in 1875.

Yet, he says, there are true patriots; "not the dissipated, the drunkard, the men who spend their days in idleness and their nights in bad company, hatching plots and conspiracies—these are not patriots. The true lover of his country is the man who shuns sin and scandal; who is sober and temperate; who practises the duties of his religion: who performs the obligations of his state of life, and trains up his children to be industrious like himself: such a man contributes to the real interests of the country, by his integrity, industry, and energy; he is a good citizen and a good father." And with regard to his country, "her literature, her history, her antiquities, her ruins, her victories, her heroes, her sages, everything connected with her glories, will be to him a subject of pride." If the doctrine laid down so clearly in these extracts is not "patriotic," it is certainly worthy of a Christian Prelate, and in accordance with the dictates of common sense.

There was perhaps no phase of the late Cardinal's character more praiseworthy and characteristic than his generous loyalty towards the Holy See. He was indeed an Ultramontane of the purest water; "he respected and venerated the decisions of the Holy See" in all things, great and small. It was not merely that in the domain of faith and morals he regarded that See as infallible—not merely that he was prepared to give to the Pontiff a constitutional obedience according to the canons. Rome's slightest wish secured his unhesitating compliance; filial love took the place of formal obedience, and knew no distinction between wishes and commands. In the very first of these documents, written from the Holy City, he describes, in eloquent and touching language, the unfading glories of the capital of the Christian world, "the common home and country of all Catholics." He declares his deep regret at having to bid her farewell, adding that his heart will always fondly turn to Rome—that she will always be

the centre of his affections, and the beginning of his joys. In like manner, his love and reverence for Pius IX., were intensified by his personal friendship for the man and veneration for the saint. His loyalty to the Pontiff did not spring merely from a sense of duty; it gushed forth from the heart's highest and holiest affections. There was the same difference between his devotion to the Pontiff, and the obedience of other Prelates, as between the loyalty of the old cavaliers to the House of Stuart, and the modern article which is motived and limited by the Bill of Rights.

Of course, Dr. Cullen gave constant expression to these sentiments, and so it was said he was an Ultramontane, and denationalised the Catholic Church of Ireland. Those who know anything of National Churches, in the Gallican sense of the term, would be very thankful if this were true. As a matter of fact, however, we never had a "National" Church in Ireland in that sense of the word, and it is to be hoped we never shall. The thing itself is evil, and the tendency thereto, be it great or small, is dangerous. All Dr. Cullen's influence effected was to intensify the fidelity of the Irish Church towards the See of Rome, which is the centre of unity; and all who regard it as such, will not think that in these evil days the bonds of union between the head and the members can be drawn too close.

As might be expected, throughout his entire career, the late Cardinal was the uncompromising champion of the rights of the Holy See, and at every stage thoroughly approved of the great doctrinal acts of the late Pontiff. Hence we find in these volumes the most vehement denunciations of the Sardinian Government. He exposes the fraud and perjury of its agents, "the sworn enemies of the Pope, the defenders of treason and sedition, of rebellion and the dagger, of revolution, immorality, and infidelity." And he points out more than once that the English Government and the English press aided and abetted Cavour and Garibaldi in all their schemes of spoliation and robbery; and that if their title to government over Irish people were to be tried on the same principles which they applied and applauded in the Papal States, their tenure of power in Ireland would be of very brief duration.

One cannot easily find a more exhaustive defence of the rights of the Holy See than is contained in the address delivered in Dublin by Dr. Cullen at a public meeting, held on the 9th of January, 1860.

We cannot notice the share which the late Cardinal took in the great public acts of the Holy See—the defining of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, and especially of the Infallibility of the Pope at the Vatican Council in 1869. He delivered several public addresses, too, contained in these volumes, in which these great dogmas are explained and defended. Neither can we stay to refer to the part which he played in the Synod of Maynooth in 1875. He was regarded by many as a stern disciplinarian; but those who best know the inner history of this Synod, all declare that his great influence was constantly employed to moderate the severity of many of its disciplinary canons.

We take the liberty of recommending the perusal of these volumes, so beautifully printed and splendidly bound, to all who would clearly understand the History of the Irish Church for the third quarter of the present century, as well as to those who for their own guidance may wish to examine the gradual unfolding of a great policy, and to ascertain the enduring fruits of its development.

J. Healy.

CLONMACNOISE, OR THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

"Majorum gloria, posterum lumen est."

ABOUT mid-way between Athlone and Banagher, on an elevated spot gently sloping up from the lordly Shannon, may be seen the remains of an Abbey that once held high place amongst the most celebrated centres of sanctity, wisdom, and learning, in ancient Ireland. During the brightest epoch of our real glory, it ranked second to no rival. Bangor, Clonard, and Clonfert, alone amongst the multitude of ecclesiastical fortresses that kept and spread blessed and civilizing influences in our land, were deemed worthy to be reckoned amongst its competitors. They did not, however, excel it substantially in aught. Remarkable alike for the splendour and magnificence of its buildings, the extent and value of its possessions, the sanctity of its inmates, the scholarly and brilliant attainments of its professors, together with hospitality to the stranger and the poor, it gradually became the Iona of Ireland. Need

I say more to indicate its name? It is a hallowed name, and there is a great deal sometimes in a name, notwithstanding the insinuation from a high authority to the contrary.

Clonmacnoise, or the "Seven Churches," as it is popularly, but erroneously called, is the sacred ruin to which I refer. Alas, its greatness has departed. Ruthlessly and violently was it taken away, and so this venerable Abbey has fallen a victim to the rapacity of the invader. Sanctity, learning, and hospitality have fled. The halls and cloisters in which they so long flourished and held sway have long since disappeared, leaving nothing behind, save mouldering ruins and ivy-clad walls sentinelled by two round towers of "other days" to speak the sad record of violated justice, profaned sanctuary, of fallen greatness.

Every stone, however, that remains in her crumbling walls, the dust and clay you press beneath your feet, and even the fresh and invigorating western breezes that fan this dismantled Abbey, whisper something of human and heavenly grandeur. Here prelate and king, abbot and monk, learned professor and talented student, prince and peasant, sleep together in their quiet graves; whilst evidences of pagan rites and monuments of the pre-Christian times are not wanting. And here the lines written by a great but unhappy poet, regarding the greatest centre of all that is good and great, whether in ancient or modern times, may not inaptly be quoted, and, with some justification, fittingly applied:

> "What are our woes and sufferance? Come and see
> The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way
> O'er steps of broken thrones and temples. Ye!
> Whose agonies are evils of a day.
> A world is at your feet as fragile as our clay.
> Clonmacnoise of the Schools! there she stands
> Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe;
> An empty urn within her withered hands,
> Whose sacred dust was scattered long ago."

There is and must always be an attractive and sympathetic power about this venerable ruin, studded as it is with so many memorials of renowned men, and monuments of the praises of God, which once resounded through its lonely walls. And so I propose to give in this paper a brief sketch of the origin of Clonmacnoise, and afterwards to notice some of the leading men and events connected

with the history of this sacred spot. In doing so I do not put forward any pretence to originality. I do not propose or pretend to produce *nova*, and anxious though I should be to bring forth the *vetera novè*, I have not any well-founded hope of doing so.

This ground has been already gone over by many distinguished and gifted writers, who, having made a judicious collection of historical facts, clothed them in a garb too attractive and fascinating for me to hope for a moment to successfully imitate. In one thing, however, I will not place myself second to any writer, be he never so gifted, and that is love and veneration for Clonmacnoise and all the goodness this word embodies and recalls. Reverentially saluting thee, O Clonmacnoise, of so many saints and doctors, kings and nobles, I ask then what is the meaning of thy name and the origin of thy greatness.

It may be observed in the beginning that Clonmacnoise was known by several names. It was called Druim-Tipraid, "the hill in the centre," or the hill of Tipraid. The reason appears to be that in 779 the king of Connaught was called Tipraid. In 927 the ruling Abbot at Clonmacnoise was also called Tipraid. So far then for the application of this word to the sacred spot. It was also called Dunkeranensis, the enclosed place of Kieran and Killoon, or the Church of the Graves. It was called Artibra too, that is of "the Wells." The holy wells are still to be seen, bearing the names of St. Kieran and St. Finnian. In the later annals, however, it is usually written Cluainmicnois. Now Cluainmicnois, according to Seward and others, signifies the "Retreat of the Sons of the Nobles." This name it received in their opinion either because the nobles retired to it in their old age, to spend the remainder of their days in peace and solitude; or because it was a burying place for most of the Irish kings and chieftains. Joyce, however, holds a different opinion. He maintains that it signifies the meadow of the Son of Nos. In the original name the last two syllables are in the genitive singular and not in the genitive plural, and must therefore be taken to mean the name of a person. Joyce claims the Four Masters as supporters of this view. At 1461 they call this place Cluain-muc-nois-mic-Fiadhaigh. From this it would appear Nos was the son of Fiadhiagn, who was chief of a tribe in that part of King's Co., and that Clonmacnoise was within his territory. Joyce also quotes Colgan and a still higher and older authority than any yet cited, namely, the

Cartsruhe MS. of Zeuss, to support this view of the origin and meaning of the name.

Whatever may be said for or against either of these opinions, there is no controversy about the name of the founder of this old Abbey of such amazing splendour, wealth, and learning. Ciaran was the name. He was called St. Ciaran the younger to distinguish him from another great and holy man bearing the same name—Ciaran of Saiger Ossory. Ciaran the younger was of northern extraction. His father, who was a carpenter, left Ulster and settled in Magh Ai in the county Roscommon. Here Ciaran was born in the year 516. Brennan, in his Ecclesiastical History, states that Ciaran, although of Ulster extraction, was born in Westmeath in the year 507. But Eugene O'Curry and Archdall, whose opinion I prefer, declare him to have been born in Roscommon A.D. 516. He was the son of Boetius and Dasercha. He was also called Macantsoir, or the son of the carpenter. He was educated at the great College of Clonard which was presided over, at that time, by St. Finnian, who in his day shone as the sun of our educational horizon. Having finished his educational course there, he went to the monastery of St. Nennidius, in one of the islands of Lough Erne. He afterwards repaired to the island of Arran on the coast of Clare, where he placed himself under the guidance of St. Enda, whose rule was at that time considered the most rigorous in Ireland.

Here he perfected himself in the knowlege and spirit of monastic rule and discipline, together with their observance.

After some time he returned to Westmeath, the county of his collegiate education. Here he was presented by a friendly chieftain with a spot of ground to build a church upon. The place was, however, low, and hence the church was afterwards known by the name of "Ciaran's low place," or "Isael Chiarain." After some time he handed over the government of this church to one of his tried and trusted disciples, and he retired for purposes of greater solitude into the island of Inisaingin in Lough Ree. Here he founded a monastery and built a church. The temporal as well as the spiritual wants of the poor were amongst the noble objects contemplated by this great man in its foundation. Through his indomitable energy and extraordinary influence, and the benevolence of some of his devoted friends and followers, this monastery became in a

few years fully adequate to meet all the purposes originally contemplated by its apostolic founder. Nay, more, the fame of his sanctity, wisdom, and learning, attracted such a number of followers and disciples that the limits of the island were deemed insufficient for their accommodation, and therefore he resolved to resign the government of this monastery and go further south. Accordingly he handed over this flourishing Abbey to his trusted and beloved disciple, St. Domnan, or Donan, and left the island. For six hundred years and more it flourished as a centre of sanctity, learning, and other civilizing influences. It produced, amongst others, that great and learned man Augustin Macgraidin, author of a complete History of the Acts of Saints of Ireland and the Annals of this Monastery down to his own time.

But it is now a heap of ruins. It fell beneath those evil influences that were so powerfully united by the stranger against morality, religion, and learning.

In the year 548 St. Ciaran left this island of "All Saints," so beautifully and romantically situate in the midst of the waters of Lough Ree, and within the confines of the Diocese of Ardagh. It was the last year of the reign of Tuathal Mailgarbh, Monarch of Erinn. This king was the third in descent from Nial of the nine hostages.

Diarmid, a young and powerful prince of the same race and of equal claims to the succession of Tara, was also a pretender to the throne. The new king, fearing the presence of so powerful a rival, ordered him to leave the territory of Meath. Diarmid, accompanied by a devoted band of followers, repaired to the Upper Shannon and there lived on the hospitality of his friends on both sides of the river. Thus did he spend his life for nine years, the period of his opponent's reign. About this time Ciaran and his devoted disciples came up from Athlone after quitting Lough Ree in boats, and landed at Clonmacnoise. Diarmid happened to be in the neighbourhood on the river, went on shore, and followed the strangers. Having reached the "Hill of the Wells" where St. Ciaran stopped, he approached and found the saint with a pole in his hand endeavouring to plant it as the first pole of a new church.

"What work is about being done here?" said Diarmid. "The erecting of a small church," said the saint. "Well indeed may that be its name," said Diarmid, "Eglais Beg," or "Little Church."

"Plant the pole with me," said the saint, "and let my hand be above your hand on it, and your hand and your sovereign sway shall be over the men of Erinn before long." "How can that be," said Diarmid, "since Tuathal is monarch of Erinn and I am exiled?"

"God is powerful for that," said Ciaran. They then set up the pole, and Diarmid made an offering of the place to God and St. Ciaran.

Diarmid had a foster-brother amongst his followers. His name was Maelmora. When he heard the saint's prophetic words he resolved to verify them. With this purpose he set out on horseback to Grellach Eillti, a place situate in the northern part of Westmeath, where he had heard the monarch was staying. By strategy he gained access to his presence and struck Tuathal in the breast with his spear and killed him. Needless to add, Maelmora himself fell immediately on the same spot, a victim on the one hand to his own devotion and heroism in the cause of his chieftain, and on the other hand, to the fidelity in discharge of duty of one of the monarch's bodyguard. As soon, however, as Diarmid's friends heard of the king's death, they sought him and proclaimed him Monarch of Erinn. Here one may reflect upon what Seneca has written, Oct. 456: "Ferrum tuetur principem. Sed. melius fides." Yes, the highest authority has said, "Fides tua te salvum fecit." It has been beautifully written also:

> "What sword or power equal to this?
> And he that has that is clad in complete steel,
> And like a quivered nymph with arrows keen
> May trace huge forests and unharbored heaths,
> Infamous hills and sandy perilous wilds."

Romantic and fanciful as this account of the origin of Clonmacnoise may at first sight appear, there are not wanting historical proofs amply sufficient to convince the most sceptical of its veracity.

In the next paper, however, we shall see.

JOHN CANON MONAHAN, D.D.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

Espousals.

[The following paper has been kindly sent to us in reply to a request addressed in the last number of the Record to priests of missionary experience, with a view of eliciting information on the manners and customs of the people in contracting espousals (sponsalia). We are very thankful for the valuable and practical information contained in the paper, and we trust the writer will often give the readers of the Record some of the fruits of his long and varied experience. Much of the ground marked out by us for survey has, we find, been pre-occupied by our correspondent, so that little more now remains for us to do than to give some supplementary Notes on the different questions proposed for solution in our last number under the head of "Espousals." This we purpose to do at the end of the subjoined paper.—Ed. I. E. R.]

De Sponsalibus.

I. It is clear from the common teaching of theologians, that, not only the solemn espousals also called ecclesiastical (*sponsalia solemnia*), but even *private* (*sponsalia non solemnia seu privata*), constitute a *true contract*, in virtue of which the "espoused" are bound, *sub gravi ex justitia*, to a future marriage, provided such espousals satisfy the required conditions, namely, that they consist of:—

1. A sincere mutual promise of future marriage, deliberate enough for a *direct* mortal sin in any other materia peccati;
2. Expressed in some sensible way (per verba inequivoca vel signa);
And 3. Between persons who *de jure* are considered fit or capable (*habiles*) for the same. (*Vide* Gury (Ballerini) Tom. II. de Mat., No. 723, I. and II. Also *Note* (*a*) ibidem, No. 726, I., II., and III).

So far, little difficulty presents itself; and what little does, is easily overcome by the ordinary explanations of theologians on this subject. Again, as solemn or ecclesiastical espousals may be said to have almost entirely fallen out of fashion, it is only with the *sponsalia privata seu non solemnia* that we have practically to deal.

And here, at once, a considerable difficulty arises; for Theology tells us that, in many cases, the promises made of future marriage are not always to be looked upon as *true and binding espousals.*—(Ibidem, No. 725, Quaer. 4.)

II. The *nodus difficultatis*, then, is to know when a *simple promise* really constitutes *vera sponsalia.* We know it *should be* vested with the *three* conditions referred to above, and yet it is often hard to determine whether *in foro interno* it truly is. This is the main object of this paper.

Now, it seems to me, we shall greatly facilitate a solution of the difficulty, or, at least, be better prepared to form a judgment in a general way—ay, more—even to decide with more satisfaction a great many *individual* cases—if we recall and consider the *different and varied forms* in which engagements to marry are entered into by young people. Some of these will be found to be, in a great measure, local customs, differing from one another in different places or countries, and requiring a rather wide experience to arrive at. In this brief paper I do not for a moment pretend to give them all, even if I could; but I shall content myself with presenting the more *ordinary* ones, which I will at once classify under *three* heads:—

1. *The mutual promise of marriage, accompanied or followed by an engaged ring;*
2. *The "hand-and-word" promise, sometimes called the promise on oath;*
3. *The mutual promise pure and simple, i.e., unaccompanied by any other sensible sign.*

III.—1. *The Promise accompanied or followed by an Engaged Ring.*

I have used the words "accompanied or followed by" what is called the engaged ring, and I have used them advisedly. For, while in some cases the engaged ring is given to the sponsa by the sponsus *at the very time* they mutually agree to bind themselves to one another for future marriage; in many more cases the ring is not given and worn until *a short time* before the celebration of the nuptials.

This giving of a broad, flat, and generally chased gold or silver ring, to be worn as a sign of an engagement to marry, seems to be of very ancient date, and a practice by no means confined to our own country. It is a rather universal custom, and, though not an essential sign of true

espousals, it is nevertheless a sure mark that the wearer is engaged to be married. In my humble opinion, I consider that, whenever the engaged ring is offered by the *sponsus* and accepted by the *sponsa*, in token of their mutual promise, *de matrimonio futuro*, we have a case of *binding sponsalia privata*, provided, of course, the other necessary conditions, alluded to in the opening of this paper, are duly verified.

The tradition and wearing of a ring is confined, for the most part, to persons of either well-to-do or high positions in life, *i.e.*, to the middle and upper classes of society. Nevertheless, even in Ireland, servants are from time to time seen with the engaged ring upon the finger. Sometimes it is worn *for years* before marriage, aye, even to ridiculously long periods (especially in England.) More frequently it is not adopted till shortly before the marriage, say, three, six, or nine months (especially in Ireland.) The Irish maiden is generally shrewd enough to foresee that, if by some accidental circumstance, an impediment should arise to her marriage, she would considerably compromise herself by having been seen to wear the engaged ring.

Permit me to remark, *en passant*, that an interchange of *lockets* is also sometimes used *in the place of the engaged ring*, and (though not so infallibly) the locket containing the likeness or hair of the betrothed is often a sign of true espousals. In this sense I see no reason for not viewing the locket in much the same light as the engaged ring, though by no means so sure or infallible a sign.

II.—*The "Hand-and-Word" Promise.*

Another custom prevailing, particularly amongst the humbler classes, is what is called "the hand-and-word promise."

Young people, wishing to betroth themselves to each other, will take one another's right hand, kiss a prayer-book, and mutually promise to marry each other. They look upon this promise as *a binding oath or vow*, and from the form of its ceremony it is appropriately called "the hand-and-word promise."

Moreover, it is sometimes had recourse to in those cases where opposition is anticipated or shown by their parents to the desired marriage. True love seldom runs smooth, and, in the troubled waters of the parents' creating (justly or unjustly is extra questionem for the present purpose),

the young lovers seek balm and peace to their ardent passion by resorting to this form of betrothal.

I have no hesitation in looking upon the "hand-and-word promise" as binding, and as truly significant of true espousals as the tradition of the engaged ring.

This form of betrothal is in vogue in several parts of Ireland, but I do not think it prevails, at any rate, as a custom, outside Ireland.

So far, then, we seem to have brought our difficulty within narrower limits, for we may conclude that, as a general rule, the mutual promise accompanied with an engaged ring, and the "hand-and-word promise" constitute *vera validaque sponsalia, etiamsi privata*, always supposing, of course, the other conditions realised.

III.—*The Promise Pure and Simple.*

To decide when the simple mutual promise carries with it *ex justitia* and *sub gravi* the obligation of future marriage, is the climax of the difficulty in this practical question.

While some theologians hold that such promises are often not to be regarded as vera sponsalia (Gury de Spons. No 725, quaer. 4), I do not think they mean to convey that there is any reason for denying that, *in many cases*, the simple promise equally binds with the other more complex forms we have been considering.

A simple promise, though not *solemn* in the accepted signification of theologians when speaking on espousals, may be, and often is, solemn enough, when viewed *in se*, or in the mind of those who make it. For why should not the deliberation sufficient for a vow be also enough to contract a grave obligation in persons able to see and understand the solemn and responsible nature of matrimony? Provided the parties are *habiles* (Gury, Ibid. No. 723, note (*a*) of Ballerini), and mutually, seriously, and with sufficient deliberation make their promise, surely we have all that can be rigorously needed for the contract of espousals.

Hence, allowing with Gury (Ibid. No. 725, quaer. 4) that simple promises are often mere resolutions devoid of a binding force *sub gravi*; nevertheless, if upon examination into the circumstances it is *morally certain* that the promise was vested with the three necessary conditions, there seems to me no logical reason why it should not be looked upon and treated *in foro interno* as well as *in foro externo*, as constituting vera sponsalia.

Of course, in a matter which depends so much upon the state of the mind, or, in other words, upon the intention at the time of such promises: and, consequently, in which each individual case must be decided on its own merits—it could not be expected that theologians would lay down any precise and fast rule. I should be equally presumptuous if I attempted to do so in this paper.

However, it may be useful to conclude these rough notes with some remarks, which possibly may serve as *guides* or *helps* in examining individual cases.

IV. For instance, it should be remembered that, in Ireland at least, as a general rule, the Irish maiden is *slow* to make any binding promise, until she has well considered the matter over—studied its *pros* and *cons*—and decided to accept the young man for her future husband. If she has the "simplicity of the dove," so characteristic of the Celtic virgin, she is also not without the prudence of that other more sapient animal; and with this wisdom, she may suffer herself to be *courted* for a long time without binding herself precipitately. In this she seems to have learnt intuitively "*to make haste slowly*."

I say, as a general rule, because, of course, there are exceptions. It is well, however, to keep this fact in view.

Again, even when the promise is given, if *before* the consent of her parents has been asked or obtained, such a promise is mostly but a *conditional* one (though the condition be not expressed), to be ratified, as it were, when the consent of the parents is granted. Hence, we often meet with cases where young persons, who were courting for some time, scruple not to separate and "go their way," should the consent of the parents be refused.

On the other hand, we find prevailing amongst the "farming" class, in many parts of Ireland, a courtship so distant—especially before the parents have consented—that it can hardly be termed courtship at all. However, it is sufficient to enable the observant to perceive that some unusual attentions are being paid to the young girl. In such cases we have an absence of *any promise*. In these country places the inhabitants all know one another, and when they meet, converse familiarly with each other. When a young man seeks in marriage a farmer's daughter whom he is wont to meet at chapel, and sometimes at social gatherings, he pays a visit to her parents—even *before any mutual promise* exists between the lovers—and thereupon, if the parents are agreeable, the young woman

may be called in to express her wish, or the hopeful may be told to call again in a few days for a final answer. If he be accepted, then *the acceptance, accompanied with only a simple promise*, would seem to me a binding one. Indeed, in these cases the marriage generally quickly follows.

V. Finally, *omnibus pensatis*, it will often happen that the confessor is at a loss to decide whether the promise has resulted in vera sponsalia. Here we have *sponsalia dubia.*

In that case of oft-times happy refuge, the confessor may make an equally happy escape, both for his own conscience and for his penitent. For I should consider, salva meliori sententiâ, the decision is to be IN FAVOREM LIBERTATIS (Gury Ibid. No. 723, IV., note (*a*) Ballerini).

"Putaverim, faciendum esse discrimen inter sponsalia et matrimonium; ita ut qui *in dubio aequali* dubitant, num matrimonium sit contractum, cogendi sint in utroque foro contrahentes, ne forte fiat injuria sacramento per dissolutionem matrimonii: quando vero *dubitatur*, num *sponsalia* valida sint, *in utroque foro* indicandos esse *liberos;* quia si quis tunc invitus cogeretur, fieret ei injuria *per spoliationem libertatis*, quam possidet." (Diana, Tom. II. Trac. 6, Res. 135, No. 4.)

It might be reasonably asked here, what about the gifts or presents that lovers often interchange? They do not seem to help us much in doubtful cases, inasmuch as they are as often the mere signs of love (*signa amoris*) as they are *signa sponsalitia.* In true espousals they seem often *confirmatory* of the contract, though, here again, they may be but mere *signa dilectionis.*

From these foregoing remarks, the reader will easily conclude that I hold *private espousals as valid and as equally entailing the impedimentum impediens seu prohibens* for a marriage with any other than the one to whom he or she is affianced, whenever the conditions required are realised (Gury, Ib. No. 726, II.), and an *impedimentum dirimens*, i.e., *publicae honestatis*, in the case of blood relations in gradu primo. (Gury, Ibid. III.)

Obs.—The other questions *de sponsalibus*, suggested by your esteemed correspondent of the October number, seem to me to offer less difficulty, as they are treated in most of our handbooks on Theology. But there is another question of still graver importance than any we have been considering, which is closely connected with espousals. I submit it in the form of a case, hoping the Editor will find time to treat it himself.

E. A. S.

Supplementary Notes on Espousals.

THE first question proposed in our last number under the head of Espousals, was as follows :—

"What is a *promise* of marriage, and what are *espousals*, and in what do they differ one from another?"

There is an observation made, after a somewhat homely fashion, by one who had much experience in deciding cases regarding espousals, to which it seems desirable to call attention before giving answers to any of the questions submitted for solution.

The observation is to this effect, that, in the matter of espousals, before deciding any particular case, it is specially necessary to attend, not only to the *theory* which one may find laid down in the ordinary manuals of Theology or of Canon Law, but also to the *practice* of the Roman tribunals. After giving the decision of the Sacred Congregation on some recent case, the author to whom we refer adds :—

"Ex hac causa dignoscitur discrimen quod non raro intercedit inter juris theoriam et praxim, seu juris applicationem ad factum. Pignus enim darem, omnes ferme qui tantum audiverint vel legerint simplicem theoriam quam auctores de sponsalibus tradunt, si hanc causam adjudicare deberent, pro existentia sponsalium sententiam laturos."[1]

In the spirit of this observation, we purpose, in answering the different questions proposed, to give, in the first place, the theory, more indeed for the orderly treatment of the questions, than for the purpose of giving any additional information to our readers; and, in the next place, to state how far the theory has to be interpreted or modified by the recognised practice of the Roman Congregations.

We are asked, then, 1st, to point out the difference between a *promise of marriage* and *espousals*.

The question might be briefly answered by saying that *espousals* necessarily involve a *promise of marriage;* but a promise of marriage does not necessarily involve espousals. Espousals, therefore, are much more restricted in meaning than a promise of marriage. A promise of marriage may be made so as to bind only one of the parties interested in the contract; and in such circumstances it is obvious it would not constitute espousals. For espousals it is necessary, not only that there should be a serious promise of

[1] Acta S. Sedis, vol. v., p. 82, not. 1.

marriage, which is fully deliberate and directly voluntary, but it is, moreover, required that the promise be reciprocal both in the offer and in the acceptance. Thus, for example, in espousals it is not sufficient that the *sponsus* should make to the *sponsa* a serious, deliberate, and directly voluntary promise of marriage, and that the *sponsa* should accept the promise, but it is necessary, furthermore, that the *sponsa* should pledge herself, in the self-same manner, to the *sponsus*.

In a word, the promise of marriage required for espousals must be, as the theologians express it, not a *gratuitous*, but an *onerous* contract, which will bind both parties equally . . . . "ideoque in sponsalibus duplex est promissio, duplex acceptatio, duplex contractus; isque onorosus." (Van De Burgt. De Sponsal. n. 331.)

This, then, is the theory which looks simple enough, but which is not quite so simple as it looks. For, in order to understand its meaning fully, we have to determine, 1st, what constitutes a *promise* of marriage as contra-distinguished from the expression of a mere *purpose*, wish, or intention, of future marriage; 2nd, how does a *gratuitous* differ from an *onerous* promise of marriage; 3rd, how far the acceptance of the promise by the *sponsa* is to be regarded as equivalent to a reciprocal promise; 4th, how far the consent of the parties may be influenced by *error*, *dolus*, or *metus;* 5th, how far the sponsalia entered into by parents on behalf of their children are binding on the latter.

These are points which, though in themselves important and practical, are, with the exception of the first and second, not necessary for our present inquiry, and in a short paper it is only necessary questions that can be considered.

We may take it for granted, then, that, as regards the first point, the essential difference between a *promise* and a mere *purpose* (propositum), wish, or intention, is, that the person who makes a promise *intends* to take on himself an *obligation* (either of *fidelity* or of *justice*), by which he was not bound before the promise was made. While a person who gives expression to a mere purpose, wish, or intention, does not *intend* to take on himself any additional *obligation*. It is true that the violation of a good resolution, deliberately made, involves a man in the imputation of a want of constancy and perseverance, and may often be connected with a very serious moral fault; but then this follows, not from the *intention* of the person who formed the good purpose, but rather contrary to his intention and from the very

nature of his inconstancy. "Itaque *proponens* non se *intendit* de novo ligare; qui vero *promittit* intendit sibi novum aliquod vinculum injicere [sive fidelitatis sive justitiae] ad rem promissam faciendam. Dixi autem proponentem non *intendere* sibi novam obligationem aut turpitudinem adjicere ne a proposito deficiat; non enim nego, quod ex ipsa violatione propositi boni, consequi possit aliqua turpitudo quae non esset si propositum non praecessisset . . . hanc tamen turpitudinem non *intendit* sibi injicere qui *proponit* si deficiat, sed consequitur ex natura rei etiam praeter, et contra ejus intentionem. Promissio autem affert obligationem et turpitudinem, ad quam promittens *vult* se obligare, si a promissione deficiat, *per quod differt maxime a simplici proposito.*" (De Lugo, D. xxiii., s. I.)

Here, then, is a practical means by which we may distinguish, in cases of doubt, whether a *promise* of marriage took place, or whether there was uttered merely an expression of a *purpose*, wish, or intention of getting married at some future time to a particular person.

But, 2nd, supposing that a real *promise* of marriage took place, before we pronounce that such a promise constitutes espousals, we must look closer to the action of the parties concerned.

We know that promises may, in the language of the schools, be either *gratuitous* or *onerous*, *i.e.*, with or without *reciprocal* obligations. A promise of marriage is presumed to be an *onerous* contract. Indeed, the promise made by one party *usually* contains the implied condition of reciprocity. If in a particular case it appears, after a promise of marriage has been made by one of the parties, that the other did not intend to make a corresponding promise in return, then neither of the parties is bound by any obligation, inasmuch as the implied condition has not been fulfilled.

But if one of the parties knowingly makes a promise of marriage, *gratuitously*, which is accepted by the other, then he or she will be bound not by *espousals* but by the *gratuitous promise* of future marriage. Such a promise in ordinary cases and in the absence of an express intention to the contrary will bind *per se*, only *sub levi* and *ex fidelitate*, not *ex justitia*. Neither will such a promise produce any recognised *canonical* impediment. The obligation of the Natural Law will require the fulfilment of the gratuitous promise, and therefore will forbid marriage with any other except with the person to whom the promise was

made. But we are not aware that the Church has added any special sanction of her own, to the sanction of the Natural Law, in case of gratuitous promises, as she has in case of espousals. "Refert autem multum an promissio haec obliget vi sponsalium, an vi simplicis promissionis, cum priori casu oriatur impedimentum publicae honestatis, posteriori autem minime. Dices autem quando censebitur per modum contractus et quando gratis promittere? R. promittentis intentioni standum esse; quod si de ea minime constet ex conjecturis desumptis ex antecedentibus deprehendetur. Si enim de matrimonio inter eos contrahendo tractabatur, manifestum est promissionem non esse gratuitam; si autem de hoc nullatenus sermo erat, sed ob aliquod beneficium acceptum . . . promisit, censetur ex gratitudine . . . et non per modum contractus respectivi; in dubio autem censetur juxta sponsalium naturam quae est contractus mutuus et respectivus promittere; quare altero non promittente minime tenebitur."—Sanchez, Lib. 1. De Sponsal. d. 5, n. 8.

We are now in a position to answer categorically the first two questions proposed by our correspondent.

I. *Q.* What is a promise of marriage, and what are espousals, and in what do they differ one from the other?

A. A *promise* of marriage may be either a *gratuitous* or an *onerous* contract; whereas espousals necessarily require the existence of an onerous contract. They differ therefore in the matter of *reciprocity.*

II. *Q.* Being both matrimonial impediments, in what way and to what extent do their respective effects reach as such?

A. The matrimonial impediment which springs from espousals is twofold both in its *source* and in its *effects.* For 1st, it derives its sanction both from the Natural and from the Canon Law, and 2nd, it annuls some marriages, and all *sponsalia* contracted with a third party as long as the espousals last, while it renders all other marriages illicit.

The *natural* impediment which results from a gratuitous promise has a prohibitive, but no annulling effect on future marriages. Again espousals bind *ex justitia*, as is commonly held, and *sub gravi*, but a gratuitous promise binds *ex fidelitate* only, and *sub levi*, unless the person making it expressly intended to be bound *ex justitia* and therefore *sub gravi.*

We may now group together the third, fourth, fifth, and seventh questions, and brief answers will be sufficient.

These questions are:—

3rd, "Can the parties engaged either by espousals or promise, remit to each other such espousals or promise?" 4th, "In case of such remission do any effects yet remain to bar a future marriage, and what are these effects?" 5th, "If one of the parties die, what then, in either case of espousals or promise?" 7th, "In case of doubt, ought the doubt be resolved in favour of the espousals or against them?"

(*a*) First in regard to espousals—if entered into by persons both of whom have attained the age of puberty, and if unconfirmed by an oath taken more with a view of promoting God's honour, than the temporal interests of the espoused, there can be no practical doubt that the espousals may be remitted by mutual agreement. This remission is subject to the same conditions as are required for the validity of the espousals. It must therefore be seriously intended on both sides. It must be fully deliberate, it must be mutually voluntary. "Per mutuum et liberum consensum solvuntur sponsalia inter puberes Cap. I. de sponsal. et matrim. . . . Causa sponsalium est mutuus et liber consensus, ideoque ex posita regula (omnis res, per quascumque causas nascitur, per easdem dissolvitur) per mutuum et liberum consensum dirimi possunt. Opinatur S. Lig. n. 855, per mutuum consensum non *licite* dissolvi sponsalia, nisi rationabilis causa interveniat. Sed talis ordinarie adest. Insuper, quod rei caput est, regula Juris non requirit aliquam causam, et plures auctores causam non exigunt." (Van de Burgt. De Sponsal. n. 346.)

Even when the espousals have been confirmed by an oath taken principally with a view to promoting God's honour by the future marriage, it seems more probable that the espousals may still be dissolved by mutual consent. "Controversia in illo est, utrum jurata sponsalia consensu mutuo dissolvi possint, quando juramentum non modo in confirmationem sponsalium, sed principaliter, ut aiunt, in honorem Dei emissum est, veluti si quis intuitu et amore Dei, pauperi puellae jurat se eam in matrimonium ducturum. Communior sententia docet, horum quoque sponsalium dissolutionem voluntate contrahentium fieri recte posse." (Card. Soglia, De Sponsal. § 148.)

The case of the espousals of *impuberes* is not very practical, and presents no special difficulty.

(*b*) In case of the remission of the espousals owing to the mutual consent of the parties, or to the death of one of them, the *prohibent* impediment disappears, but the *derirment* impediment remains in full force. "Impedimentum

istud [impedimentum publicae honestatis ex sponsalibus ortum] etiam dissolutis, mutuo consensu, vel alio modo sponsalibus, nequaquam tollitur, ut patet ex declarat. Cong. C. 6 Julii a. 1658, quam sub 10 ejusd. mens. Alexander VII., approbavit, jussitque in dubium deinceps non amplius revocari.[1] (Heiss De Matt. § 41, n. 5.)

(*c*) When a doubt occurs regarding the existence of the espousals, no matter from what source the doubt proceeds, provided that the doubt be well founded, it should be decided in *foro externo* in favour of the party who may wish to be free from the obligation of the espousals. This principle is repeated over and over again in the summary of cases which appears in the different Vols. of the *Acta S. Sedis.* It will be sufficient to quote one authority on the point. "Quaeritur quid dicendum de dubiis sponsalibus; R. Dubium supervenire potest sponsalibus triplici modo, (1) quando illa ab initio ex aliquo defectu naturali, dificiente scilicet libero consensu propter errorem vel vim vel metum aut aetate nondum completa, dubio obnoxia sunt, (2) quando altera pars negat, altera affirmat illa esse inita; (3) quando de causis juxta canones ad dissolvenda sponsalia requisitis non satis constat . . . In his tribus casibus si nullo modo certitudo obtineri potest, judices ecclesiastici meminerint, in dubio pro libertate a sponsalibus vel pro eorum dissolutione sententiam esse ferendam, ob eam singularem rationem quod cum matrimonia debeant esse libera, pars repudians monenda est potius quam cogenda, cum '*coactiones difficiles soleant exitus frequenter habere.*' Insuper notandum est, si controversia de initis sponsalibus ad judicem defertur, partem affirmantem onus probandi habere, et quidem per testes omni exceptione majores, quibus deficientibus, juxta canones, nunquam tamen causam dicenti juramentum ad probationem deferendum esse." (Heiss De Matt. t. 15, Q. 6.)

We have now arrived at the last question proposed, namely: —

"Are private espousals valid, so as to entail an annulling impediment equally as public espousals in Ritual form?"

In reply to this question we may consider (1) the general law of the Church applicable to the question, or (2) the effect of local custom, or (3) the consequence of an episcopal prohibition.

[1] Vid. Fagnan (in cap. *ad audient.* 4, tit. 1, n. 29). Ben. XIV., cit. quaest. can. 291. Sanchez, l. 7, d. 68. n. 21. Mansella, De Imped. Mat. p. 74.

The general law of the Church and the consequence of an episcopal prohibition are plain enough. For it is obvious that clandestine espousals, unlike clandestine marriages, are *not* prohibited by any general law of the Church. "Solemnia sponsalium jure canonico nulla sunt, ideo sponsalia inita vel ore tenus, et remotis arbitris, et *valida*, et *licita* sunt (D'Annibale, De Sponsal. cap. i. Art. 3). After deciding the question regarding the *validity* of clandestine espousals in the affirmative, Sanchez (De Sponsal. D. xiii., n. 1) proposes the further inquiry:—"An saltem culpa sit, sponsalia clandestina contrahere?" And in reply he states: "Secunda sententia omnino tenenda docet esse *licita*. Probatur quia nullo jure prohibentur," &c. This decision is in accordance with the doctrine laid down by Benedict XIV., both in his *Instit.* 46, n. 12, and in the *De Synodo*, Lib. xii., cap. v., n. 1, to which we shall have occasion to refer again. It is also in accordance with more than one decision of the Roman Congregations regarding private or clandestine espousals.

It is obvious therefore that there is no general law prohibiting clandestine sponsalia, much less rendering them invalid. It is equally clear from Decisions of the Congregation of the Council that a Bishop could not annul clandestine espousals in his Diocese. Benedict XIV. (loc. cit.) mentions that a certain Archbishop was requested to put a stop to grave abuses connected with private espousals, by passing a synodical decree declaring such espousals null and void. The Archbishop regarded such a decree as in excess of his powers, and accordingly refused to entertain the proposal. Benedict XIV., adds: "Actum est de hac re in Sacra Congregatione Concilii, quae Archiepiscopi sententiam approbavit, ejusque commendavit consilium: siquidem Tridentinum in citato decreto nihil innovavit circa sponsalia, eaque reliquit sub dispositione Juris communis, juxta quod, etiam remotis arbitris, valide contrahuntur."

On the other hand the Sacred Congregation has uniformly set aside diocesan decrees which declared "*sponsalia in posterum non recipi, nisi ex Parochi fide probarentur*," and directed, as on the 27th of June, 1863, 8th July, 1865, "ut moneatur Curia episcopalis de nullitate legis edictalis dicti 4 Februarii, 1857, super necessitate presentiae Parochi et testium pro validitate sponsalium."

It only remains for us now to consider what effect local custom legitimately introduced, may have on the

validity of clandestine espousals. A local custom of contracting espousals in presence of the Parish Priest and two witnesses, would (1) certainly be a legitimate one; (2) it should be observed wherever it exists; but (3) the non-observance of it would not have the effect of annulling clandestine espousals. "Si quae autem alicubi moribus sint introducta servanda erunt, si quid opinor. Sed utrum, eis praetermissis, sponsalia nihilominus valeant? Et valere puto, prout clandestina matrimonia ante Concil. Tridentinum, et hodie his locis quibus non viget: nisi aliud obtineat." (D'Annibale, De Sponsal. c. 1. n. 385.)

We have reserved for the last place the question which presents most difficulty, namely, the means of determining a "technical form of espousals to be realised at least *substantially* in what takes place between parties intending marriage, so as to form a practical rule of guidance for a priest in the public ministry, who has so often to distinguish between *promises* and *espousals*."

In arriving at a practical conclusion regarding the meaning and effect of any form used by young persons contemplating marriage, the following considerations, in addition to those very practical observations made in the preceding paper, may be useful:—

1. That no set form of words is required to contract espousals.

2. That *any* form of words will be sufficient if they serve to express the mutual consent of the contracting parties.

3. That when the form used is doubtful, the case is to be decided, as far as the forum *internum* is concerned, by the *intention* of the parties if that intention can be ascertained, and by the ordinary acceptation of the words employed, as far as the forum *externum* is concerned.

4. That words indicating a mere *wish*, *desire*, or *intention* of contracting marriage with another at a future time, without the addition of a binding *promise*, do not constitute espousals.

5. That even a binding *promise* on one side does not necessarily involve the *reciprocal* promise which is needed for espousals.

6. That the espousals entered into by *parents* on behalf of their children are binding on the children in foro *externo* if the children do not express *dissent*, and in foro *interno* if the children give their *consent* to the espousals contracted for them by their parents.

7. That in one case, namely, when carnal intercourse accompanies or follows the acceptance by the woman of the promise made by the man, such acceptance is regarded in foro *externo* as equivalent to a reciprocal promise.

The reason is briefly stated by Reiffenstuel (Ius. Canon. ad lib. 4 decretal. de Sponsal. et Matr. 5, n. 68.), "Quia honesta puella non censetur praebere usum corporis nisi suo sponso."

And the editor of the Acta S. Sedis in giving his own conclusions from a decision published in a late number of that useful periodical says:—"Quamvis communiter sponsalium contractus verus non censeatur, si una tantum pars promittit; dari tamen potest casus, in quo acceptatio haec repromissioni aequivaleat, si mulier v.g. quae honesta sit, in tantum sui dedecus inducatur, ut post acceptationem promissionis, deflorationem patiatur." . . . "Quam jurisprudentiam pluries sequutam fuisse S.S.C. colliges ex vol. I., p. 55, et 342, vol. II., pag. 147, vol. III., pag. 304." Acta S. Sedis, vol. xv., Fascic, II., p. 70, not. I.)

Finally, we may in this context reply to a question proposed by E. A. S. regarding the effect of *copula carnalis* following espousals in a country in which clandestine marriages are valid owing to the non-publication of the Decree *Tametsi*. Such carnal intercourse is sufficient to convert the espousals into a marriage contract, *si animo conjugali habita fuerit copula*. We must, therefore, distinguish between the forum *externum* and the forum *internum*. In foro *externo* there is such a strong presumption in favour of the marriage created by the occurrence of the *copula carnalis* that no subsequent proof can displace that presumption.

Nor, indeed, was it allowed in the old judicial proceedings to attempt to set aside this presumption which is known by the special name of praesumptio *juris et de jure*.

"Estque praesumptio ista *juris et de jure*, h. eis omnino certa et indubitata, contra quam non admittitur probatio, consequenter, ubi hoc jus antiquum viget, non audiretur sponsus asserens, se sponsam non maritali, sed fornicario solum affectu cognovisse, et si matrimonium contraheret postea cum alia, compelleretur ad hanc deserendam et adhaerendum primae."—Heiss De Sponsal. sec. 16, n. II.)

In foro *interno* the decision would depend on the intention of the parties. As marriage is a contract, and as a contract requires the *consensus duorum in idem placitum*, it is obvious that there would be no marriage, unless the parties

intended marriage by the copula carnalis. "Habet tamen praesumptio ista locum solum in foro externo, non vero interno conscientiae; nam in hoc judicatur secundum rei veritatem, et non secundum praesumptiones, si his aliud quid praesumatur, quam habet rei veritas. Hinc si sponsus sponsam revera non maritali, sed fornicario affectu cognovit, in foro poenitentiali, et coram Deo, non esset matrimonium, quia Papa non potest facere, ut sine consensu expresso vel tacito sit verum matrimonium.

"Videatur tamen talis conscientia obligatus esset ut eam in legitimam uxorem accipiat, non solum ratione fidei in sponsalibus datae, sed etiam, quia cogetur in foro externo cum ea cohabitare, quod sine periculo laesionis conscientiae nequit." (Heiss loc. cit.)

Ed. I. E. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

Bona Incerta Injuste Acquisita.

Very Rev. Dear Sir—I am sorely disappointed in finding that your contributor, C., has thought well of abandoning the method of disputation hitherto universally adopted by writers on questions of Theology and Church law, and declines to remove the difficulties that crop up from his own teaching, otherwise than by a "brief and concise" reference to the "article itself." One cannot help regretting that, while he ingenuously confesses that the "subject is not without difficulties," he refuses to "add further elucidation" of them.

Even under the apprehension, nevertheless, of being censured and sentenced as captious, or "rather rhetorical," I cannot conceal my surprise at reading your contributor's "matter-of-fact" statements as to "extrinsic authority," and marvelling at some of the deductions he draws from "positive ecclesiastical enactment, principles of reason, and natural and divine law." To one like myself, who can read merely on the surface, some of these seem so many novelties in theology.

Thus, for example, we are told that the possessor of *bona incerta* "besides the wrong done to the *dominus* . . . has done an injury to society, which can and ought to be repaired; that THUS society has a claim on the GOODS FROM COMMUTATIVE JUSTICE." "That Catholics are bound to apply them to religious and

charitable purposes by POSITIVE ECCLESIASTICAL LAW, ACCORDING TO THE UNANIMOUS TEACHING OF THEOLOGIANS," &c.

Leaving to another time, or to a more competent writer, the consideration of the elementary question, how far an obligation in commutative justice lies between society and any of the individuals who compose it, I will, with your permission, inquire whether or not there exists a positive ecclesiastical law dealing generally with *bona incerta injuste acquisita.* As to the absence of a unanimity of teaching amongst theologians on this point, it will, for the present, be enough to make reference to De Lugo, Disp. xx., s. 1, n. 3, by whom we are told that "Vasques, Lessius et alii," assert that "debita incerta non sunt restituenda pauperibus vel in opera pia de jure naturae, sed ex lege humana," while De Lugo himself adds: "verius est . . . obligationem solvendi pauperibus debita incerta *non* esse ex jure humano."

No one pretends that such a law exists *in terminis;* the most that any writer says is that the universally accepted legislation of Alexander III., CUM TU, *v. de usuris,* when duly and legitimately expanded, embraces them all It is, however, objected by many that no such extension of the law *de usuris* is admissible—and for the following amongst other reasons:—

I. It is NEVER allowable in positive law to argue "de casu in lege expresso in casum non expressum."

1. "Interpretationes (legis) extensivae nullam vim habent nisi legitime promulgentur; quippe eo ipso quod verbis legis non contineantur, jam sunt novae quaedam leges, atque adeo more legum promulgari debent."—BALLERINI.

2. "Argumentum a simili est fragile, leve ac infirmum, quoties vel *parva dissimilitudo* . . . potest assignari. Atqui, ut dici solet, argumentum sumptum a simili facile prosternitur, *una adducta dissimilitudine.*"—REIFF. 1, 2, 414.

3. "Minime obligare dicendum, cum Salm, et aliis, si *dubitetur* an aliquod comprehendatur sub lege."—HOM. APOST., p. 97.

4. "Generaliter loquendo lex ad casum in ea non comprehensum extendi non debet ob similitudinem vel identitatem rationis; quia licet par, eadem aut etiam major ratio movere potuerit legislatorem ad statuendum in uno casu quod in alio simili statuit, non sequitur quod id de facto statuerit; potest enim legislator de uno disponere, non de alio, sive quia non vult, sive quia non expedit, ut omnia prohibeantur aut praecipiantur: unde tritum id axioma: 'In jure positivo non licet argumentari' a paritate rationis."—COLLET de Leg. c. v,, n. 5.

5. "Leges poenales non complectuntur delicta quae non exprimunt, licet sint expressis graviora."—BENEDICT. XIV. de Syn. D. 9. 6, 10.

6. "Id nunquam permissum est, eo quod mens ac voluntas legislatoris sit veluti anima legis per verba tanquam sensibilem materiam indicata, a quibus (verbis) proinde sine necessitate

recedendum non est, juxta . . . 'in re dubia melius est verbis servire,' et quod dixit Innocentius III., 'si canon idem fieri voluisset, poterat expressisse,' et quod Gloss, ait: 'intelliguntur concessa quae expresse non sunt prohibita.' Accedit magno argumento esse debere, quia legislator unum specialiter expressit, alia excludere voluisse . . . Neque ob eandem, vel parem, neque ob majorem rationem extensio legis a privato homine fieri potest. . . . Licet autem eadem, par, vel major ratio legislatorem merito movere potuisset ad idem pro aliis statuendum, potuit etiam non movisse . . . atque hanc ejus fuisse mentem in dubio praesumi debet quam ipsa verborum proprietas exprimit . . . In lege poenali, correctoria, exorbitante, aliisque odiosis, interpretatio ultra verborum proprietatem, ob rationis idenditatem fieri non debet."—LAYMANN de Leg.

7. "Interpretatio doctrinalis, quae ab eruditis fit, de se nullam vim habet prouti nulla jurisperito competit auctoritas; sed tantum valet quantum rationes vel argumenta quae ad eam tuendam proferuntur . . . Ubi est sermo de dispositione quae commonstret novam obligationem vel ad culpam vel ad pœnam, stricte interpretanda est. . . Voluntas legislatoris talis praesumitur qualem exhibent verba legis in suo contextu, secundum communem et obviam significationem vulgo acceptam eo tempore praesertim quo lex edita est . . . Non interna voluntas (est) quae legem facit, sed voluntas externata, id est, signis aut verbis manifestata . . . Historia temporum interpreti necessaria est; ut tuto valeat sensum legum vel canonum determinare, siquidem nulla lex a priore et in abstracto apud homines facta est, sed omnes temporum circumstanciis latae sunt.—DE CAMILLIS, vol. i., pp. 135–42.

It would be easy to multiply the conclusive force of these texts by similar extracts from other writers of acknowledged pre-eminence in theology and canon law; but those already cited prove abundantly that the "doctores graves et classici" of the Church strenuously reject the pretensions of the 'Rule of Interpretation' that would extend the provisions of a positive law to cases outside its expressly defined province. Indeed, if we examine the teaching of any standard theological work, we shall easily cull by the hundred, instances in which this so-called canon of interpretation is remorselessly set aside. These instances obtrude themselves so unfailingly in the theology of practical life, that before the close of a short day's journey through positive law, the rule to which they are said to be exceptions will have been, like the conventional railway ticket, nipped into nothingness.

And this is not more true of the *odiosa* than of the *favorabilia*. For example: the Church, anxious to honour the mysteries of our Lady's life, grants a Plenary Indulgence on the feasts of her Purification and Annunciation: therefore we should expect, *a paritate rationis*, a similar privilege on the feasts of her Patronage and Seven Dolours. Yet no such privilege is granted. Again:

the eve of the Assumption is a fast day; but, notwithstanding a parity of motive, the faithful are not obliged to fast on the eve of the Purification. Or again; although the Indulgence of the feast day is obtainable within the seven days following the Feast of St. Patrick, the *Patron of the Irish Church*, no Indulgence is attached to the Feast of St. Joseph, the *Patron of the Universal Church.* And so on in countless cases within everybody's knowledge, a parity of motive does not carry with it, even *in favorabilibus*, a parity of legislation. We all remember the amusing illustrations by which, many golden years ago, the fallacy of the argument *a particulari ad universale* was made evident; and we cannot fail to see that the argument *a paritate rationis* can easily supply an ambiguity no less savoury.

Furthermore, theologians without a single exception repudiate this Rule when they come to deal formally with *odiosa.* They find a law prohibiting under severe penalties a certain act. They analyse its words by the hard-and-fast canons of critical exegesis. They find that these words, when so interpreted, describe to a nicety a distinct class of men; that side by side with these are other men most closely resembling them in all the minute lineaments by which ordinary observers recognise a most striking similarity; they find too that by the exercise of a superior and more highly educated diagnosis, they can discover some hidden peculiarity—some *parva dissimilitudo*—concealed from the eyes of common men, and, forthwith, they unhesitatingly assure us that the law does not equally effect all, but those alone to whom, simply of rigorous necessity, the words of the law are applicable. They disregard the *paritas rationis* that would render all equally *deserving* of the punishment; in many cases they disregard the more popular meaning of the words, and even the not improbable intention of the legislator. They jealously guard as a "preserve" (from which they warn off all intruders) the domain occupied by the *odiosa* and *favorabilia*, and leave no room for the application of the Golden Rule *a pari*, outside of matters purely shadowy and "adiaphorous."

II. Theologians are unanimous in teaching that the extension of a law *de casu in casum* is under no circumstances admissible, unless there exists between them an *eadem adaequata ratio.* In this one point all agree—those who refuse to apply any law to cases not specifically mentioned in its wording, and those who claim the right of applying it wherever they find a parity of reason or, as others term it, an objective identity of motive. It is therefore a duty to inquire with care whether or not larceny, sheep-stealing, house-breaking, and the other ordinary crimes of theft supply the same strong motive—the *eadem adaequata ratio*—for legislation that usury supplies, and supply it in such a way that legislation dealing with it must be regarded as covering them all. If we fail to discover it, the whole argument falls to the ground: in its

absence there is no law, in its presence an exceedingly doubtful one.

Now, it requires no very profound study nor extensive reading of history to be convinced that legislators, both civil and ecclesiastical, ever regarded usury as a crime that stood forth boldly and defiantly from the ranks of its fellows, dwarfing by its huge and ponderous proportions all other species of dishonesty; inviting and extorting a legislation special to itself; always menacing and not unfrequently ruining the best interests of religion and society—while injustices of the ordinary classes might safely be dealt with by common law. As easily might we mistake Thersites for Ajax, as any petty theft for usury. Usury is a distinct entity *factus ad unguem;* the others seem, in its presence, gibbous, halting and contemptible. In any deftly drawn and truthful family picture of the Unjust Professions, usury holds the place of centre figure, distinguished from all the rest by its towering magnitude and power to work evil.

Usury exists in our own day under more reputable names; but there is no thoughtful, candid man who must not confess that, although the cut and fashioning of its habiliments are suited to the *mode* of the present day, it is in its substance and core the olden usury in a gayer dress. The "exigencies of commerce" have blotted out from our statute books the laws by which the civil power sought to stay its ravages, just as in France they were blotted out in the blood of the Great Revolution. But this is merely an admission of the empires that they were obliged to surrender to the power of the ursurers. Yet, though these men are no longer amenable to the punishments of our law courts, the more genteel usurers of our day are no whit the less the *omnium peripsema adhuc* of the nations. There is no man of even moderate experience who cannot trace to the working of modern usury much of ruin to society and to religion. It is, as in the olden times, the *demon ubique grassans*, the *crimen cujus voragine pauperes deglutiuntur*. It is ever creating an artificial state of society that inevitably crumbles into ruin. It has, within the knowledge of us all, wrought bondage and banishment for thousands of young men whom it coaxed away from industry and modest competency into dreams of El Dorado, and mocked them scoffingly when they awoke to poverty and disgrace. It quenches the glowing hopes of many a household, haunts them with shapeless horrors, and marks its pathway with broken altars, Many a time it has transformed the homes of sunny, gladsome youth into scenes of locust-wasted desolation. "Money given too freely" has, in thousands of instances that occur every day, culminated in ruin and despair and buried hopes. We cannot close our eyes to the evidence of fact—that this "facility of getting money" (formerly called usury) has enabled the man of credit to out-bid and out-purchase the poor man; that it has drawn the poor man, in countless cases, into its

gaping "vorago" from which he can never emerge. It is a trite saying: "out of the money-lender's shop there is no redemption;" and experience forces us to admit that, under all its luring fascination, modern usury carries with it the unfailing seeds of utter destruction to the many. It makes no matter that it is now a recognised institution, and transacts its business in stately palaces rather than in the dingy, dark tumble-down booths of former times. Neither is the ruin it effects less poignant and galling from the fact that the stalls of the money-lender are no longer administered by "pinched, hideous, wrinkled, thin-lipped, scowling" officials, but by others in whom we recognise the education and deportment of gentlemen.

I am conscious that in writing thus I am laying myself open to the charge of being influenced by reactionary, obsolete and exploded notions; but I know that, unsavoury and unfashionable as my views are, they have the stamp of truth upon them.

Nevertheless, as it will suit my purpose just as well, I will assume that the above sketch more faithfully represents things that are past, and that all modern money transactions, in the form of lending and borrowing, are conducted in strict conformity with justice and equity. For, in this argument we have to do with a state of society coeval with the passing by the Church of the usury laws. Let us see how the Church and the world regarded usury *then*.

We are all familiar with the character of the usurer as drawn by Shakspeare; and we should not forget that the Stage, under the management of such a Master, is a truthful reflex of society.

The usurer is—

> "A stony adversary, an inhuman wretch,
> Uncapable of pity, void and empty
> From any dram of mercy. * * *
> You may as well go stand upon the beach,
> And bid the main flood bate his usual height;
> You may as well use question with the wolf
> Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb;
> You may as well forbid the mountain pines
> To wag their high tops, and to make no noise,
> When they are fretted with the gusts of heaven;
> You may as well do anything most hard
> As seek to soften that (than which what's harder)
> His Jewish heart —
> No mortal can
> No, not the hangman's axe, bear half the keenness
> Of thy sharp envy . . . for thy desires
> Are wolfish, bloody, starved, and ravenous."

But it is not in the hideous wickedness of usury, as confined to its single self, that we shall find its chief pre-eminence in criminality. It is ubiquitous. Wherever business relations have been established

among men, it is found in full operation. It is racy of every soil and finds votaries in every tribe and tongue. It was in full swing before history was written, and has grown with the growth of progress: it is, and has ever been, regarded as one of the resources of civilization. Under the Old Law it evoked the unspairing denunciations of the Prophets and Patriarchs, and under the New Law it has ever been in deadly conflict with the civil and the ecclesiastical powers. In every encounter it has been assailed in its own proper distinctive person, not as a *unit lost in a crowd of equals*, but as a prominent, singularly powerful, well-defined source of danger and destruction; it received on its own corslet every blow dealt against it and returned the blow with its own sinewy arm. It entered into no alliance with the other crimes; repudiated by them, it repudiated in return, and answered haughtily to the calling of its own name. Men would as easily miscall one empire by the name of another as speak of usury by the name of any other form of theft. In every people and in every age it gave patronage and encouragement, and promised "safe conduct" to the criminal. It enabled the nations to indulge all the jealousies and foolish rivalries and schemes of ambition and aggrandizement that have covered the land and sea with blood. Witness the National Debts and War Indemnities that have ever paralysed the industry, plundered the purses, and punished the pride of men. A large proportion of the taxes under which the industrious have ever been crushed, all the world over, forms a tribute paid to the demon of usury. War with all its ruthless lusts and horrors was at all times its gayest pastime, for "usurers dance merrily when the pistol plays the minuet." With all its insinuating dignity and witching grace, this spirit of "accommodation" has never failed to leave in its trail ruined fortunes, and broken hearts, and souls sadly imperilled.

Usury is infinitely unlike any other of the daughters of Injustice. It is an *occasio proxima in esse* for most men; they have but to will it, and, by its irrepressible ubiquity, it is at their door in all its conquering witchery. In the fascination of its treacherous attractiveness, it thrills along a chord that makes music in almost every man's heart. Man's merely human life is made up of moments of ambition, hope, despondency, benevolent tenderness, passionate wrath, or worse. In every phase of feeling it smiles upon him as the friend by whose "accommodating" aid he can gratify the passions of the moment. It is peerless in its travesty of benevolence; peerless as a temptation; and peerless in the wealth of calamitous legacy—the *damnosa haereditas*—it bequeaths.

Hence the Church, too, has ever been waging unrelenting war against it. In season and out of season it has been launching against it the thunder-bolts of unsparing denunciation and repressive laws and crushing punishments. This is a truth that he who runs may read for himself in all approved treatises on canon

law and theology. One short extract from the writings of Benedict XIV., will, in its comprehensive brevity, speak for all:

"Vix erit concilium provinciale invenire a quo non fuerint usurae expresse damnatæ, easque exercentes saeverissimis paenis subjecti. Hunc eundem morem imitatae dioecesanae synodi. presertim recentiores . . . specialem de usuris sermonem instituerunt easque iterum iterumque improbarunt . . . Omne lucrum ex mutuo usurarium atque OMNI JURE NATURALI, SCILICET, DIVINO ET ECCLESIASTICO ILLICITUM ESSE, PERPETUO FUIT ET EST, CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE DOCTRINA, OMNIUM CONCILIORUM, PATRUM ET THEOLOGORUM UNANIMI CONSENSIONE FIRMATA . . . Magis integrum nunc erit episcopis illam, postquam iterum nominatim et expresse ab Apos. Sede reprobata, novis, si opus fuerit, constitutionibus e sua dioecesi exturbare, eamque temere disseminantes aut usu proprio approbantes saeveris poenis coercere." &c.

With these facts staring us in the face, we must refuse to the meaner deeds of dishonesty that majesty in crime and peril with which usury alone has been invested by experience, by history, by the writings of canonists and theologians, by the Fathers of the Church, by diocesan, provincial and general councils, and by Sacred Scripture itself,

Ordinarily, when men risk limb and life to storm the aerie, and capture the eagle, they never turn aside to pursue the sparrow. When the lion is our quarry we waste no powder on the jackal. Similarly, when we find the law-givers of the Church straining every nerve and summoning all their mighty energies professedly to combat and conquer the giant of usury, it is too much to expect that we shall "shut our eyes and swallow" the unwarranted and unsupported assurance that all this roaring of cannon and charging of squadrons and parade of power have been needed and employed in a miserable conflict with coiners and card-sharpers.

Therefore, even, if a "parity of motive" would justify the extension of a law, we may reasonably decline to extend to all *bona incerta injuste acquisita* the law which the Church found it necessary to employ against usury—and professedly employed against usury alone.

C. J. M.

POSTSCRIPT.—In the last paragraph of your learned correspondent's September letter, I am asked to "state positively the views I myself hold as to what is of practical obligation in the question."

In reply, I might be satisfied by saying that I am in no way bound to do so, inasmuch as I merely sought for enlightenment on the difficulties that spontaneously suggested themselves from the perusal of your correspondent's August paper.

But, fearing that this course might be pronounced discourteous or even churlish—I willingly waive my right to await his satisfactory settlement of these objections. At the same time, as his

method of defending the position he took up seems to me without precedent, my form of "positive statement," which, in its *positiveness*, I disapprove of as much in myself as in others, must be also somewhat out of rule.

In a *negative* form I therefore respectfully submit—

That he has *not* proved, since he declines to answer obvious objections, that this obligation "reposes on positive ecclesiastical enactment;" "on principles of natural and divine law," "is, strictly speaking, restitution due from commutative justice," &c. I make no reference to your correspondent's statements as to the teaching in detail of individual theologians nor to the allegation that "Catholics are bound to apply them in this way by positive ecclesiastical law, *according to the unanimous teaching of theologians.*" But while I am not so captious as to substitute for "positive statement" criticism on these and other questionable points of fact and argument, I hope that I am not deficient in courtesy and respect, when I say that substantial inaccuracies and indefensible statements of fact should find no place in a theological essay.

My own views—since I am called upon to state them—are as follow:—

1. I repeat what I stated in my first letter—that "those stolen goods form a matter on which the Church or society might well legislate," but that except in the matters of Simony and Usury, the Church has not hitherto issued a formal law.

2. I hold that on principles of natural law—but on none of those to which C. has appealed—the possessor of *bona incerta injuste acquisita* is bound to give them to the poor, whenever, namely, his *vis, fraus aut dolus* has prevented the owner from *so* disposing of them or their equivalent. This I also hold happens not unfrequently, especially among Catholics.

3. I hold that inasmuch as a Confessor—and this is practical—is bound to impose upon his penitent a penance that will be "*vindicativa, conveniens . . . ad novae vitae custodiam . . . ad praeteritorum peccatorum vindictam et castigationem*" (Council of Trent), he cannot fail to require the surrender of these goods, and their distribution amongst the poor or for pious purposes. This is the form of penance that most keenly punishes past transgressions and most effectually guards against relapse. In this way I am hopeful that the *practice* of all confessors is uniform, though they may differ as to the origin and direct purpose of the obligation.

4. I have no need, much less desire, to question the teaching of Dr. Crolly: "Furtum quatenus opponitur *justitiae commutativae* essentialiter consistit in ablatione aut detentione rei alienae, domino rationabiliter invito. Quatenus autem laedit bonum publicum non justitiae commutativae sed legali adversatur, ex cujus violatione non oritur restitutionis obligatio . . . Pauperes nullum jus acquirunt ex furtis praedonum" (nn. 329, 330). Quod attinet ad bona *injuste* acquisita quorum dominus inveniri nequit, supra

diximus, haec aut inter pauperes distribui debere aut in alios pios usus erogari; si enim raptoribus liceret bona haec retinere, Resp. innumeris furtis et latrociniis affligeretur, et cito in ruinam deduceretur. Homines enim ita proni sunt ad res alienas concupiscendas, ut plurimi a rebus alienis surripiendis efficaciter prohiberi nequirent nisi certi forent se salutem consequi non posse nisi praedam restituissent. Haec itaque obligatio ex ipso jure naturali exurgit, nam sine ea homines in societate, in quam ipsa natura duce conveniunt, vivere non possent." (n. 1104).

Thus Dr. Crolly proves conclusively that the crime of theft calls imperatively for the enactment of punitive laws, and that these laws should require the surrender for useful purposes of the stolen goods. "The Church and also the State," as your correspondent asserts, "has *the right* to legislate on them and to determine their application for the public good." This purpose the Church does effect in the Sacrament of Penance. It may, when it so wills, effect the same purpose by direct positive legislation which, when it comes, will be dutifully and reverently accepted.—C. J. M.

II.

Communion of Deaf Mutes.

Rev. Dear Sir—May I trouble you to explain in the next number of the Record the meaning of the following words, which I find in a note to Gury, De Subjecto Eucharistiae 322, Quer. 7. The author speaks of Deaf Mutes, "An communio danda sit surdis mutis?" etc.

Gury says that the Blessed Eucharist may be administered to such persons if from tokens it is plain that they have discretion and are sufficiently instructed.

The note explanatory of this answer is from Scavini and says :—

"Si praeter instructionem in genere necessariam, etc. . . . satis distinguant particulam consecratam a pane naturali, licet ipsorum idea tam clara non sit, quam parvulorum qui usu omnium sensuum gaudeant. Talibus communio danda est, si urget praeceptum."

What I want to know is the exact meaning of the word "*satis*"—"satis distinguant particulam consecratam a pane naturali."

Is it necessary that Deaf Mutes know that our Blessed Lord is really present, or is it sufficient that they should understand that there is a great difference between this consecrated particle and ordinary bread, without at the same time knowing anything of the Real Presence?

We cannot do better, by way of reply to our correspondent's question, than to refer him to the important

Dissertation published in 1878, on "*The Claims of the Uninstructed Deaf Mutes to be admitted to the Sacraments.*"

The Dissertation in question was published anonymously, but it is well known to have been written by one whose authority in such matters is unquestionable. The pamphlet itself, together with a vindication of it, addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, may be had at Messrs. Browne & Nolan's, Nassau-street, Dublin.

Our correspondent will find the question he proposes fully and very satisfactorily discussed in pages 31 to 35–42, and 65 to 71–2.

If the question were proposed to the learned author, his reply would be something to this effect:—

"I do not think a distinct knowledge of the 'Real Presence' is necessary for a Deaf Mute to be admitted to Holy Communion. If he present himself reverently like the rest of the faithful whom he sees going to the Holy Table, desiring, as it is to be presumed from his so doing, to receive the same advantage as others, I think he is by all means to be admitted."—Ed. I. E. R.

[We are asked by the venerable writer of the "Leaves from the Note Book of an Old Theologian," which have occasionally appeared in the pages of the Record, to make his apology to many correspondents who have recently written to him on theological questions, by saying that his pen has been laid aside never to be resumed. To all who may read these lines he earnestly recommends himself, that through their pious prayers he may obtain what is now his only thought and desire—the grace of a happy death.

In dutiful compliance with his wish we make this announcement, which costs us, as it will cost thousands of Irish Priests, deep pain and regret.—Ed. I.E.R.]

LITURGY.

I.

The Indulgences of the "Angelus."

1. What are the particular hours of the day appointed, if any, for the ringing of the "Angelus" bell, and is the ringing of it at these precise hours essential to the gaining of the "Angelus" Indulgences?

2. Is there any particular mode of ringing the "Angelus" prescribed, for instance, any particular number of strokes, intervals, &c.?

3. The books on Indulgences, such as the Raccolta, Maurel, &c., state generally that Benedict XIV., declared that the "Angelus" ought to be said standing, on every Sunday, beginning at first Vespers on Saturday evening. I am under the impression that (at least in Rome) it is said standing at 12 o'clock (noon) on Saturdays, if the Saturday be a fast day; the reason being that, according to the ancient Church discipline, Vespers were supposed to be said before the repast or dinner on such days. Is that correct?

4. Is it necessary to say the "Angelus" three times a day to gain the plenary indulgence?

5. Is the bell to be rung in the same way for the *Regina Coeli* as for the "Angelus."

Answer to the first question.

The times for ringing the "Angelus" are morning, noon and evening. Particular hours have not been more definitely fixed as a condition for gaining the Indulgences.

It is necessary that the prayer should be recited at the sound of the bell, except in two cases, viz.: (*a*) religious who are engaged in a community exercise prescribed by their rule when the Angelus rings, may gain the Indulgences by reciting the Angelus immediately after the exercise;[1] (*b*) the faithful who dwell where there is no Angelus bell may gain the Indulgences by reciting the Angelus at or about the hours at which it is wont to be rung.[2]

Answer to the second question.

We cannot find out that any particular way of ringing the bell is prescribed as a condition for gaining the Indulgences of the "Angelus." The custom, however, of tolling the "Angelus" by nine single strokes of the bell

[1] S. C. I., 18 February, 1835. Resc. of Pius VI., March 18, 1781.

with a notable interval after the third, sixth, and ninth strokes, is so commonly accepted that any deviation from it would be, we should think, censurable.

Answer to the third question.

The "Angelus" is said *flexis genibus*, except on Saturday evening and on the morning, noon, and evening of Sunday when one should say it standing. Saturdays which happen to be fasting days are no exception to this rule.

It was held by many writers that at noon on Saturdays in Lent, one should recite the "Angelus" standing. This decision was grounded on a misinterpretation of a statement of Benedict XIV. He had said that we are to apply the rules of the office regarding the manner of reciting the anthem to the saying of the "Angelus" "dal vespero di ciaschedun sabbato, a tutta la domenica seguente." The authors referred to understood Benedict XIV., to speak in this place of the Vespers of Saturday and not of Saturday evening; and inasmuch as Vespers may be said before noon on Saturdays in Lent, they inferred that one should say the "Angelus" standing, on these days.

There is now, however, no ground for doubt on this question. The Congregation of Indulgences has declared that the "Angelus" is to be said "flexis genibus, exceptis Dominicis, incipiendo *Vespere* sabbati, quibus recitari debet stando." Moreover, the particular case respecting the manner of reciting this prayer at noon on the Saturdays in Lent was submitted to the Congregation, and the decision was, that there is to be no change on these days.

Answer to the fourth question.

No. There are two kinds of Indulgences attached to the recitation of the "Angelus"—a partial and a plenary Indulgence. The partial Indulgence of 100 days is granted for every time one says the "Angelus" at the sound of the bell (no matter whether the bell is blessed or not) at morning, noon, or evening, *flexis genibus* (except on Saturday evening and through the whole of Sunday), and with contrite heart. The plenary Indulgence is granted to those who say the "Angelus" once a day for a month on the conditions just mentioned, and who, moreover, confess, communicate, and pray for the Church.

The versicle *Ora pro nobis*, &c. and the prayer *Gratiam tuam*, do not form a necessary part of the indulgenced "Angelus."

Answer to the fifth question.

Yes. The *Regina Coeli* is substituted in paschal time for the "Angelus." One always says it standing. The versicle *Gaude et laetare* and the prayer *Deus qui per resurrectionem* are a necessary part of the indulgenced *Regina Coeli.*

We shall print in the next number of the RECORD the principal documents and decisions relating to the "Angelus," in the belief that they will be interesting to more than our correspondent.

II.

The Decades of the Rosary cannot be notably interrupted without loss of the Indulgences.

In order to gain the Indulgences which are attached to the saying of the five decades of the Rosary, is it necessary that there should be no interruption between the decades? In the Office the Hours may be separated, can the decades be separated in the same manner when saying the Rosary?

It is necessary, in order to gain the Indulgences attached to the recitation of the Rosary, that there should be no notable interruption which would destroy the moral unity of the five decades. It is not enough to recite the decades at different hours but so that all five may be said on the same day.[1] Hence, the separation which is allowable in saying the Hours of the Office is not allowable in reciting the decades of the Rosary.

III.

Re-enrolment in the Scapulars not necessary.

If the Scapular has been laid aside for a long time, twelve months or longer, is a re-enrolment necessary to gain the indulgence?

No, it is only necessary to resume the wearing of the Scapular.

IV.

If a priest has got power to enrol otherwise than from the Ordinary, can he do so validly and licitly?

If the power to enrol is made dependent on the consent of the Ordinary, as is usual, by such a cause as this:—

[1] See S. C. Indul. 22 January, 1858.

"facultatem benigne concessit, de consensu tamen Ordinarii," it is of course necessary to apply to the Ordinary for his leave to exercise the faculties. But if no such condition is made, it is not necessary to refer to the Ordinary.

The following decisions of the S. Congregation of Indulgences bear upon this question :—

Utrum qui obtinet diversas facultates ab Apostolica Sede, scilicet, Altaris Privilegiati personalis; erigendi Stationes Viae Crucis; benedicendi Cruces, numismata, &c., debeat exhibere dictas facultates Ordinario, etiamsi nulla mentio facta sit in concessionum rescriptis?

S. Cong. resp. "Affirmative quoad Viae Crucis erectionem. Negative relate ad alias facultates, nisi aliter dispositum in obtentis concessionibus."

8 Feb. 1841.

V.

The nature of a Plenary Indulgence.

A Plenary Indulgence is attached to certain festivals of the year, with the option of gaining it on any day within the octave. Now, it is generally admitted that a person failing to gain the whole of a Plenary Indulgence can, and generally does, gain some part of it. With the view of stating my case clearly, I shall suppose the Plenary Indulgence to consist of twelve parts. I wish to gain the Indulgence in its completeness. For this purpose I comply with the conditions on the feast itself, and owing to some slight attachment to venial sin, I gain only four parts of the Plenary Indulgence. I go again to Communion on the second, third and other days within the octave, believing that from day to day I can gain some parts of the Plenary Indulgence, until finally the full number of twelve parts has been gained. Is this a correct notion of the nature of this Plenary Indulgence, or is the attempt to gain the Plenary Indulgence confined to one day?

The commonly received explanation, and the only one we have met with is, that a person is allowed to choose the feast day or any day within the octave for the gaining of the Indulgence. The privilege is that the time for gaining the Indulgence is extended, but the Indulgence itself is not divided into parts and distributed over the week.

VI.

Private Mass.

What is a Private Mass? Is a community or parochial daily Mass such?

A Private Mass is what we commonly call a Low Mass as distinguished from the Missa Solemnis or High Mass. The community and daily parochial Masses are then Missae Privatae.

VII.

Is the priest required to wear the biretta when going to the altar to celebrate Mass or to give Benediction?

Yes. R. Browne.

DOCUMENTS.

Leo PP. XIII. ad Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.

Decretum pro Inscribendis nonnullis Officiis in Kalendario Ecclesia Universalis, necnon pro Corrigenda Rubrica Generali Breviarii Romani tit. x. de Translatione Festorum.

Nullo unquam tempore Romani Pontifices Antecessores Nostri praetermiserunt sanctorum virorum, qui doctrina, virtute, rerum gestarum praestantia Catholicam Ecclesiam, dum in terris agerent, illustrarunt, memoriam in animis Christi fidelium, eorum praesertim, quorum est caeteros exemplo anteire, quo altius possent imprimere. Id autem hac inter alias ratione consequuti sunt, eorumdem scilicit Sanctorum festa sive in universali, sive in particularibus Ecclesiis indulgendo, ac vitae et rerum gestarum historiam Breviariis inserendo, ut qui divinas preces recitare tenentur, ab iis virtutum illorum factorumque memoria cum laude quotannis repetatur. Hinc nostris etiam temporibus sa. me. Pius Papa IX., Praecessor Noster, vota excipiens et preces multorum Sacrorum Antistitum, qui Romam convenerant Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani causa, peculiarem constituit Anno MDCCCLXXIV Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem, cui munus detulit expendendi utrum

opportunum esset in Kalendario Ecclesiae Officia inserere nonnullorum Sanctorum, qui Apostolorum opus prae caeteris prosequuti Ecclesiae universae aedificandae ac tuendae, et inter diversas gentes dilatandae impensius adlaborarunt: Officia haec erant Sanctorum Bonifacii Episcopi et Martyris, Iustini Philosophi Martyris, Cyrilii et Methodii Pontificum et Confessorum, Cyrilli Episcopi Alexandrini, Cyrilli Episcopi Hierosolymitani et Augustini Episcopi Cantuariensis. Haec autem peculiaris Congregatio Sacrorum Rituum, omnibus quae ad rem pertinerent accurate perpensis, expedire censuit Officium S. Bonifacii ritu duplici ad unviersam Ecclesiam extendi, indulgendumque esse illis, qui S. Iustini Officium peterent eodum ritu: de aliis rem differre placuit. Quam sententiam idem Praecessor Noster ratam habuit et confirmavit. Haec tum quidem acta sunt. Anno autem MDCCCLXXX visum est Nobis, Sanctis Fratribus Cyrillo et Methodio Slavoniae gentis Apostolis eiusdem cultus honorem tribuere, S. Bonifacio, ut diximus, a Praecessore Nostro delatum. Porro cum Sacrorum Antistites ac Fideles rogare pergerent, ut pari honore condecorarentur tum S. Iustinus, tum alii inclyti Coelites, de quibus prolata res fuerat, tum etiam S. Iosaphat Episcopus Polocensis Martyr, praeclarum Polonae ac Ruthenae gentis lumen: cumque habenda esse tandem ratio videretur postulationum, quae a Romano Clero Apostolicae Sedi porrigebantur pro inscribendis in Kalendario Urbis festis quorumdam Sanctorum, qui Urbem ipsam suis illustrarunt exemplis et finem laborem suorum ibi assequuti eam propriis nobilitarunt exuviis; idcirco Nos particularem Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem a Praecessore Nostro iam pridem deputatam iterum constituere duximus, eique mandavimus ut opportune expenderet, qua ratione in Kalendario sive Universali sive Cleri Romani Officia praedicta et alia in posterum, si opus esset, inseri possent. Itaque approbantes, et confirmantes, quae a Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus aliisque dictam Congregationem componentibus decreta, et per Venerabilem Fratrem Nostrum Dominicum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinal Bartolinium Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relata Nobis fuerunt. Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica volumus et praecipimus, ut in Kalendario Universali Ecclesiae sub ritu duplici minori inscribantur Officia; die IX Februarii S. Cyrilli Alexandrini Episcopi Confessoris; die XVIII Martii S. Cyrilli Hierosolymitani Episcopi Confessoris; die XIV Aprilis S. Iustini Philosophi Martyris; die XXVIII Maii S. Augustini Episcopi Cantuariensis Confessoris; die XIV Novembris S. Iosaphat Episcopi Polocensis Martyris; deinde ut in Kalendario Cleri Romani sub ritu item duplici minori inscribantur Officia; die XVI Aprilis S. Benedicti Iosephi Labre Confessoris; die XXIII Maii S. Ioannis Baptistae De Rossi Confessoris; die XIX Augusti B. Urbani II Papae et Confessoris; die XI Octobris B. Ioannis Leonardi Confessoris; die XVII Decembris S. Leonardi a Portu

Mauritio Confessoris: affigantur autem in eodem Kalendario Cleri Romani festa S. Cyrilli Alexandrini diei XX Februarii, S. Cyrilli Hierosolymitani diei XX Martii, S. Augustini Cantuariensis diei VII Iunii, et S. Iosaphat Polocensis diei XIV Decembris Quo vero in utroque Kalendario tum Universali tum Cleri Romani habeantur sedes liberae ad nova Officia introducenda, eadem Auctoritate Nostra volumus ac praecipimus, ut Rubrica Generalis Breviarii Romani tit. X de Translatione Festorum hac ratione mutetur; videlicet: "Festa duplicia minora (exceptis illis Sanctorum Ecclesiae Doctorum) et Festa semiduplicia, si occursu Dominicae vel Maioris Festi seu Officii quomodocumque impediantur, non transferuntur, sed ipso die quo cadunt, de eis fit in utrisque Vesperis et Laudibus commemoratio, cum nona lectione historica, sive una ex duabus aut tribus, si tamen haec eo die fieri possint; secus huiusmodi festa duplicia et semiduplicia eo anno penitus omittuntur, ut de simplici cautum est in rubric. tit. IX num. X, tit. X, num. VIII:" postremo ut praesentes litterae Apostolicae in novis editionibus Breviarii ad calcem Rubricae interim apponantur, donec accurata Rubricae ipsius correctio per Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem perficiatur. Haec praecipimus et mandamus, non obstantibus Apostolicis ac in universalibus provincialibusque et synodalibus Conciliis editis generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus, ceteresque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo Personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die XXVIII Iulii MDCCCLXXXII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno quinto.

TH. CARD. MERTEL.

The following *Monitum* has been issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in reference to the foregoing Decree:—

MONITUM.

Nova Officia in Kalendario Universalis Ecclesiae inserenda ex Apostolico Brevi diei 28 Julii 1882 (quod vim obligandi habet anno 1884) assignari poterunt diebus proxime insequentibus vacuis in iis Kalendariis particularibus in quibus alia Officia jam affixa illis diebus reperiuntur, sicut pro Kalendario Urbis provisum fuit.

Ex Secretaria Sac. Rituum Congregationis, die 12 Septembris, 1882.

LAURENTIUS SALVATI,
S.R.C. Secretarius.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The important changes introduced into the liturgical *Ordo* by the preceding Papal Brief do not come into operation, as it is evident from the *Monitum*, until the year after next. It seems useful, however, in examining the nature of those changes, and the extent to which the *Ordo* will be affected by them, to illustrate the matter practically by taking the *Ordo* for next year as it now stands, and pointing out the changes that would be introduced in it by the application of the new rule if it were at once to come into operation.

The effect of the Papal Brief, then, is two-fold; it establishes a number of new liturgical Feasts; and it modifies, most substantially, the existing liturgical rules regarding the Translation or Transferring of Feasts in the Ecclesiastical Calendar.

The Feasts newly established are the following:—February 9th, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Bishop and Confessor; March 18th, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Bishop and Confessor; April 14th, St. Justin the Philosopher, Martyr; May 28th, St. Augustine, Bishop of Canterbury, Confessor; November 14th, St. Josaphat, Bishop of Polock, Martyr.

These five Feasts are introduced into the Ecclesiastical Calendar with the rank of ordinary doubles (*duplicia minora*).

Five other Feasts, with the same rank, are introduced into the special Calendar *pro Clero Romano*. But we may confine our attention to the five above mentioned, which are established for the Universal Church.

Then, with the view, as His Holiness declares, of avoiding the complications that might otherwise result from the introduction into the Calendar, whether of the Feasts now established or of others that may afterwards be established, the Brief goes on, in the second place, to effect the alteration, already referred to, in the Rubric regarding the Transferring of Feasts.

One of the best known rules hitherto in force on this subject is to the following effect:—When, in any year, a Moveable Feast of higher rite than an ordinary double occurs on a day that is assigned in the Ecclesiastical Calendar to a Feast of double or of semidouble rank, the arrangement of the Calendar is for that year modified—the ordinary Calendar festival being displaced, and transferred to the first available vacant day. The same rule, it is hardly necessary to observe, applies in the case of an

ordinary double or semidouble Feast on the occurrence of a Sunday, such as Septuagesima Sunday, the Sundays in Lent, &c., to which precedence over ordinary doubles is assigned by the rules of the liturgy.

This system of transfers, as regards ordinary doubles and semidoubles, *is practically abolished by the new Decree*. From the time when this Decree comes into operation, *ordinary doubles and semidoubles*, on the occurrence of a Moveable Festival of higher rank, or of a privileged Sunday, *will not*, except in one class of cases—the Feasts of Doctors of the Church—*be transferred at all*. In accordance with the analogy of *simple* Feasts in the present arrangement of the Breviary, merely a commemoration of displaced double or semidouble will be made at Vespers and at Lauds, and the historical lesson or lessons of its Office will be read as the ninth lesson at Matins.

The change thus effected in the yearly arrangement of the liturgical *Ordo* is of wide extent. This becomes evident on an examination of the *Ordo Divini Officii recitandi*, which will be found, in any year that may be selected, to contain a very large number of transferred Feasts. Now every transferred office implies the existence of a day to which no double or semidouble Feast is assigned in the Calendar. And on every such day, in the absence of some provision such as that which now transfers to it a transferred Office of nine lessons, the Office to be read would be the Office of the corresponding Feria, or the Office of a Simple Feast including, of course, the recitation of that portion of the Psaltery assigned to the Feria in question.

The number of days to which no double or semidouble Feast is assigned in the Ecclesiastical Calendar is as follows :—

In January there is		1
„ February there are		17, and, in leap years, 18
„ March	„	21
„ April	„	16
„ May	„	11
„ June	„	14
„ July	„	7
„ August	„	2
„ September	„	7
„ October	„	16
„ November	„	6
„ December	„	9

Thus there are, in all, 127, and, in leap years, 128.

Not more than about 10 of these days, on an average, are occupied by the occurrence of the Moveable Feasts, with their Octaves, of Easter, Ascension Thursday, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi. Thus we may set down the average number of unoccupied days each year at about 117.

In the special Calendars of particular Churches the number of days thus unoccupied is diminished, and in the great majority of cases, very notably diminished, by the insertion of Feasts specially conceded. In Ireland, for instance, this is so to a very large degree. We have, in fact, no fewer than 71 such Feasts.

The total number of days in our Irish Calendar unoccupied by Offices of double or semidouble rite is thus reduced to 70,[1] or rather to about 60, if we make the requisite deduction, already mentioned, due to the occurrence of the Moveable Feasts, with their Octaves, of Easter, Ascension Thursday, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi.

Still these numbers are no doubt large, and possibly that readers, viewing them with surprise, may feel inclined to question their accuracy. It is useful then to observe that is the operation of the liturgical rule hitherto in force regarding the Transfer of Feasts, that to so large an extent practically conceals the actual condition of the Calendar as regards the number of its vacant days.

Let us take, for instance, the present month of October, 1882. In the general Ecclesiastical Calendar, October contains no fewer than 16 days to which no Feast of double or of semidouble rank is assigned. Of these but 6 are filled in our Irish Calendar by Feasts celebrated by special

[1] It may, perhaps, seem to require explanation that the number of unoccupied days in our Irish Calendar should thus be set down as 70, seeing that the number of such days in the general Ecclesiastical Calendar is 127, and that 71 special offices of double or semi-double rite are celebrated by special indult in Ireland. Why is it that the number of unoccupied days is not thus reduced to 56? What becomes of the remaining 14 days?

To account for this apparent discrepancy we have to remember that several of the special Feasts of the Irish Calendar fall within octaves such as those of SS. Peter and Paul, St. Laurence, the Assumption, and All Saints. These, then, though occurring on days already occupied in the general Ecclesiastical Calendar, are celebrated without any displacement of its arrangements. The number of offices thus celebrated is 9. The remaining 5—to make up the balance of 14 days to be accounted for—are the special Feasts in commemoration of the Passion of our Lord, celebrated with the rank of greater doubles, on the five first Fridays in Lent.

Indult. Thus, even in the Irish Calendar, the number of unoccupied days in October is 10. But in the *Ordo* of the present year we find that throughout the whole month of October there are but *three* days to which a double or semidouble Feast is not assigned. In many dioceses in Ireland there are but *two*. In some there is *not even one*.

This of course is the result of the rule hitherto in force regarding transfers. Thus, for instance, if we take the 3rd of October—the first unoccupied day of this month in the Calendar—we find it occupied this year by the transferred Feast of the Stigmas of St. Francis, transferred from its proper day, the 17th of September, in consequence of the occurrence, this year, on that day, of the Feast of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin.

A still more striking illustration of the extent to which the system of transfers thus operates is found in the fact that a vacancy on the 5th of October—the next vacant day in the month—was this year filled by the transferred Feast of St. George (transferred from the 23rd of April), a fact from which we at once learn that *from the 23rd of April to the 5th of October* there was *not even one day* that was not occupied, by transfer or otherwise, by a double or semidouble Feast. Now, within the days thus mentioned, there are, even in our Irish Calendar, *twenty* unoccupied days. Of these twenty, no fewer than *thirteen*[2] would have had Ferial or Simple offices assigned to them, but for the operation of the system of transferring Feasts.

But probably the most satisfactory mode of setting forth the result of the operation of this new rule, by which the transferring of ordinary doubles and semidoubles (with the exception of the Feasts of Doctors of the Church) is abolished, will be to set down in parallel columns a few weeks of the Calendar, indicating the arrangement of the Offices under the old rule and the new.

Let us take, then, the case of next year, 1883, as an example.

It so happens that down to the 18th of February, the 2nd Sunday of Lent, no difference could arise. Previous to that date, only *two* vacant days occur in the Irish Calendar —the 28th of January, and the 3rd of February. Next year the former of these will be occupied by Septuagesima Sunday; and the latter by the transferred Feast of St.

[2] Out of the 20 unoccupied days in the Calendar, the remaining 7 happened this year to fall within the Octave of Pentecost, or on Sundays to which special Offices are assigned.

Hilary, 14th January, which, as the Feast of a Doctor of the Church, would be transferred under the new rule as it has been under the old.

Beginning, then, with the 18th of February, and taking the next four weeks, we find that the application of the new rule would effect the following changes in this portion of the *Ordo* :—

Arrangement of the *Ordo* under the rules hitherto in force.	Arrangement of the *Ordo* under the new rules.
Feb. 18. Dom. 2da. Quadrag.	Feb. 18. Dom. 2da. Quadrag.
19. SS. Coronae D.N.J.C.	19. S. Marcelli. [?]
20. S. Agnetis (Jan. 21).	20. SS. Coronae D.N.J.C.
21. S. Andr. Corsin. (Feb. 4).	21. ——[Feria].
22. Cathedrae S. Petri Antioch.	22. Cathedra S. Petri Antioch.
23. S. Petr. Damiani.	23. S. Petri Damiani.
24. S. Matthiae.	24. S. Matthiae.
25. Dom. 3tia. Quadrag.	25. Dom 3tia. Quadrag.
26. SS. Lanceae D.N.J.C.	26. SS. Lanceae D.N.J.C.
27. S. Romualdi (Feb. 7).	27. ——[Feria].
28. S. Ignatii (Feb. 18).	28. ——[Feria].
Mar. 1. S. Marcelli (Feb. 9).	Mar. 1. ——[Feria].
2. SS. Quinque Vulnerum D.N.J.C.	2. SS. Quinque Vulnerum D.N.J.C.
3. S. Raymundi (Feb. 11).	3. ——[Feria].
4. Dom. 4ta. Quadrag.	4. Dom. 4ta. Quadrag.
5. S. Kyrani.	5. S. Kyrani.
6. S. Casimiri (Mar. 4).	6. ——[Feria].
7. S. Thomae.	7. S. Thomae.
8. S. Cataldi.	8. S. Cataldi.
9. S. Franciscae.	9. S. Franciscae.
10. SS. Quadraginta Martyrum.	10. SS. Quadraginta Martyrum
11. Dom. Passionis.	11. Dom. Passionis.
12. S. Gregorii.	12. S. Gregorii.
13. S. Senani.	13. S. Senani.
14. Pretios. SanguinisD.N.J.C.	14. Pretios. SanguinisD.N.J.C.
15. S. Joannis de Deo(Mar. 11).	15. ——[Feria].
16. Septem Dolorum B.V.M.	16. Septem Dolorum B.V.M.
17. S. Patricii.	17. S. Patricii.
18. Dom. Palmarum.	18. Dom. Palmarum.

To render the preceding Table fully intelligible, I should perhaps explain the following points :—

1. In the first column I have stated, in parenthesis, in each case of a transferred Feast, the day assigned to the Feast in our Irish Calendar. In many instances, the day thus indicated is different from that assigned to the same Feast in the general Calendar of the Church. For, when special Feasts are introduced by Indult into a particular Calendar, as into that of Ireland, a permanent displacement of the previously existing Feasts is frequently rendered necessary. The day to which a Feast is thus permanently

transferred is termed a *dies fixa*. The rules in accordance with which the assigning of *dies fixae* takes place need not be stated here. It will suffice to take an illustration. The Feast of St. Ignatius, Martyr, is assigned in the general Ecclesiastical Calendar to the 1st of February. The fact that in Ireland this day is assigned to the Feast of St. Bridget, has made it necessary permanently to remove the Feast of St. Ignatius to a subsequent unoccupied day. And in the Irish Calendar, several intermediate days being occupied as *dies fixae*, the first available day is the 18th of February. This, therefore, as a *dies fixa*, is the Feast of St. Ignatius in our Calendar.

2. The assignment of *dies fixae* is not interfered with by the new Decree.

3. Feasts such as those in commemoration of the Passion of our Lord on the five first Fridays of Lent, since they have the rank of *greater doubles*, are to be transferred under the new rule as under the old.

4. In the second column, the 19th of February is assigned, but with an indication of uncertainty, to the (semidouble) Feast of St. Marcellus. Under the present arrangement of the Irish Calendar, this Feast is celebrated on the 9th of February—the day assigned to it, as a *dies fixa*, in accordance with the ordinary rules of the liturgy, when it was removed from its ordinary Calendar day, the 16th of January, occupied by the (Irish) Feast of St. Fursaeus. But the 9th of February will probably henceforth be occupied by the new Feast of St. Cyril of Alexandria, to which, as a double, if no special provision be made to the contrary,[1] the semidouble Feast of St. Marcellus should give place. The Feast of St. Marcellus, then,

[1] It may, of course, be regarded as open to question whether a special provision, such as is here referred to, has not in fact been made by the Congregation of Rites, and set forth in the *Monitum* of the 12th of September. (See page 691.)

The words of the *Monitum* are, no doubt, sufficiently general to cover the case before us. "Another Office" is in possession, and the *Monitum* may be read as directing in all such cases the transfer of the new Office, the Office hitherto in possession remaining undisturbed.

It is, however, to be remembered that such an arrangement in a case where the Office hitherto in possession is of inferior rite,—as, for instance, a semidouble compared with a double,—would be altogether at variance with the established rules of the liturgy regarding the assigning of *dies fixae*. I should, therefore, prefer not to assume that the *Monitum* is to be understood in this sense (although apparently implied by the words as they stand) until more explicit directions on the point are given by the Congregation or by the Holy See.

being thus displaced, should be assigned to the next vacant day, the 19th of February, as a *dies fixa*.

Resuming, then, our comparison of the two arrangements of the Ordo, we pass on to Low Sunday. For, it is hardly necessary to explain, from Palm Sunday to Low Sunday (18th March—1st April) the arrangement of the Ordo must in both cases be the same.

During this interval, however, *nine* Calendar Feasts occur. *Four* of these are Feasts that should be transferred, under the operation of the new rule, as of the old. But the remaining *five*, which, under the rule hitherto in force, should be transferred to the first available vacant days after Low Sunday, would not, under the operation of the new rule, be transferred at all. When the new rule, however, comes into operation, one of the days thus to be left vacant will be occupied by the newly-established Feast of St. Justin, on the 14th of April.

Practically no change would result in the week immediately following Low Sunday. But the following would be the result in the next two weeks, following the 2nd and 3rd Sundays after Easter:—

April. 8. Patrocinii S. Joseph.	April. 8. Patrocinii S. Joseph.
9. S. Gabrielis (Mar. 18).	9. S. Gabrielis (Mar. 18).
10. S. Frigidiani (Mar. 22).	10. S. Frigidiani (Mar. 22).
11. S. Leonis.	11. S. Leonis.
12. S. Cuthberti (Mar. 20).	12. ——[Feria].
13. S. Hermenegildi.	13. S. Hermenegildi.
14. S. Benedicti (Mar. 21).	14. S. Justini.
15. Dom. III. post Pasch.	15. Dom. III. post Pasch.
16. S. Macartini (Mar. 24).	16. ——[Feria].
17. S. Ruperti (Mar. 27).	17. ——[Simple].
18. S. Laseriani.	18. S. Laseriani.
19. S. Francisci (Apr. 2).	19. ——[Feria].
20. ——[Feria].	20. ——[Feria].
21. S. Anselmi.	21. S. Anselmi.
22. Dom. IV. post Pasch.	22. Dom. IV. post Pasch.

It will thus be seen that, in the six weeks that I have taken as the first occurring in the course of the year, from which the change effected by the new rule could be illustrated, the number of *additional* Ferial or Simple offices to be recited would be 11.

It must also, however, be borne in mind that, as regards Ireland, a further result of the new rule will be to bring into more practical operation the privilege, conceded many years ago, of celebrating, throughout the year, with semidouble rank, a votive Feast of the Blessed Sacrament on every Thursday, with few exceptions, and, with almost

the same exceptions, a votive Feast of the Immaculate Conception on every Saturday throughout the year, not otherwise occupied by a double or semidouble Feast. The exceptions are, the Thursdays and Saturdays of Advent and Lent, the Saturdays of the *Quatuor Tempora*, Vigils, and days to which the Rubric directs the Office of the preceding Sunday to be transferred.

Thus, for example, two of the Ferias left vacant in the second column of the preceding Table, the 12th and the 19th of April, happening to fall on Thursdays, the Office to be recited would be that of the Blessed Sacrament. This, then, would reduce the number of *additional* Ferial Offices in those two weeks, from *four* to *two*, and the total number of *additional* Ferial Offices occurring within the six weeks, from *eleven* to *nine*.

It remains only to notice that as regards the commemoration directed by the new rule to be made when an office is to be transferred, the Decree follows, as far as possible, the analogy of the parallel case of the commemoration of Simple Feasts under the rules hitherto in force. But certain modifications are introduced, naturally arising from the difference between the two cases. Thus—

1. A Commemoration is to be made not only at Lauds, and at the Vespers of *the day preceding* that to which the Feast is assigned in the Calendar, but also at the Vespers of *the day itself*.

2. At Matins, where the Feast is commemorated by the substitution of one or more of its lessons for the ninth lesson of the day, the ninth lesson, in the case arising under the new rule, must be taken from those set down in the Breviary for the *second Nocturn* of the omitted Office. Among the many interesting liturgical questions that cannot fail to arise when the new Decree comes into operation, there will be few of more practical interest than one regarding the application of this provision. Will it be of obligation to read *per modum unius*, as a ninth Lesson, *the three Lessons* of the second Nocturn of the omitted office? The words of the Decree are as follows:—"Festa duplicia minora (exceptis illis SS. Ecclesiae Doctorum) et Festa semiduplicia non transferuntur; sed ipso die quo cadunt, de eis fit . . . commemoratio, cum nona lectione historica, *sive una ex duabus aut tribus*," etc. In the case of Simple Feasts, the existing rule is plain:—"Si habuerit duas lectiones, *ex duabus fit una lectio*." This rule is explained, for instance, by De Herdt, as follows:—

"Quoad lectionem quae pro nona legenda est, si sit *homilia*, . . . *de praecepto* tantum legenda est *prima* lectio de homilia, vel *ad libitum* possunt dici *tres* lectiones simul *in unam conjunctae*; si autem sit *lectio simplicis*, non potest, quamvis duas habeat, alterutra omitti, sed *de praecepto ex duabus una est facienda*, et tota legenda." If, then, this analogy be followed in the interpretation of the words "una ex duabus vel tribus," the operation of the new Decree will manifestly involve, under this head also, a very notable addition to the existing obligation of the Divine Office.

WILLIAM J. WALSH.

II.

TESTIMONIAL LETTERS.

[We are indebted to the kindness of the Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise for a copy of the following correspondence with the Prefect of Propaganda, which serves to determine a question of much practical importance. We hope to be able to put before our readers in a short time a Decision on another phase of the same question.—ED. E. I. R.]

[TRANSLATION].

To HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL SIMEONI, Prefect of the S.C. of the Propaganda, Rome.

MOST EMINENT LORD,

I beg your Eminence, with your usual condescension, to resolve the following doubt for my guidance:—

My Ecclesiastical Students make their sacred studies, sometimes in Maynooth College, sometimes in the Irish College, Paris, or elsewhere; however, I often bring them home for ordination. Now in the Bull, "*Aplicae. Sedis*," in the 5th chap., "*Suspensiones latae sententiae Summo Pontifici reservatae*," we find the following: "*Suspensionem per annum . . . incurrunt ordinantes . . etiam proprium subditum, qui alibi tanto tempore moratus sit, ut canonicum impedimentum contrahere ibi potuerit, absque Ordinarii ejus loci litteris testimoniabilus.*"

My doubt is:

1st. Whether in such a case the certificate of the Superior of the College in which the studies have been made would not be sufficient, especially because it is always certain that he enjoys the confidence of the Bishop of the place, to whom on the other hand the person to be ordained is generally quite unknown.

And 2ndly. Supposing the Ordinary's testimonial letters to be required, what period of time is referred to in the clause: "*Ut canonicum impedimentum contrahere ibi potuerit*," inasmuch as some impediments can be contracted in a few days, or even in one day?

I have the honour, &c.,

✠ Barth. Woodlock,
Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.

The following is His Eminence's answer:—

Illmo. e Rmo. Signore,

Alla domanda fattami dalla S. V. intorno al modo di regolarsi quanto all' attestato che a tenore della Costituzione "*Aplicae. Sedis*" richiedesi, perchè un Vescovo possa ordinare i Chierici suoi sudditi, i quali sono stati altrove per qualche tempo, mi e d'uopo rispondere, che secondo la Costituzione stessa l' attestato dee esser fatto dal Vescovo o da altri autorizzato e in suo nome.

Per l' interpretazione poi delle parole: "*Alibi tanto tempore moratus sit, ut canonicum impedimentum contrahere ibi potuerit*," conviene attenersi agli autori più riputati, i quali generalmente ritengono che la possibilità *giuridica* d' incorrere impedimenti debba ammettersi in un' assenza per lo spazio almeno di sei mesi.

Roma, dalla Propaganda, 7 Agosto, 1882.

Giovanni Card. Simeoni, Prefo.
✠ D. Arciv. di Tiro, Segro.

[Translation.]

Most Rev. Lord,

With respect to your Lordship's question as to the mode of action you should adopt with reference to the certificate required by the Constitution "*Aplicae. Sedis*," that a Bishop may confer Orders on his clerical subjects, who have resided outside of his diocese for some time, I have to say in reply, that according to the Constitution the certificate must be given by the Bishop of the diocese where they resided, or a person authorised by him and in his name.

As for the meaning of the words, "*alibi tanto tempore moratus sit, ut canonicum impedimentum contrahere ibi potuerit*," we ought to be guided by the opinions of approved authors, who in general hold that *juridically* the possibility of incurring impediments arises from an absence of at least six months.

Rome, given at the Propaganda, 7th August, 1882.

Giovanni Card. Simeoni, Pref.
✠ D., Archbishop of Tyre, Sec.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Life of St. Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome. By Alphonso Capecelatro, Archbishop of Capua. Translated into English by Thomas Alder Pope, M.A., of the Oratory.

It is matter for regret that the reading portion of the community devotes so little attention to the lives of the Saints. Some excuse there was for this neglect in former times, when well-written lives were not easily procurable; but the plea has lost whatever show of justification it ever had. At the present day excellent biographies of the most remarkable of God's servants are within the reach of all, and yet, sad to say, Catholic men and women, who would be ashamed to acknowledge want of acquaintance with some trivial circumstance in the career of a fictitious character in the latest novel, are content to live their whole lives in gross ignorance of what was done and dared by earth's greatest heroes—the Saints of the Catholic Church. Nor can it be said that this sort of reading lacks the interest of romance. On the contrary, how much more genuine pleasure, not to speak of instruction and wisdom, does one receive from reading, for example, the life of St. Philip, or St. Ignatius, than from devouring the pages of a sensational story? Youth is said to be the season of strong temptation and generous resolution. If so, what a pity that the lives of the Saints are not more largely drawn upon to combat the one and purify the other. For attaining both these ends few books deserve to be recommended before the above-named biography of Rome's Apostle. Of the scope of this work we cannot give a juster idea than by quoting the translator's own words. After stating that the author never intended to supersede Gallonio and Bacci, he goes on to say:—

"In these volumes we have the life of St. Philip amidst the circumstances and the men of his time. We trace year by year the steps of the way by which he, who entered the Eternal City in 1533, a friendless and unknown youth, became the acknowledged Apostle of Rome. We grow into acquaintance with the eminent and holy men who formed the galaxy of his disciples, and are thus insensibly taught to feel his incomparable greatness; even as from the number and size of its encircling bodies we infer the mass and splendour of the central light, and the energy of its attracting power. When we have closed this history, the light from the pages of Gallonio and Bacci is sensibly clearer and more tender; it stands towards them as their complement, and to a certain extent as their interpretation; it supplies, it may be, a warp on which their previous materials may be woven into a more symmetrical and therefore more striking and beautiful whole."

A distinction is sometimes drawn, especially by non-Catholics, between saints who are imitable and saints who are not. No

doubt there are various grades in the quality; and taking the distinction as valid in this sense, the Founder of the Oratory possessed imitability in an eminent degree. Not that any ordinary Christian may propose to himself a career in every respect like St. Philip; but that the way and spirit of his actions are transparently clear in everything he did, for our guidance and imitation. What seems most extraordinary, is his preaching in the churches when as yet a layman; but the circumstances were very different from those of our time, and the call was unmistakably divine. How his call and mission contrast with Luther's! Any one anxious to study the life of a heaven-sent reformer, should read Archbishop Capecelatro's Life of St. Philip, neatly rendered into English by Father T. A. Pope.

P. O'D.

The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Translated from the French of the Abbe Orsini, by the Very Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, D.D., V.G., Provost of Northampton. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.

Both translator and publisher have done their parts to make this Life of the Blessed Virgin one of the most useful and attractive ever printed in the English tongue. Larger and more expensive biographies, full of piety and erudition, have appeared in years gone by, to instruct and edify the faithful, and yet we doubt if any of them has received from the public the welcome which is sure to be given to the present publication. Abbé Orsini's Life of the Blessed Virgin is singularly dramatic, and has about it that attractiveness which we are wont to associate with a good story brilliantly written. And, indeed, brilliant beyond question is the language of Abbé Orsini. Perhaps it has this quality in excess. Certainly one is tempted to think that descriptions so vivid and so picturesque are withal somewhat imaginary, and a little too highly flavoured with metaphor or other figure to be accurate in every particular. How the work of translation has been done may be judged from the fact, that the reader readily forgets it is a translation and not an original he has before him. Only once does the translator find it necessary to dissent from the view taken by the author. It is where the latter states that the Virgin Mother accompanied the women from Galilee, who went on the morning of the third day, to embalm our Lord's body. At the end of the volume is given the Decree of the Immaculate Conception, with an English translation, and an account of the splendid ceremonial which attended the definition of that doctrine. The book is certainly a valuable contribution to ecclesiastical literature in these countries.

P. O'D.

The Way of Perfection in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola. By the Rev. JOHN CURTIS, S.J. Dublin: M. H. GILL & SON.

This book must prove a great blessing to many religious. The author tells us in his preface that his Meditations "have been, for the most part, written many years. They have formed the matter proposed by the writer for the consideration of the various religious communities by whom he has been invited to direct their annual retreats, and in several of those communities transcripts, more or less imperfect, may be found. It is now thought desirable to publish them in a correct form, with some additions, which it is hoped may prove useful.

"These additions consist principally of four lectures on leading points of spiritual life": 1, On The Spirit of the Religious State; 2, On Self-denial or Mortification; 3, On the Virtue of Humility; 4, On Prayer, especially Mental Prayer." The whole is accommodated to a retreat of ten days.

There are added some admonitions for the performance of the spiritual exercises, besides a preparation for meditation, which many will find convenient as a regular form drawn by so competent a spiritual writer.

The book is most tastefully brought out in regard to paper, printing, and binding. It reflects great credit on the eminent publishers.

Mc.

We have received for Review the following Books:—

From Messrs. BURNS & OATES—

Growth in the Knowledge of Our Lord; Meditations for Every Day of the Year. Adapted from the French Original of Abbé de Brandt. By Sister M. FIDELIS, Daughter of the Cross. II. Vols.

The Catholic Literary Circular for September, and October, 1882.

The Dublin Review, October, 1882.

From BENZIGER, BROTHERS—

Elements of Ecclesiastical Law. Vol. 2nd. Ecclesiastical Trials. By. Rev. S. B. SMITH, D.D.

From the CATHOLIC PUBLICATION SOCIETY, New York—

The Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1883.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1882.

ON THE EFFICACY AND FRUITS OF THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

IT seems not only strange but, indeed, incapable of satisfactory explanation, that the section of theological science in which it is most difficult for priests who are not professional theologians, to obtain, from ordinarily accessible sources, even moderately satisfactory information, is the section that deals with the most practical, and, as regards personal devotion, probably the most important, aspect of the chief and essential function of the priesthood.

It can hardly be necessary to explain that I refer to that large and complicated set of questions usually grouped under the general heading, "De Efficacia et Fructibus Sacrificii Missae." Let us take, for instance, even Gury's treatment of one of the most important of these—the question, "Quotuplex sit fructus Sacrificii Missae?" It is impossible to read his exposition of the points to which this question gives rise, without being struck by the marked absence of that accuracy of expression, that care in the framing of definitions and divisions, and that general clearness of exposition, usually such striking characteristics of the work of the learned Jesuit.

"Fructus Missae," he says,[1] "distinguitur ex duplici capite, nempe ex parte *offerentis* et ex parte *victimae*."

"I. Ex parte *offerentis*. Cum *duplex* sit offerens, *Christus* nempe et *sacerdos*, hinc *duplicis* generis est fructus Missae ex parte offerentis.

[1] Gury, *Comp. Theol. Moral.* Part 2, n. 350, Quaer. 3.

"*Prior* provenit ex *Christo* offerente, et dicitur *ex opere operato* . . . *Alter* provenit ex *sacerdote* offerente . . et fructus *ex opere operantis* nuncupatur.

"II. Ex parte *victimae*. Ex hoc capite *triplex* distinguitur fructus Sacrificii, scilicet, *generalis*, *specialis*, *specialissimus*.

"Fructus *generalis* ille est qui respondet Sacrificio quatenus est opus positum a *sacerdote* prouti operatur *nomine totius Ecclesiae* . . . Fructus *specialis* est ille qui advenit ei, vel illis, quibus *sacerdos* specialiter Sacrificium *applicat*. . . Fructus *specialissimus* ille est qui obvenit *sacerdoti* offerenti quatenus est *persona privata offerens*."

Now undoubtedly the efficacy or fruitfulness of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and consequently its fruits, are to be ascribed to two sources—the infinite worth of the Victim offered, and the dignity or excellence of those by whom, or in whose name, it is offered. So far, we are, in a certain sense, free to stand on the lines laid down by Gury. Not so when we proceed to examine his subdivisions.

Thus, under the first heading, "ex parte *offerentis*," we find mention only of our Lord, and of the officiating priest, but no mention either of the *Universal Church*, or of those *individual members* of the Church who by some personal act take part with the priest in the actual offering of the Sacrifice. This important branch of the subject, however, or at least the former portion of it, is introduced under the second member of the division, with which, manifestly, if the words employed by Gury be taken in any ordinarily accepted sense, it has no possible connection.

Again, although we find under the first member of the division, a reference to the priest considered *as an individual* and apart from his representative character—whether as representing the great High Priest, Christ, or as minister and representative of the Universal Church—this same aspect of the question is again introduced under the second member, and apparently in precisely the same sense.

Once more, the second member of the division, "ex parte *victimae*," is subdivided by Gury into three sections, not one of which has any reference to the Victim of the Sacrifice, although their relation to the Victim is, in the first instance, put forward as the fundamental idea underlying this portion of the exposition. And, in fact, from the nature of the case it is plain that in no accurate use of the term could this second member of Gury's division afford room for such subdivision at all.

But abandoning the ungrateful task of pointing out the shortcomings in the treatment of this and other branches of the subject by a writer to whom already many generations of theological students are so deeply indebted as probably their chief scholastic benefactor, let us endeavour rather to note down, if possible, a somewhat more satisfactory outline of the body of teaching on this subject, than is to be found—though, indeed, to a great extent, in scattered fragments—in the works of the great masters of theological science.

It is well to bear in mind throughout that our object will rather be to ascertain the actual teaching of the theologians, as reflecting the sense of the Church, than to establish by theological reasoning the truth of the various points thus set forth.

We may begin by calling to mind a few obvious and well-known points—

§ 1. *The fourfold Efficacy of the Mass: the Efficacy, Effects, and Fruits of this Sacrifice: their twofold source.*

I. The Sacrifice of the Mass, as is so beautifully developed in S. Leonard of Port Maurice's method of hearing it, has a fourfold efficacy. It is a sacrifice (1) of *worship*; (2) of *propitiation*, for the remission of sin; (3) of *impetration* or prayer, for the obtaining of benefits, whether spiritual or temporal; and (4) of *thanksgiving* for benefits received. In the Old Law these four objects of sacrifice were attained by the offering up of sacrifices of various kinds; (1) the holocaust or whole-burnt offering, chiefly for *worship*; (2) the sin-offering, for *propitiation*; and (3, 4) the peace-offerings, for *impetration* or for *thanksgiving*. But the Sacrifice of the Mass, as the Council of Trent teaches,[1] "illa est [oblatio] quae per varias sacrificiorum . . legis . . similitudines figurabatur; utpote quae bona omnia per illa significata, velut *illorum omnium consummatio et perfectio complectitur*. And so the Church, in one of the prayers in the Mass of the 6th Sunday after Pentecost, addresses God in the words, "Deus qui *legalium differentiam hostiarum unius sacrificii perfectione* sanxisti."

2. By the *efficacy* of the Sacrifice of the Mass, theologians understand its aptitude, or fruitfulness, as a means of attaining those various ends. By its *effects* they understand

[1] Sess. 22, *De Sacr. Missae*, cap. 1.

the *results* actually attained through its instrumentality. The special term *fruits* is usually employed to designate the effects of *propitiation* and of *impetration* (the benefits of which are received by creatures), as distinguished from those of *worship* and of *thanksgiving* (which are here offered only to God).

3. The efficacy or fruitfulness of this Sacrifice, viewed in general—that is to say, without special reference to any of its special effects or fruits,—arises from two sources: (*a*) the worth of the *Victim* offered in sacrifice, and (*b*) the dignity or excellence of the *person* or *persons by whom* it is offered.

§ 2. *The Victim of this Sacrifice.*

4. The Victim offered, being the sacred Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, is infinite in worth. This, however, does not of itself suffice to render the Sacrifice infinite in efficacy. "Hoc parum refert," is the strong expression of De Lugo,[1] "ad arguendum infinitum valorem in oblatione; oblatio enim non tam sumit valorem ex *re oblata*, quam ex *offerente*. . . Alioquin oblatio qua B. Virgo suum Filium obtulit, in templo habuisset etiam infinitum valorem." And in this he expresses practically the unanimous consent of theologians.

§ 3. *By whom this Sacrifice is offered.*

5. In estimating, then, the efficacy of the Sacrifice of the Mass, we have to consider also by whom, or in whose name, the sacrifice is offered.

6. It is offered, first and chiefly, by our Lord Himself, who thus, acting through the ministry of the officiating priest, is here Priest as well as Victim—"*idem*," as the Council of Trent teaches,[2] "nunc *offerens* sacerdotum ministerio, qui se ipsum . . in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa."

7. Secondly, it is offered by the Universal Church, whose minister the priest is, and in whose name and as whose representative, as well as in the name and as the representative of Christ, he officiates at the altar. "Ut aliquando," says Dicastillo,[3] "legatus alicujus magni Principis aliquid petit ab alio Principe apud quem fungitur legatione, . . quia in ea dignitate et loco constitutus est

[1] *De Eucharistia*, Disp. 19, sect. xii. n. 254.
[2] Sess. 22. *De Sacr. Missae*, Cap. 2.
[3] *De Sacrificio Missae*, Disp. 3, dub. 3, n. 62.

ut quodammodo repraesentet personam ejus qui illum misit, *intuitu ejus pro quo legatione fungitur* obtinet quod alias non obtineret. . . Sic ergo sacerdos . . exauditur a Deo, et impetrat, non solum quia tanquam minister Christi petit, sed quia, *quasi Ecclesiae legatus ad Deum destinatus*, admittitur a Deo dum petit," etc.

8. Thirdly, in fine, we are to enumerate among those by whom this Sacrifice is offered, all those who individually take part in it by any personal act, such, for instance, as being present at its celebration, assisting the priest as minister or server, preparing the altar for Mass, procuring its celebration by the giving of a honorarium to the priest, and the like. It is in this class we are to regard the officiating priest when viewed, not as the representative of Christ or of the Church, but merely as an individual. "Inter quos," says De Lugo,[1] speaking of this branch of the subject, "primum locum obtinet minister immediatus, seu sacerdos consecratus et celebrans; deinde qui ministrant, ut diaconus, subdiaconus, et alii ministri; postea alii circumstantes; illi etiam qui stipem dant, vel alio modo concurrunt ad oblationem sacrificii."

9. As to the full sense in which we are to understand the doctrine that the Mass is offered (1) by our Lord Himself, theologians are by no means unanimous. All, of course, agree that it is offered by Him at least in this sense, that the Mass was instituted by Him as a Sacrifice to be offered in His name, by His priests, to the end of time; that from His merits and atonement its essential efficacy is derived; and that by His power is wrought, at the moment of consecration, the change of substance[2] in which the Sacrifice

[1] *De Eucharistia*, Disp. 19, sect. xi., n. 230.

[2] "Adverto, quando ad rationem veri sacrificii exigimus *destructionem* [victimae], nomine destructionis non semper intelligi *physicam*, . . . sed destructionem *vel physicam vel humanam*, ita ut ex vi sacrificationis . . . habet [victima] statum aliquem decliviorem, et saltem humano modo desierit. . . .

"Apud veteres, quibus, sicut erat magis frequens, sic etiam erat magis nota essentia sacrificii, invenimus aliqua sacrificari solita per talem destructionem humanam; v.g. quando vinum libabatur effundendo illud ex crateribus in terram in honorem Dei, illa *effusio* dicebatur libatio et sacrificatio . . . ; quia nimirum per effusionem *destruebatur humano modo* . . ; jam enim non poterat deservire ad usus humanos sicut antea: quod sufficit ut dicatur humano modo destrui, licet in sua substantia non patiatur mutationem substantialem. Quo etiam modo sacrificabant projiciendo aliquid in mare vel in fluvium. . .

"Hoc supposito, facile erit explicare quomodo consecratione ipsa sacrificetur Corpus Christi; nam licet ipsa consecratione non destruatur

essentially consists. It is practically this view that finds expression in the form of intention usually set forth among the prayers in preparation for Mass, "Domine Jesu Christe, in unione illius divinae intentionis qua ipse *in ultima coena et in ara crucis* sacrificium Corporis et Sanguinis tui Deo Patri *obtulisti*," etc.—a prayer composed upon the model of the preparatory prayer in the Breviary, "Domine Jesu Christe, in unione illius divinae intentionis qua ipse *in terris* laudes Deo *persolvisti*," etc. And not a few theologians, of more or less eminence, in explaining the sense in which the Mass is said to be offered by our Lord, seem exclusively to consider the *past* general offering thus referred to.

10. But we have high authority for going much farther. It is the view of many theologians of the first rank—among whom it is sufficient to name Suarez and De Lugo—that in every Mass that is offered, our Lord, at the moment of consecration, by a present individual act of His will, offers Himself in sacrifice to His eternal Father: "voluntate *praesenti*, says Cardinal Franzelin, who also adopts this view, "*in singulis celebrationibus* . . . se ipsum Patri aeterno offert." And, indeed, it scarcely seems any straining of the passage already quoted from the Council of Trent to understand it in the same sense; "idem *nunc offerens*," are the words of the Council,[1] "sacerdotum ministerio, qui se ipsum in cruce obtulit."

11. That the Mass is offered (2) by the Church, as comprising all the faithful in her communion, is to be understood, not, of course, in the sense that the individual members of the Church take part, by any personal act, in the offering of the sacrifice, but that the priest, in offering it, acts not merely as the representative of Christ, but also (n. 7), as the representative of the Universal Church, duly authorised by her to perform this solemn function as her ambassador before the throne of God, accompanying the offering with prayers which she

substantialiter, tamen destruitur *humano modo*, quatenus accipit statum decliviorem, et talem in quo reddatur inutile ad usus humanos corporis humani, et aptum ad alios diversos usus per modum cibi: quare humano modo idem est ac si fieret verus panis . . . quae mutatio sufficiens est ad verum sacrificium; fieri enim comestibile illud quod non erat comestibile, et ita fieri comestibile ut jam non sit utile ad alios usus nisi per modum cibi, major mutatio est quam aliae quae ex communi hominum mente sufficiebant ad verum sacrificium."—De Lugo, *De Eucharistia* Disp. 19, sect. v., nn. 65–67.

[1] Sess. 22, *De Sacr. Missae*, cap. 2.

has herself composed, and which she has enjoined upon him to recite, expressive of her wants.

12. The sense in which, in fine, the Sacrifice is said to be offered (3) by all those who individually take part in its offering, seems to require no special explanation.[1]

13. It may be interesting here to transcribe from the Ordinary and the Canon of the Mass, some few passages in which the offering of the Sacrifice in the second and third senses, explained in the preceding paragraphs, is mentioned. Thus of the offering by the Universal Church we read:—

"Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed *et cunctae familiae tuae,* quaesumus Domine ut placatus accipias," etc.

"Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed *et plebs tua sancta* . . . offerimus," etc.

And of the offering by those who are present at Mass:—

"Orate, fratres, ut meum *ac vestrum* sacrificium acceptabile fiat," etc.

"Et *omnium circumstantium* . . . pro quibus tibi offerimus *vel qui tibi offerunt* hoc sacrificium laudis pro se, suisque omnibus," etc.

§ 3. *Statement of Questions regarding the Efficacy of the Mass.*

14. The questions of most practical interest and importance here discussed by theologians are the following:— Is the Mass of infinite or only of finite efficacy? Is its efficacy, to any extent, infallible? How far is it efficacious

[1] "In hac re considerandum est, hanc denominationem offerentium dupliciter posse fidelibus attribui: uno modo, *generalissima* quadam ratione, solum quia sunt membra Ecclesiae, cujus nomine sacerdos offert; secundo, *speciali* aliqua ratione ac titulo.

"Priori modo . . . talis denominatio . . . non potest sumi ab aliquo concursu actuali interno vel externo . . : potest haec denominatio *habitualis* seu *interpretativa* dici, nam hoc ipso quod aliquis est fidelis, *censetur* consentire omnibus sacrificiis quae in Ecclesia fiunt . . ut suo etiam nomine offerantur. . . .

"Alio modo potest haec denominatio esse magis specialis, et sic requirit aliquem specialem concursum: et haec est magis propria denominatio offerentis. . . . Nam, in moralibus, qui aliquo ex praedictis modis cooperatur actioni potest ab illa denominari; sic etiam dicitur homicida, qui consulit vel comitatur homicidam protegendo illum; sic ergo in praesente dicuntur offerentes, qui aliquo modo cooperantur exterius oblationi."—SUAREZ, *De Eucharistia,* Disp. 77, sect. iii.. n. 3. [Ed. Vives, tom. 21, pp. 697, 8.]

ex opere operato, and how far merely *ex opere operantis?* To whom, and according to what law, are its fruits communicated? And how far can those to whom these fruits may thus in the first instance be communicated, voluntarily deprive themselves of them for the purpose of communicating them to others?

15. The undue length to which this paper should otherwise extend, renders it necessary to reserve the examination of those questions to the next number of the RECORD. When dealing with them, it will be seen to be of the first importance throughout to keep steadily in view the three aspects of the Sacrifice explained in the preceding paragraphs, regarding it as offered (1) by our Lord, (2) by the Church, and (3) by the priest as an individual, and by such of the faithful as by any personal act take part with him in the offering.

16. It will be necessary also to form a clear conception of the precise nature of the efficacy of the Mass as a Sacrifice (*a*) of *impetration*, and (*b*) of *propitiation*. With the exposition of these two points we may bring this paper to a close.

§ 4. *The Efficacy of the Mass as a Sacrifice of Impetration.*

17. The efficacy of the Mass in this respect is well explained by theologians as follows:—*Works or acts*, as distinct from prayers of petition, have not *of themselves* the efficacy of *impetration*. But they may indirectly acquire this efficacy. For, if done in the service of God, they are naturally efficacious to move His bounty in favour of those by whom they are performed. Manifestly, then, if performed in sustainment of a prayer of petition, they thus become *indirectly* efficacious for impetration. And so it is with the Mass. Its efficacy in this respect is thus explained by Dicastillo[1]:—"*Oratio* cum debitis circumstantiis facta . . . habet vim impetrandi, et multo majorem *si illi adjungamus* aliqua *obsequia* Deo accepta; multo ergo magis si *hoc obsequium omnium acceptissimum* adhibeamus . . . per illud mirum in modum commovemus munificentiam Dei ergo nos; decet enim Dei bonitatem ut ipse vicissim sit in servos liberalis, a quibus tantum ei obsequium offertur."

18. This point is dwelt upon with special emphasis by Suarez in more than one passage of his Treatise on the

[1] *De Sacrificio Missae*, Disp. 3, dub. 2, n. 54.

Eucharist. One of these is as follows:[1]—"Impetratio proprie fit per *orationem; per alia* autem *opera* fit *quatenus adjunguntur orationi*, fiuntque in Dei obsequium . . . ut eum inclinemus ad id nobis concedendum quod petimus vel optamus; sed hoc sacrificium est magnum Dei obsequium, et illi valde gratum, et *potest adjungi alicui petitioni* seu desiderio obtinendi a Deo aliquod beneficium. . . . *Nullum opus est impetratorium actualiter*, nisi prout *adjungitur petitioni*."

19. The efficacy of impetration, as thus explained, is manifestly inherent in this sacrifice in each of its three aspects, already distinguished (nn. 6–8).

20. Regarded even, if we may use the expression, in its lowest aspect, that is to say, viewed merely (1) as a good work, performed, with due conditions, by the priest and by those who individually take part with him in the offering, it has not only this efficacy of impetration, but also the full threefold efficacy, so lucidly explained in these pages a few months ago.[2] For, as accompanying and giving strength to *prayers of petition*, it is calculated (*a*) to obtain the benefits for which we pray. It is also (*b*), in the sense there explained, *meritorious* of grace and of glory. And it is, in fine (*c*), a work of *satisfaction*, remitting or contributing to the remission of the debt of temporal punishment due for forgiven sins.

21. As offered (2) by the Universal Church, that is to say, in her name, (or, in other words, by the priest as her representative), the Mass cannot have the efficacy either of *merit* or of *satisfaction;* for these, as theology teaches, belong only to individual, personal, acts. "Ab Ecclesia," says De Lugo,[3] "non accipit valorem ad *merendum* vel *satisfaciendum;* quia Ecclesia nunc non exercet libertatem actualem in actu oblationis, sed solum se habet sicut rex qui misit legatum."

The efficacy, then, of the Mass considered under this aspect, is the efficacy of *impetration*. "Habet," continues De Lugo,[4] "haec oblatio, etiam prout ab Ecclesia, valorem ad *impetrandum;* ad hoc enim non requiritur libertas actualis, sed *manifestare suam voluntatem* illi a quo petit, sive haec manifestare fiat *immediate*, sive *mediate* per internuncium." On this point see also n. 7.

[1] Suarez, *De Eucharistia*, Disp. 79, sect. ii., nn. 5, 7.

[2] See I. E. Record (Third Series) vol. 3, n. 8 (August, 1882), "Leaves from the Note-book of an Old Theologian," pages 453, 454.

[3] *De Eucharistia*, Disp. 19, sec. xii., n. 240. [4] *Ibid.*

22. As offered (3) by our Lord (or by the priest as His minister) the Mass is not, of course, *in itself* efficacious as an act either of *merit* or of *satisfaction.* "De Christo certum est," says De Lugo,[1] "non mereri vel satisfacere nunc actu per oblationem hujus sacrificii; quia nunc non est in statu merendi vel satisfaciendi." The *propitiatory* efficacy of this Sacrifice, then, consists in its efficacy as a means by which the merits and satisfaction of our Lord, consummated by His death on the cross, may be *applied* to the souls of men. As regards its efficacy of *impetration*, the case is different. For, altogether apart from the question how far the offering of prayer is consistent with our Lord's present state of triumphant glory in heaven, it is practically the common opinion of theologians that He constantly intercedes for us with His Father[2] by setting forth our wants, manifesting His earnest desires for our welfare, and pleading on our behalf by presenting before the throne of God His blessed humanity, and more especially those sacred wounds which at once proclaim His title of Redeemer, and testify to the earnestness of His advocacy on our behalf.[3] And that the offering of every Mass is accompanied by such an act of intercession is but a plain inference from the opinion of theologians already set forth (n. 10), that each Mass is offered to God by a distinct, personal, present act of our Lord himself.[4]

23. Even apart from this, the impetratory efficacy of the Sacrifice as offered by our Lord, may be understood at least in this sense, that since the priest in offering the sacrifice, does so, primarily and mainly, as the representative of Christ, the favours, spiritual and temporal, for which he thus offers it are to be regarded as sought for not only by the priest, but also, and much more, by Him whom he represents, in somewhat the sense in which (n. 7), the prayers offered by the priest, as representing the Church, are to be regarded as offered by the Church.

[1] *Ibid*, n. 239.

[2] "Semper vivens ad interpellandum pro nobis." Heb. viii. 25.

[3] "Licet sit ita potens, ita altus, tamen cum hoc est pius, quia interpellat pro nobis. Interpellat pro nobis, primo humanitatem suam, quam pro nobis assumpsit, repraesentando, item sanctissimae animae suae desiderium quod de salute nostra habuit exprimendo, cum quo interpellat pro nobis." S. Thomas. *In Epist. ad Hebraeos*, cap. 7, lect. 4.

"Vulnera suscepta pro nobis coelo inferre maluit, abolere noluit, ut Deo Patri pretia nostrae libertatis ostenderet." S. Ambrosius. *In Luc.* Lib. 10, n. 170.

[4] On this point see, for instance, Suarez, *De Eucharistia*, Disp. 77, sect. 1, n. 6.

There is, however, a difference of no little importance to be noted between the two cases. It will claim attention when we come to consider how far the impetratory efficacy of this Sacrifice may be regarded as *infallible.*

§ 5. *The Efficacy of the Mass as a Sacrifice of Propitiation.*

24. The efficacy of the Mass in this respect is twofold: (*a*) for the remission of the *guilt* of sin, as an offence against God (reatus *culpae*), whether mortal or venial; and (*b*) for the remission of the *temporal punishment* (reatus *poenae*) due for sin forgiven. These two points are to be separately considered.

25. How then does the Mass operate for the remission of the *guilt* of sin? Is it in the same manner as the Sacraments, by the direct infusion of grace into the soul? Plainly not; although indeed this efficacy was assigned to it by some few theologians, in reference especially to venial sins, and by some few in reference even to mortal sins. It may, however, be regarded as the morally unanimous teaching of theologians, that the remission of sin, whether venial or mortal, obtained by virtue of this Sacrifice, is obtained, not immediately and directly, but only *indirectly* and *mediately,* inasmuch as by means of the Sacrifice the assistance of special graces may be obtained from God, inspired and aided by which the sinner may be led to perform those acts of penance without which he cannot obtain the remission of his sins.

26. The opinion of one or two theologians, that the aid thus obtained through the Sacrifice is an *efficacious* grace in the technical sense of the term—"auxilium efficax, illud scilicet cui Deus infinita sua scientia praevidet responsuram voluntatem, libere quidem, sed infallibiliter"—is not only without foundation, but is plainly refuted by the facts of almost everyday experience.[1] This point, however, will claim further attention when we come to examine the various questions regarding the *infallibility* of the efficacy of the Mass.

27. While theologians are practically agreed in thus explaining the efficacy of this Sacrifice for the remission of sin, they are at the same time careful to point

[1] On the various questions summarily referred to in this and the preceding paragraph, see Dicastillo, *De Sacrificio Missae*, Disp. 3, dub. 1, nn. 1–40.

out that its efficacy as a sacrifice of *propitiation* should by no means be regarded as an efficacy of *impetration* only.

28. The difference, however, is variously explained. Some theologians rely exclusively on the *greater certainty* of its operation when thus offered for the graces of repentance and conversion, than when offered in impetration for favours, temporal or spiritual, in any other case.[1]

29. But De Lugo[2] explains the distinction as one not merely of manner or degree, but of a special mode of operation, distinguished by its object from that of mere impetration. In this case, he says, the Mass is not directed merely to the obtaining of graces: if it were, its efficacy would be merely of impetration. Its object as a *propitiatory* Sacrifice is to *appease* God, angered by sin. The withholding of graces is one of the ordinary chastisements by which God punishes the sinner. The Mass, then, as a *propitiatory* sacrifice is offered to appease His anger, and thus to remove an obstacle which should otherwise hinder the operation of the Sacrifice as offered in impetration for the graces leading to the remission of the sin. In sustainment of his view, De Lugo points to the words of the Council of Trent; "hujus quippe oblatione *placatus* Dominus, *gratiam et donum poenitentiae concedens*, peccata etiam ingentia dimittit."

30. Other theologians, in fine, recognise no special efficacy beyond that of impetration, in the Mass as offered for the remission of the *guilt* of sin. They consequently explain its special operation as a *propitiatory* Sacrifice as consisting in its efficacy for the remission of *temporal punishment.*

31. As regards the remission of temporal punishment, theologians are agreed that the efficacy of the Mass is direct and immediate: the debt due being cancelled either wholly or in part, by the application of this sacrifice, in the same way as it is cancelled, wholly or in part, by the gaining of a plenary or of a partial Indulgence.

32. It is also certain that in addition to this primary efficacy for the remission of temporal punishment, "per modum directae *solutionis*," the Mass is efficacious also for the remission of temporal punishment by way of *impetration.*

[1] See Dicastillo, *De Sacrificio Missae*, Disp. 3, dub. 1, n. 26.
[2] *De Eucharistia*, Disp. 19, sect. ix., nn. 140, etc.

33. It is necessary, however, here to distinguish between two ways that may be conceived of *praying* for the remission of temporal punishment. We speak, it is to be remembered, exclusively of prayer, *as prayer*. All works performed in a state of grace, and from grace, are works of *satisfaction*. But while prayer, like other good works, may thus have its expiatory effect, it has also its effect *as prayer*, its *impetratory* effect.[1] It is of this *impetratory* effect alone that I now speak. Now, as Suarez and, after him, theologians generally, observe, there are two ways in which we may pray for the remission of temporal punishment: (1) as an object to be granted as the *immediate and direct result of the prayer*, "nullo actu hominis mediante," as Suarez puts it; or (2) as an object to be attained *through the intervention of works of satisfaction*, the direct effect of the prayer being (*a*) the granting of graces that may lead to the performance of those works, or (*b*) an act of the Divine mercy exercised in the acceptance of works of satisfaction done by others, and in the application of them to the remission of the temporal punishment due by the person for whose benefit the prayer is offered.[2] The question, then, is, whether the Mass is efficacious by way of *impetration* for the remission of temporal punishment in *either* or *both* of these two ways.

34. As regards the *latter* of the two, the question plainly is to be answered in the affirmative. There can be no doubt that it is within the arrangements of God's Providence (*a*) to grant such graces, and also (*b*) to accept and to apply for the remission of temporal punishment works of satisfaction thus performed. Here, then, as elsewhere, we are to be guided by the principle laid down by Suarez,[3] "*quidquid* per orationem *impetrabile* est, potest per hoc sacrificium impetrari; semper enim offerri potest, *ut quaelibet justa oratio exaudiatur*, dabitque illi efficaciam atque impetrandi virtutem." See n. 17.

35. And as regards the *former*, it is evident from the principle just now laid down, that, as De Lugo observes, this question is in no way special to the Sacrifice of the Mass, but applies equally to every prayer of impetration, and to every such prayer, whether offered by *viatores* on earth, by the blessed in Heaven, or by the suffering holy souls in purgatory. The only doubt, in fact, that can arise in reference to it is, whether the manner of remission thus con-

[1] See I. E. Record (Third Series) vol. 3, n. 3 (August 1882), p. 455.
[2] See Suarez, *De Eucharistia*, Disp. 79, sect. vi., n. 4. [3] *Ibid.* n. 5.

templated is within the arrangements of God's Providence. Suarez, while affirming that it is a pious and probable opinion that the remission of temporal punishment may thus be obtained as the direct and immediate result of prayer, hesitates about admitting its truth. On the other hand, De Lugo, and, as it would seem, the majority of theologians, adopt the opinion as their own. The question, however, as I have observed, belongs exclusively to another section of theology. As regards the special question of the efficacy, in this respect, of the Sacrifice of the Mass, it is to be solved by the application of the principle quoted in the preceding paragraph: "*quidquid per orationem impetrabile est*, potest per hoc sacrificium impetrari."

36. In the next number of the RECORD we shall examine the various questions specified in an earlier portion (n. 14) of this paper.

WILLIAM J. WALSH.

CLONMACNOISE, OR THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

"Majorum gloria, posterum lumen est."

I STATED in my last essay that St. Ciaran and King Diarmid providentially met at Clonmacnoise in 448, and there laid, in the manner already described, the foundation of the "Eglais Beg," or Little Church. Now, as the account of what occurred on that distant but still fruitful occasion seems fanciful, I think it advisable to put forth at once the proofs of its veracity.

I will advance only two, as I consider them quite sufficient.

The first is to be found in a Tract on the foundation of Clonmacnoise in the Leabhar Buidhe Lecain. This manuscript may be seen in Trinity College, Dublin, and is classed H. 2, 16. It treats not only of the foundation of Clonmacnoise, but also of the succession of Diarmid, the son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, in the sixth century, in whose reign Tara was deserted and ceased to be occupied by the Monarchs of Erinn.

The second proof I advance is to be found on the face of that magnificent stone cross still standing within the precincts of this venerable Abbey. On this beautiful work of

art, and one admittedly equal to the highest efforts of genius and skill in this department, are sculptured many subjects of deep interest. Amongst them are to be found two figures representing two men holding an erect pole between them. Now, whatever date may be assigned to the erection of this noble cross (and I admit it to be a controverted point amongst the learned), there is no doubt that the figures referred to were intended to commemorate the manner of the foundation of the "Eglais Beg," the history of which then at least was implicitly believed.

I will now leave this splendid work of art, with the intention of returning to its figures and history before I have finished my last paper, and go back to St. Ciaran.

We left him with the Monarch Diarmid, holding his hand above the King's hand, in planting the first pole of the little church. Thus was commenced and raised by these two great men the first church of that group which afterwards became so celebrated.

It is also stated in ancient records that the King not only aided the Saint with his own hands in the erection of the sacred edifice, but also in the construction of the humble cell adjoining in which Ciaran lived and died.

The King was to the Saint, in a temporal sense, friend, brother and father. To Ciaran, Diarmid was a beloved name, "Carum et venerabile nomen." For there was another Diarmid, and he was his spiritual teacher, friend, and father. St. Diarmid, of the Seven Church Island, Lough Ree, in the Shannon, was he. He was not only Ciaran's spiritual director and teacher for a time, but he also baptized him.

Assuming this statement to be an historical fact (and it is supported by respectable authorities), it would favour the opinion asserting Mag Ai, County Roscommon, to be the birth-place of Ciaran. For St. Diarmid lived and died in Inis-clothran, or Inchclerdun, now commonly known as Seven Church, or Quaker's Island. The latter name it got, because a Quaker took up his residence on it some years ago. Bathed by the spreading and majestic waters of the Shannon in Lough Ree, this island adjoins Roscommon, and would be within easy distance of Mag Ai, for the baptismal regeneration of Ciaran.

I cannot leave this truly romantic and charming spot, and St. Diarmid, without recording what Mr. O'Donovan tells us he heard on the occasion of his visit to these parts when engaged on the Ordnance Survey. He states that

the boatmen (three in number) who rowed him to Seven Church Island, declared that they saw, three weeks previously, about noonday, a tall and stately figure walk with measured step along the waves from this island towards Athlone. They asserted they saw (each and all) at the same time the apparition, plainly and distinctly, as far as their vision could reach, in the direction of Hare Island, and that they believed it to be the form of St. Diarmid, or at least one of the saints belonging to the island.

Be that as it may, the inhabitants of the parish of Cashel have a profound veneration for the memory of St. Diarmid. Tradition handed it down to them from sire to son, and to-day his memory is in benediction amongst them almost as freshly as it was ages ago. Under the devoted and enlightened pastorship of the distinguished P.P., the Rev. Michael Gilligan, who now guides the religious destiny of this people, we may truly say the Saint's honour, veneration, and memory are in safe keeping. His feast falls on the 10th January.

Ciaran was the worthy son of such a spiritual father.

And here I will make a little digression.

The Right Rev. Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, tells us with all that grace and accuracy for which his historic pen is so remarkable when writing on Irish Ecclesiastical affairs, that Ciaran and St. Colomba met in the halls of the great schools and were intimate friends. In his life of the future Apostle of Iona, the Bishop incidentally remarks that Colomba, like Ciaran Macantsoir, was placed from his earliest age under the guidance of a pious and holy priest. Whilst under his guardianship, Adamnan informs us, that an angel appeared to Colomba and asked what special virtues he desired most. The saintly youth replied that he desired before all others "virginity and wisdom." Not long after, Colomba being engaged in prayer, three maidens arrayed in heavenly light, appeared before him. But the holy youth heeded them not. They asked, "dost thou not know us?" He was silent. "We are the three sisters *Virginity*, *Wisdom*, and *Prophecy*," and we are sent by God to be your inseparable companions during your earthly pilgrimage."

At another time, while Ciaran and Colomba were engaged in their studies under the same collegiate roof, two brilliant lights were observed in the heavens having their rays concentrated on the monastery. One was

silvery as the moon and the other golden as the sun. The holy Abbot and Bishop Finnian, afterwards stated in his explanation of this vision that Colomba would be as the golden sun, whilst Ciaran Macantsoir would shine as a silvery light on account of his virtues and his deeds. The prophecy was literally verified. These two great and holy men shone in their day, and, I may add, to the present time, the one as the sun and the other as the moon, in our collegiate and monastic horizon.

And now my memory goes off to the Angelical Doctor and the vision he had in the church of St. Dominick, at Naples. St. Thomas was in the habit of praying in the church before the hour for matins, and the friars were aware, but more especially Father Reginald, that the angelical received extraordinary favours from our Lord on such occasions. Fra Dominico being anxious to witness St. Thomas in the enjoyment of these spiritual favours, concealed himself one night in the church. Thomas came in when all were at rest and approached the crucifix of our Lord, in the chapel of St. Nicholas, and remained there a considerable time. He was afterwards lifted two cubits in the air in an ecstacy and so remained for a long time. Whilst the saint was entranced, Fra Dominico heard Christ's voice distinctly saying from the image :—

"Thoma, bene scripsisti de me; quam recipies a me pro tuo labore mercedem?" "Domine non nisi te," was the answer. I know there are some who read visions with sceptical and unbelieving eyes. I know they would as soon give credence to the dream of Socrates and the coming of the young swan from the groves of Academus and nestling in his bosom, and then soaring aloft, "how she sang sweetly over him." As well might it be expected that the un-Catholic mind would believe in the tale of the bees, said to have poured honey into the mouths of infants fast asleep in the bowers of myrtles on Mount Hymettus.

Such persons, however, do not know anything of God's ways and relations to his saints. They rejoice in their hard heads, and we do not envy their joy.

I have observed already that Diarmid of Church Island in Lough Ree was the spiritual father, friend, and teacher of Ciaran's early life; whilst Diarmid the monarch was his temporal friend and supporter. I will now add that another Diarmid was privileged to attend St. Colomba in his last moments in Iona, and to speak to him the last

words before the altar in the chapel at Iona on that memorable Sunday morning, the 9th June, 597, when Colomba's virginal soul went back to his Creator.

Another reference during their earthly life to Ciaran and Colomba, and I have finished.

One day in the course of conversation between these young Saints, the new church which the holy Abbot Mobhi had just erected, turned up.

Ciaran said he wished "it were full of holy men who, by night and day, would sing the praises of God." St. Colomba said "he would wish it were filled with silver and gold to afford relief to Christ's poor, and build churches and monasteries."

The venerable Abbot heard of what they said, and prophesied that those holy youths would receive favours from heaven in accordance with their pious wishes. The prophecy was literally fulfilled in Ciaran's case, not during his earthly life, it is true, but not long after his life in heaven, began. Young and old, peasant and prince, the votary of learning and the aspirant to evangelical perfection—noble and king—crowded to Clonmacnoise in search of peace, wisdom, and virginity.

A celebrated pagan poet represents the human race in anxious pursuit of a place called Olympus, where, in rich poetic fancy, he dreamed there was an ever tranquil abode of the gods, never shaken by winds, nor wet by showers, nor covered by snow, where the hardened frost does not annoy, and the sky is ever pure and cloudless, and a bright glory overspreads.

> Apparet divum numen, sedesque quietae
> Quas neque concutiunt venter, nec nubila nimbeis
> Aspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
> Cana cadens violat; semper sine nubibus aether
> Integer et large diffuso lumine ridet.

Tennyson, in his King Arthur, translates it briefly and beautifully:—

> "Where falls not hail or rain or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly."

Such places the pagans, of course, never found, except in poetic dreams; but St. Ciaran and men like him did establish at Clonmacnoise and elsewhere not such an elysium as refined Grecian and cultured Roman sighed for in vain, but an abode of sanctity and peace, prayer and

labour, study and learning, sacrifice and song, in honour of the one true God and the ever Adorable Trinity, and for man's real happiness. In this old monastery of Clonmacnoise and elsewhere were fully realized in the spiritual and mystic sense what Virgil wrote :—

> "Conspicit ecce alios dextrâ laevâque per herbam,
> Vescentes, laetumque choro paeana, canentes,
> Inter adoratum lauri nemus ; unde superne
> Plurimus Eridani per sylvam volvitur amnis.
> Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
> Quique sacerdotes casti, dum, vita manebat,
> Quique pii vates, et Phoebo digna locuti."
>
> AEN. VI., 656.

But let me return from this digression to the Saint and the King. Soon after they had erected the little church and cell, Ciaran was called to the reward of his labours.

In the year immediately following the laying of the foundation, a terrible pestilence swept over the land, carrying with it many a young, as well as middle-aged, useful and vigorous life.

To this terrible plague Ciaran fell a victim. In the 33rd year of his age (a remarkable year), quievit in Domino, A.D. 449, and it is added in the Annals of Clonmacnoise that his body was buried in the "Little Church" at Clonmacnoise: "Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur." His feast is celebrated on the 9th of September, each recurring year and during the Octave, in this Diocese of Clonmacnoise, where it is a double of the first class. The venerated Bishop, Dr. Woodlock, who now rules Clonmacnoise so gently and wisely, has through his great zeal and devotion for the Saint's honour and veneration, composed and written with his own hand, Lessons proper to St. Ciaran's Feast, and has obtained the approbation of the Holy See for them.

"Sancte Kierane, ora pro nobis."

JOHN CANON MONAHAN, D.D.

HERETICS AND THE LAWS OF THE CHURCH.

NEVER was the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation more clearly expressed than in Luther's daring counsel—"Let us beware of sin, but much more of *laws* and *good works*, and let us attend only to the promise of God and to faith." It had been the fashion in old-world times to speak of man as having the law of nature written on his heart in characters which, no matter how illiterate, he could readily decipher; while, if a Christian, he was over and above supposed to become through baptism a debtor to the whole law of Christ and of his Church. But as in dress, so likewise in doctrine, fashions change for those who admit them, and all at once in the returning light of the sixteenth century, instead of adding to the natural obligations, baptism was held to free the Christian from every law human and divine with the single exception of the one all-necessary and all-sufficient law of *faith*.

This was novelty with a vengeance. But novelty was not the only, not even the principal charm of the doctrine of justification by faith alone. The unbridled licence to act against law which it sanctioned and which was formally proclaimed in the maxim, "Pecca fortiter, crede fortius," proved unfortunately a powerful attraction in the camp of the Reformers. Accordingly many joined the broad way, deceiving themselves and deceived by others. Soon, however, the lamentable effects of such teaching were painfully apparent, and a reaction set in. The doctrine of Luther did not afford a good guarantee for social order, and curiously enough, after a few years, no greater enemies of its practical application were to be found than the governing bodies in those Protestant communities which had been called into existence on the basis of its advocacy. Still it remained for that Church whose doctrine was in the sixteenth century what it had been in the first to deal a death-thrust to this irrational system by proclaiming the additional obligations which baptism imposes on the recipient thereof. Accordingly, the Council of Trent defined that baptized persons are debtors to the whole law of Christ, and not merely to faith. In other words, they are by baptism under special obligations to which the unbaptized need not attend. We now proceed to examine the reasons for this teaching, with the view of finding whether or not the law of the Roman Catholic Church is binding on heretics.

Baptism is with reason called the door of the Church. It is, indeed, the only entrance into the Mystic Body of Christ. No one who fails to knock thereat can obtain admittance, and everyone who passes therethrough, no matter by whom admitted, at once and of necessity receives the full rights of membership. The unbaptized are "foris" in the language of St. Paul,[1] but for the baptized there is no exception or restriction. Be the minister of the sacrament an Indian Brahmin or a Scotch Covenanter, be the parents as far removed from Catholic unity as the limits of perversion will allow, no sooner is the sacred ceremony performed than the bars are undone, and the gates of the heavenly city thrown open to the happy neophyte. It is by baptism that the children of the Church are begotten, her members co-opted, her subjects enrolled. The effect of the saving waters is the same for the offspring of Catholic and of Protestant. All alike are made friends of God, children of the Church, and heirs of heaven.

But soon the parity ceases, if not altogether, at least in great measure. As a rule, the misfortune of being born of non-Catholic parents ere long manifests itself in steadfast adhesion to their errors, and thus many of those who by baptism were incorporated in the Church, by degrees fall away from her "body" and from her "soul," and cease to be her members.

But, though public heretics cannot be considered members of the Church, it by no means follows that the membership received in baptism does not bind them permanently to her jurisdiction. On the contrary, though the birth-right be sacrificed and the privileges accruing from baptism destroyed, there still remains intact that duty of allegiance to which they irrevocably bound themselves the day they became Christians. Heretics are, to be sure, at war with the Church's authority, and cut off as refractory members from her communion, but neither rebellion on the one hand nor repudiation on the other avails to erase the seal impressed by baptism. It is indelible besides being spiritual, and as well might one dream of removing it by cauterizing the incorporeal substance of his soul as imagine that he can, by defying Church authority, free himself from the allegiance of which it is the everlasting token. Both, by Divine institution, go hand in hand. As the circumcised of old were debtors to the whole law of the Synagogue, so in

[1] I Corinth. v. 12.

Christian times are baptized persons to the whole law of the Church. He who hears not her voice breaks the command of Christ, whose injunction to baptize and teach imposes a correlative obligation to receive baptism and to listen to instruction. Nor does the violation of this command exempt from its further observance. As a pledge is not got rid of by breaking it; as a sheep which strays from the fold but retains the shepherd's mark does not cease to belong to him; as a soldier who deserts to the enemy remains a subject of the king to whom he swore fidelity;[1] so by Christ's ordaining, no amount of rebellion will exempt a Christian from obedience to the authority to which he was once and for ever surrendered in baptism. In this particular matter as well might the subject attempt to disown allegiance as the ruler to renounce jurisdiction.

"Dices: ergo neque haeretici obligantur his legibus, quia illi etiam non sunt membra Ecclesiae, neque habent fundamentum fidei, sine pro praecepta Ecclesiastica, quae ad salutem animae et cultum Divinum ordinantur, nec functuose nec vere observare possunt. Resp. nego consequentiam. Supponimus enim quaestionem esse de haereticis baptizatis, qui generalius apostatae dici possunt: sive ad judaismum sine ad paganismum, sine ad propriam haeresim translati sint. De his ergo omnibus negatur consequentia quia sunt vere subjecti ecclesiasticae jurisdictioni: nam retinent characterem baptismalem, quod est fundamentum hujus subjectionis. Et licet secundum praesentem statum non sint absolute membra, tamen aliquando fuerunt membra, et contra jus Ecclesiae acquisitum deliquerunt, se ab illa separando, semperque ad illam redire cogi possunt, quia signum ecclesiasticae jurisdictionis semper in se retinent, et ratione illius veluti incohationem quandam habent membrorum Ecclesiae. Unde fit ut ejus praeceptis obligentur et contra illa peccent ea non servando. Neque refert quod non habeant fidem sine qua illa praecepta observari non possunt, quia fidem habere possunt et per illos stat quominus non habeant, et ideo ex eo capite non excusantur. Sicut peccator carens gratia non excusatur ab obligatione praecepti communicandi, quia potest se ad gratiam praeparare. Praeterquam quod multa praecepta ecclesiastica possunt quod substantiam servari ab haeretico in eo statu permanenti; potest enim jejunare solvere decimas," &c.[2]

This is the unanimous opinion of theologians. With the exception of Tabaraud, no one questions the power of the Church to make laws binding on the conscience of every man whose soul has the *character* of baptism

[1] Cf. Perrone. De Matrim. Christian. Lib. ii., sec. 1, p. 188.
[2] Suarez. De Legibus. Lil. iv., c. 19, n. 2.

impressed upon it. The controversy does not regard the *right* of the Church, which is undisputed among Catholics, but the *intention*, the *wish*, to use her high prerogative of binding persons outside the Catholic communion. On the one hand it should appear strange if the Church exempted heretics, thereby conferring on them privileges never accorded to her own faithful children; on the other, little apparently is gained to religion by pressing the observance of laws on those who are sure to disregard them, particularly as the mischief resulting among heretics from being bound and not fulfilling would be deplorable in the extreme. The law which establishes one of the diriment impediments of matrimony is a case in point. For, how many marriages are void amongst Protestants if third, second, and even first cousins cannot contract validly? What Suarez holds on the general question is plain enough from the above quotation; and subsequent writers have only reiterated his statement. Schmalzgrueber, however, and some others make exceptions of the *impediments*, and consequently hold that marriages contracted by Protestants within the forbidden degrees are valid on the score of ecclesiastical law. This brings us to a closer investigation of the arguments on both sides.

First of all, it seems pretty clear that whether heretics are bound by the laws of the Church or not, they do not as a general rule commit formal sin by failing to observe them. Many Protestants are *bona fide*, and therefore ignorant of any obligation to enter the Catholic Church; while of the others who are *mala fide*, very few so much as dream of an obligation of observing the laws of the Church prior to joining her communion. So much for formal sin. The question of material offence is not so easily settled. A distinction is generally drawn between heretics who form a separate religious community and those who are not numerous enough in a district for that purpose; also between laws with binding force before the formation of a particular sect and those subsequently enacted. Manifestly, if it can be shown that heretics who form distinct religious bodies are bound by the laws of the Catholic Church, it follows at once *a fortiori* that dispersed individuals are not free from them. We for the present deal with communities and in connection with laws which were in force before their formation. Here, then, is the difficulty: those who founded the various Protestant sects in the sixteenth cen-

tury had been subject to the Catholic Church previous to rebelling against her authority; since then they have contemned her jurisdiction and defied her laws; has the result been freedom for them from the binding effect of her disciplinary decrees? Without the Church's consent no such result could be obtained. Has that consent been given expressly or otherwise? Thus we come to the question of custom, and, as it is not contended that those who apostatised in the first instance were rewarded for defection by immunity from the laws against which they rebelled, on the customs prevalent among Protestants is founded the main argument in favour of their exemption. What, then, is the value of heretical customs?

For custom against a law to have the effect of setting aside the obligation of that law, the legislator's consent in favour of the custom is absolutely necessary. This necessary consent is, however, of two kinds; for it may be either *personal* or *legal*. It is *personal* if the legislator or his successor, aware of the prevailing usage, gives his sanction thereto, if not expressly, at least tacitly by not protesting where he can do so without serious inconvenience. *Legal consent* is that which a superior is held to give by reason of his accepting the legal maxim, that the obligation of a law ceases when the custom against it is *reasonable and duly prescribed*. Provided these qualities are present, the legal consent of the legislator, who is not supposed to be aware of the usage at all, will make the custom legitimate and valid. Consent of either kind, then, suffices, and if Protestant customs count for anything, it is because in one or other form sanction is given to them. Those who maintain the exemption of heretics rely almost exclusively on the *tacit personal* consent which is supposed to be given in case of the impediments on account of the number of marriages which should otherwise be invalid; and though the matter might be cut short by dealing at once with the question of *personal* intention, it seems better to decide, in the first place, whether these customs can be considered *reasonable*, as, if they be proved to be *unreasonable* in Canon Law, there will be less surprise at evidences of the Pope's personal disapproval to be afterwards cited.

About the necessary period for prescription there can be no question here. All will admit that more than a sufficient number of years has elapsed since the Reformation. On the other hand, the second condition for *legal consent* seems to be wanting. For *reasonableness* a custom

must be neither *opposed* to the *Divine law* nor *reprobated* in the *canon law*. Hence customs which are an occasion of formal sin, customs which tend to bring contempt upon the Church, or to destroy ecclesiastical discipline, lack the quality—they are opposed to the law of God. Now, heretical customs seem to belong to this category; in the language of Carrière,[1] a custom cannot be held to be reasonable "which grows out of pertinacious error against Catholic faith, which directly tends to contempt of the true Church by which it is intended to establish Protestant error, through which licence to sin is afforded and the state of the Universal Church deformed." What heresiarchs most desire is to destroy the Church and her laws; the customs which they begin are intended for this purpose, and certainly it passes credulity to suppose that the Church considers reasonable violent blows directed at her authority and existence. Besides, such ill-advised generosity would tend to reward iniquity, breed contempt for Church authority, and encourage heresiarchs in their efforts to extinguish obedience to the Roman Pontiff. We conclude, then, that heretical customs in wholesale disregard of ecclesiastical law, are highly unreasonable, and therefore perfectly useless for the purpose of removing its obligation.

Nor can it be held that the quality of *unreasonableness* disappears with the disappearance of all hope of recalling the sectaries to the Catholic Communion. Even after they settle down permanently in their distinct religious bodies, it is still true to say, that their exemption would be the reward of rebellion in the past and its encouragement in the future. Now, the evil of abetting heresy, even indirectly, means much greater injury to the Christian world than is implied in permitting church law to be violated where the transgressions are only material, or where, if formal, the guilt is entirely traceable to the malice of the heretics themselves. Again, it does not appear that we can except those customs among Protestants, which would be considered *reasonable* if they existed among Catholics, and for the reasons already stated. There might be some ground for making such an exception if the customs in question did not form part of a systematic opposition to Church laws. This seems to be the case where Protestants are the sole inhabitants of a district, and elsewhere there would be the

[1] De Matrim., vol. I., pars. III., n. 609.

additional objection that they cannot count as the "major et *sanior* pars populi." Hence, we conclude, the customs of acting against ecclesiastical laws prevalent among Protestants, are *unreasonable* in Canon Law, devoid of *legal* consent from the Church, and therefore utterly worthless unless fortified with some other sort of sanction. This leads to the most important portion of our inquiry, the question of *personal consent*, better called perhaps in this instance *personal dissent.*

Hitherto we have kept the impediments apart as far as possible from the general question, but as they are specially excepted by some theologians, and as the evidences which we are going to produce of the Pontiff's mind on this subject came forth mainly in connection with them, the laws by which they are established must henceforth receive special attention. Indeed, the argument is an *a fortiori* one, for the theologians who hold heretics exempt from the impediments, do so by way of exception to the general principle which they freely admit—that all, even heretics, are bound by the laws of the Church. To prove the exception several arguments are used to show the existence of the legislator's *personal* consent in its favour. We give the principal of them.

First, without any corresponding advantage, the Church provokes the aversion and hostility of non-Catholics, by branding their wives and children with notes of infamy, if she presses upon them the observance of these impediments in circumstances in which she well knows they are to be totally disregarded. On this argument Schmalzgrueber relies for showing that heretical customs may be *reasonable*, if not in themselves, at least from considerations of public peace and conciliation, to the extent of enabling the Church to give *personal tacit* consent.

Secondly, if the obligation be pressed, then is the Church the cause of the invalidity of innumerable marriages among not merely *mala fide* heretics, but even among those who are *bona fide*, and as a consequence she is chargeable with all the evils that follow to individuals and to society from so many invalid alliances. But assuredly it is to be supposed that rather than incur such responsibility a merciful ruler like the Church sanctions prevalent usage with tacit consent.

Thirdly, the legislator's mind is made abundantly clear from the well-known fact that in several places converts

are never asked about impediments on the occasion of being received into the Church.

These arguments, it will be observed, the last excepted in which a *fact* is alleged, are *a priori*, and go to show what the Church might be expected to do. Her own declarations constitute the best authority we can have, whether in reference to the value of the *presumption* or the nature of the *fact*. We purpose to consider them in the next number of the RECORD.

PATRICK O'DONNELL.

CHARLES O'CONOR OF BELINAGARE.

THE Irish literature of the eighteenth century, at the beginning of which Charles O'Conor was born, and towards the close of which he died, cannot be characterised as remarkable for deep research into the domestic records of our country. True it is, indeed, that Ireland gave to this century writers whose work and fame shall live while freedom is loved and civilization endures. Jonathan Swift, George Berkeley, Edmund Burke, Oliver Goldsmith, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, are names which pale not beside an equal number of any age or nation. True it is, also, that the galaxy of orators, of which the "ever glorious Grattan," was the "bright, particular star," made, in that age, the "Old House" on College-green, one of the most brilliant schools of eloquence the world has ever seen. But we miss from the literature of this century that profound research into the ancient, original authorities, the manuscript materials of Irish History and Antiquities, which renders the century immediately preceding, one of which we are so justly proud. With the "parting cry" of the "wild geese," the love of the ancient glory of the Gael seemed to have died away for ever from the land. With the exception of him whose name heads this paper, his age can show no writers worthy to be named with Usher, Lynch, Fleming, Colgan, Ward, Stephen White, Wadding, Ware, O'Flaherty, The Four Masters, Keating, and M'Firbis. Much nearer has our own time approached the zeal, learning, and patriotism of those eminent Irishmen who, at home and abroad, have given to Irish History and the Irish race a

"local habitation and a name" in the literature of Europe. O'Donovan, O'Curry and Petrie, Graves, Reeves, Todd, and Matthew Kelly of Maynooth, are much more akin with these distinguished writers in learning, taste and feeling, than Harris, Smith, Leland, Brookes, Curry, or Vallancey. Nor is the reason far to seek. Through all the storm and strife of the seventeenth century there was yet an Irish nation, recognised by friend and foe, battling bravely for its own. With the capitulation of Limerick the struggle ceased. The Celtic race vanished, as it seemed for ever, from the stage of Irish History. The perfidiously violated Treaty left to the Religion of the Irish people no existence before the all-powerful, but never more misnamed, "laws" of the land. The ancient chiefs and nobles, robbed of their estates, were exiles in foreign countries, or ploughing for foreign masters the soil they once had owned: grateful, if even so, they were allowed to live. Deprived of every right of freemen, the iron of slavery piercing their very souls, their only desire seemed to be that the attention of their tyrants might not be drawn upon them, lest they should lose even the poor boon of life in vilest slavery. For them there was no history of the past as there was no hope of the future. When that terrible night of despair drew to an end, and hope pictured to wearied eyes the glimmering dawn brightening into perfect day, the love of the Irish race for the records of their ancient glory, which had seemed dead in the dust, revived and put forth again bud and blossom, flower and fruit.

Charles O'Conor of Belinagare was the most widely known and representative Catholic Irishman of his time. He stood alone amongst his contemporaries in his knowledge of the Irish language and literature. His judgment was deemed decisive on any question connected with Irish History or Antiquities; and the opinion of his own day has been confirmed by men like O'Donovan and O'Curry in ours. Lord Lyttelton, in his Life of Henry II., mentions that he had been supplied with extracts from the ancient annals of Ireland "translated from the original Irish by a gentleman well-skilled in that language, Charles O'Conor, Esq., who with the noble blood which flows in his veins has naturally inherited a passionate love for the honour of his country, and therefore willingly assists in any undertaking that may render the history of it more known and more complete." When, about the year 1755, Brian O'Conor of Kerry was undertaking to write a history of the

principal Milesian families of Ireland, General O'Donnell, then at Eilau, in Germany. promised to subscribe one hundred florins to assist him in the publication, if Mr. O'Conor of Belinagare would certify that he was competent for the task; and we find Brian O'Conor expressing his intention of submitting the whole work to C. O'Conor, before attempting to publish it, thus showing the value set on his judgment at home and abroad. Edmund Burke, writing to General Vallancey, exhorting him to publish a translation of some of the old Irish Annals, says:—"But if any accident should happen to you and to Mr. O'Conor, what security have we that any other like you should start up?"

These two letters from Samuel Johnson show, at the same time, the celebrity of his correspondent and the interest of the great literary Dictator in the history and antiquities of Ireland.

To Charles O'Conor, Esq,

London, *April* 9, 1757.

"Sir,—I have lately, by the favour of Mr. Faulkner, seen your account of Ireland, and cannot forbear to solicit a prosecution of your design. Sir William Temple complains that Ireland is less known than any other country as to its ancient state. The natives have had little leisure and little encouragement for inquiry; and strangers, not knowing the language, have had no ability.

"I have long wished that the Irish literature were cultivated. Ireland is known by tradition to have been once the seat of piety and learning; and surely it would be very acceptable to all those who are curious either in the original of nations, or the affinities of languages, to be further informed of the revolution of a people so ancient, and once so illustrious.

"What relation there is between the Welsh and Irish language, or between the language of Ireland and that of Biscay, deserves inquiry. Of these provincial and unextended tongues, it seldom happens that more than one are understood by any one man; and therefore it seldom happens that a fair comparison can be made. I hope you will continue to cultivate this kind of learning, which has too long lain neglected, and which, if it be suffered to remain in oblivion for another century, may, perhaps, never be retrieved. As I wish well to all useful undertakings, I would not forbear to let you know how much you deserve, in my opinion, from all lovers of study, and how much pleasure your work has given to,

"Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"Sam. Johnson."

The following letter, written twenty years after the above, is alluded to by Mr. O'Conor, in the preface

to the second edition of his "Dissertations on Irish History," p. 3:—

"To Charles O'Conor, Esq.

"*May* 19, 1777.

"Sir,—Having had the pleasure of conversing with Dr. Campbell about your character and your literary undertaking, I am resolved to gratify myself by renewing a correspondence which began and ended a great while ago, and ended, I am afraid, by my fault; a fault which, if you have not forgotten it, you must now forgive.

"If I have ever disappointed you, give me leave to tell you that you have likewise disappointed me. I expected great discoveries in Irish antiquity, and large publications in the Irish language; but the world still remains as it was, doubtful and ignorant. What the Irish language is in itself, and to what languages it has affinity, are very interesting questions, which every man wishes to see resolved that has any philological or historical curiosity. Dr. Leland begins his history too late: the ages which deserve an exact inquiry are those times (for such there were) when Ireland was the school of the west, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature. If you could give a history, though imperfect, of the Irish nation, from its conversion to Christianity to the invasion from England, you would amplify knowledge with new views and new objects. Set about it, therefore, if you can: do what you can easily do without anxious exactness. Lay the foundation, and leave the superstructure to posterity.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"Sam. Johnson."

A well-drawn character of Mr. O'Conor appeared immediately after his death, in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for August, 1791. The chief source, however, from which these notices are drawn is "The Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Charles O'Conor of Belinagare, Esq., M.R.I.A., by his grandson, the Rev. Charles O'Conor, D.D." These Memoirs were never published. The first volume was printed in 1796; the second, though prepared for the press, was never even printed. Of these Memoirs the author of that very able, delightful, and edifying biography "Mary Aikenhead; Her Life, her Work, and her Friends," remarks—"The first volume, printed in 1796, was never published. A few copies were given to friends, and the remainder were destroyed by the author under the apprehension that its publication might injure the family. The second volume which Dr. O'Conor considered far more interesting, was not even printed. The MS. was burned, at his request, by the friend to whose care it had been

entrusted. The surviving volume, full as it is of valuable and interesting matter, is out of the reach of general readers. It is not to be found in every gentleman's library; nor in every public library. The copy in Trinity College, Dublin, cost, we believe, £21; that in the King's Inns' Library was disposed of at the sale of the Duke of Sussex Library in 1844."[1]

We do not believe that fear of injury to the family was the motive which caused the suppression of the Memoirs. We are of opinion that the true reason is to be found in a change in the sentiments and views of the author regarding Irish affairs, to which he had given expression in this work. For the same reason, as it seems to us, having adopted principles totally at variance with his, he sought in subsequent publications to throw discredit on the learning and accuracy of the historical writings of his distinguished grandfather, which he extols in the Memoirs.

In a letter to the historian Plowden, written from Stowe, Bucks, in 1802, we have his own account of the suppression of the work:—"It is true that, some years ago, at a period of extreme political intemperance, and when the minds of all our body were exceedingly agitated, I was induced to compile, with a haste that could only be justified by my good intentions, the *Memoirs* you allude to. They never could be supposed to be a regular, temperate, and studied system of history. They were, in fact, little more than historical anecdotes, rescued from the libels of such writers as Cox and Borlase. They were scarcely printed when they were suppressed; for, though I laboured to pursue the truth, I was soon sorry that any copies had appeared. They were never published, and, with my consent, they never shall. The second part of them I am very glad to have withheld. I some time since gave them, together with the originals, to the Marquis of Buckingham, who is possessed of the greatest part of my grandfather's papers, which consist chiefly of letters relating to the transactions of the Catholic Committee during a period of about fifty years. They are now in his lordship's library." If, therefore, the second volume was burned at his request by the friend to whose care it had been committed, that friend must have been the Marquis of Buckingham.

The Rev. Charles O'Conor, D.D., was the grandson of

[1] P. 33, Note.

the Venerable Charles O'Conor, of Belinagare. He made his ecclesiastical studies for the Diocese of Elphin in the Irish Ludovisian College, Rome, was ordained for his native diocese in the Church of St. John Lateran, and received the degree of D.D. from the Prefect of the Propaganda, and was afterwards parish priest of Castlerea, County Roscommon. He became, about the year 1796, private chaplain to the Marchioness of Buckingham, in Dublin; and it was soon after this appointment that he caused the whole, as he thought, of the impression of the first volume and ten sheets of the second volume of the Memoirs of his grandfather to be cast into a sewer which communicated with the Poddle; they were thus carried into the Liffey, under the old Custom House.[1] He became, in 1799, librarian to his patron, the Marquis of Buckingham, at Stowe. From these palatial quarters he published five letters, or addresses, styled "Columbanus ad Hibernos," containing much high-sounding declamation, some misplaced learning taken from his grandfather's MS., and papers, and much unsound doctrine touching "the Liberties of the Irish Church," "the Jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff," and "Foreign Influence in the Nomination of Bishops to Irish Sees." His aristocratical associations at Stowe wrought a wonderful change in Dr. O'Conor's national sympathies. It is noteworthy, too, that his objections to the method of appointment to Irish Sees were not made public until all hope of the expected succession of the Rev. Charles O'Conor, D.D., to the Most Rev. Dr. French, as Bishop of Elphin, had been lost.

Dr. O'Conor dedicates, by permission, the fifth of his Columbanian Addresses to his noble patron, the Marquis of Buckingham. He there flatteringly, but falsely, says that his "Lordship's name is justly respected by every description of persons in his (Dr. O'Conor's) native country." He elsewhere compares him with "the greatest man his native country ever produced," viz.—the Duke of Ormond.[2] Now, unfortunately, the verdict of history varies very much from this flattery of the Stowe librarian. There never was in Ireland a viceroy so unpopular and detested as the Marquis of Buckingham. During his vice-

[1] Plowden.

[2] Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. 2, p. 263. One of the great historical feats of "Columbanus" was to vindicate the fame of "the unkind deserter of loyal men" from the "calumnies" of French, Plowden, and others.

royalty, as before and after it, the Irish Government was carried on by a system of notorious and shameless corruption. One of the most scandalous arts practised to maintain ministerial majorities was the payment of large bribes to Members of Parliament in the shape of salaries, places, and pensions. Not even the scathing denunciations of Grattan, sustained as he was by some of the most eloquent men of the time, could purify from its own corruption the Parliament whose external independence he had so gloriously won. But the incomparable orator has left on the page of history this inimitable picture of Dr. O'Conor's great benefactor of his native country, drawn while Lord Buckingham still ruled in Dublin Castle.

"Such has been the conduct of your Reformer. This was the man; you remember his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearse of the Duke of Rutland, and seated in a triumphal car drawn by public credulity; on one side fallacious hope, and on the other many-mouthed professions; a figure with two faces—one turned to the treasury and the other presented to the people, and with a doubtful tongue speaking contradictory languages.

This minister alights; justice looks up to him with empty hopes, and peculation faints with idle alarms. He finds the city a prey to an unconstitutional police—he continues it. He finds the country overburthened with a shameful pension list—he increases it. He finds the House of Commons swarming with placemen—he multiplies them. He finds the salary of the Secretary increased to prevent a pension—he grants a pension. He finds the kingdom drained by absentee employment, and by compensations to buy them home—he gives the best reversion in the country to an absentee, his brother. He finds the Government at different times had disgraced itself by creating sinecures to gratify corrupt affection—he makes two Commissioners of the Rolls, and gives one of them to another brother. He finds the second council to the commissioners put down because useless—he revives it. He finds the boards of accounts and stamps annexed by public compact—he divides them. He finds three resolutions declaring that seven commissioners are sufficient—he makes nine. He finds the country has suffered by som peculations in the ordnance—he increases the salaries of officers, and gives the places to members of Parliament."[1]

[1] Speech of Grattan in Par. Deb. 15.

At the end he was forced to resign the Government, and to steal away from Dublin like an absconding debtor.

It was under such patronage that Doctor O'Conor learned to discredit the acquirements and judgment of his famous grandfather; to league himself with his "learned friend, Mr. Charles Butler, of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields," and Berrington and Wilkes, and "the Board of British Catholics," in supporting the veto, attacking Dr. Milner, and denouncing the "ultramontanism" of the Irish Bishops. In such influences, too, will be found, we think, the true cause of the suppression and destruction of the Memoirs of his grandfather.

We intend in a future number to give some curious examples of the Rev. Dr. O'Conor's estimation of the historical ability and credit of Charles O'Conor, before and after the Rev. Doctor had become the protégé of the Most Noble the Marquis of Buckingham, with a few strange views of Catholic doctrine and discipline shown to the people of Ireland by the same learned librarian from his retreat at Stowe.

J. J. Kelly.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

On the Telephone in relation to the Sacrament of Penance.

Dear Sir,—In the last issue of the Record, an inquiry of a most interesting character, regarding the validity of sacramental absolution through the Telephone as a medium, was instituted by one of your correspondents. The question is for the moment a purely speculative one; but, as it may some day or other become very practical, it is as well that it should be fully investigated in the pages of the Record. The writer divided the inquiry into three parts. In the first of these he solved the somewhat similar question regarding the validity of sacramental absolution "inter absentes," in the negative; adducing in support of this view the condemnation of the affirmative opinion by Pope Clement VIII., A.D. 1602, and the other arguments usually put forward by moral theologians. In the second, he laid down the usual principles of theology concerning the necessity of at least a moral presence on the part of the penitent. Since the words of absolution must be

pronounced under such circumstances that, according to the prudent judgment of men, they would be considered addressed to the penitent, who is there and then morally present. In the third part, he applied those principles to the case of the telephone (dealing principally with the questions of the *materia proxima* and the *forma sacramenti*), and maintained that by its means the moral presence requisite for the validity of the Sacrament of Penance was communicated.

It is, indeed, quite in accordance with the teaching of theology that the presence necessary and sufficient for the validity of sacramental absolution is not a physical but a moral presence; and the nature and extent of this moral presence must be determined by the meaning and signification of the words of the form as interpreted by those who are most capable of forming a correct judgment on such matters.

Now, when theologians expound the nature and limits of a moral presence relative to the subject under consideration, they, of course, shed no direct light on the question of the telephone, nor furnish any direct clue to its solution; but, then, they seem to demand certain conditions which are wholly incompatible with the use of the telephone. According to them, two important items form component parts of a moral presence, viz., distance or proximity of place, and intercourse through the organs of sense. I do not contend that they require nothing more; nor that they require those to the same extent; nor that the same kind and extent of moral presence is requisite for different human or even sacramental acts: by no means (in fact, I know the contrary to be the case); but I think it will appear from the authorities I shall quote, that mere communication through one or more of the senses is not sufficient to constitute the required moral presence, irrespective of distance, and this is all that can be obtained by means of the telephone.

The first author from whose works I shall quote is the great liberal probabilist Lacroix. In his Lib. vi., Pars II., De Sacr. Poen. Art. III., Num. 1201, he says:—"Ad absolutionem dandam sufficit, Confessarium esse moraliter praesentem poenitenti, tum autem est moralis praesentia, si sacerdos et poenitens non longius distent quam ut adhuc possint, per se loquendo, se mutuo audire, utentes ea voce qua homines in communi colloquio ordinarie uti solent. . . Addunt aliqui sufficere si non sit major distantia quam ut se audire possint, utentes voce communi colloquentium etiam aliquanto altiore, unde quamvis poenitens jam e Confessionali abeat, et aliis vicinis immixtus, non amplius videatur, putant Bon. Lugo, Tamb., Gob. adhuc absolvi posse, eo quod retineat voluntatem habendi absolutionem si forte non habeat, et maneat moraliter praesens. . . .

"Addunt aliqui sufficere si Confessarius adhuc videat poenitentem, quamvis aliquousque absit, quamdiu enim possunt se aliquo

sensu percipere, non videntur simpliciter abesse moraliter ab invicem: hoc tamen videtur nimis extensum; nam certum est me posse videre simpliciter absentem, neque tamen possum simpliciter absentem absolvere, ideoque Tamb. merito dubitat an censeatur moraliter praesens, si ad viginti passus distet. Itaque videtur requiri ut possint, prout ordinarie fit, mutuum inter se sermonem communicare."

Nothing could be clearer than this testimony; he again and again appeals to distance as a test of moral presence, and though there can be no reasonable doubt that he is speaking of the unaided natural powers of the senses, still he casts his lot with the other great theologians, and rejects the principle that a priest ought to absolve a penitent who is perceptible by any one of the senses, since he says:—"Certum est me posse videre simpliciter absentem, neque tamen possum simpliciter absentem absolvere."

Not less clear and explicit is the teaching of St. Alphonsus himself, whose opinions, approved of by the Church, have greater weight than those of any other moral theologian whose authority might be quoted. In his Lib. vi., Tract. iv., Num. 429, De Poen., S. Alph. says:—"Requiritur igitur ut forma a Confessario voce proferatur, et ut poenitens ibi tunc moraliter sit praesens. Haec autem moralis praesentia reputatur illa, intra quam homines communi voce, quamvis altiori, loqui possunt et solent, ut dicunt Spor. Tamb. Holz. Elbel qui cum Spor. et aliis, addit talem praesentiam *posse extendi* ad 20 circiter passus, praesertim ubi poenitens nondum est egressus ab aspectu Confessarii. . . . Merito autem Tamb. non approbat Leandrum, qui dicit satis esse ad praesentiam moralem, si *sacerdos videat poenitentem, aut alio sensu percipiat:* praesentia enim pro absolutione majorem propinquitatem requirit, quam pro audienda concione vel missa."

Here the holy and eminent Doctor lays down the rule of the moral presence; he says, it is that within which men can and are wont to speak in ordinary conversation, though in a somewhat louder tone of voice: and he adds, some extend it to as many as 20 paces, especially in the case when the penitent is still under the eyes of the confessor. He next disproves the opinion of Leander, who says it is sufficient for this moral presence if the priest can see the penitent, or perceive him by some other sense; for, adds St Alphonsus, the presence for absolution demands greater or closer proximity than is requisite for hearing Mass or a sermon. Elsewhere he rejects the opinion of Lugo and Escobar, who maintain that a distance of 30 paces from the multitude of those who are actually assisting at Mass would not prevent a person from being morally present with them, and thereby validly assisting at the Holy Sacrifice. We know, therefore, how narrow are the limits of the moral presence which St. Alphonsus deems necessary for the validity of the sacramental absolution.

A difficulty would seem to arise from the words which imme-

diately follow those already quoted; but it is merely apparent. . . "Unde censet Tamb. quod si quis aliquando non possit nisi a longe absolvi, puta si rueret e tecto, tunc absolutio sub conditione danda esset." The phrase "a longe" would seem to be applicable to a much greater distance, in which case the absolution should be given *sub conditione*. However, it is manifest that the phrase must be taken in connection with the entire context, and then its meaning becomes clear.

Moreover, St. Alphonsus is only giving the opinion of Tamb.; and it may be as well to see what this great theologian has to say on the matter.

In his Lib. v. De Poen. cap. ii., Num. 10, after giving the opinion of Leander, Ochag. Diana, and others of the "Schola benignior," he continues, "Primo displicet mihi, et forte etiam aliis, quod tertio superaddit, satis esse ad praesentiam hanc moralem, si sacerdos videat poenitentem. Hoc valde difficile est. Numquid si meus poenitens post confessa peccata abeat ab extremo magnae cujuspiam Ecclesiae ad aliud extremum, quantum scilicit a meis oculis videri etiam commode posset, valide ego illum absolvam? Erit haec praesentia moralis pro audienda concione, imo etiam pro assistentia missae, quando templum plenum est audientibus, quia omnes faciunt unum populum rite missae assistentem; at *certe* praesentia moralis non erit pro absolutione, quae majorem propinquitatem requirit, nempe illam quae est in judice, non reum quomodocumque, sed ex Clementis VIII., ut diximus, reum praesentem condemnante vel absolvente. Ecquae tandem est haec? Profecto illa qua solent communi voce, etiam aliquanto altiore, homines cum hominibus loqui. Haec enim est praesentia moralis, propria hujus sacramenti instituti per modum judicii humani.

"Secundo, examini, ac sapientum judicio, submitto illud de viginti passibus; si enim distantia ejusmodi judicetur a sapientibus esse apta, ut, modo dicto, homines loquantur, apta judicetur et hic; secus non item. Ex iis quae dicta sunt, potest solvi illa communis quaestio de eo sacerdote, qui lethaliter vulneratum in via vellet absolvere a fenestra ob periculum, ne sine absolutione moriatur vulneratus.

"Dico enim valide et licite posse, si parum fenestra distet, explicando hoc (parum distet) eo modo, quo jamjam dictum est, secus ex se non posse. Dico *ex se*, nam hic et similes casus illud proprium habent, ut si tibi appareat fenestra aliquanto altior, ita ut dubius sis de praesentia debita, tunc quanta potes contentione vocis, moribundum absolvas, sub conditione tamen, ut in similibus dubiis fieri posse diximus."

From this testimony there can be little doubt of the extent and meaning of the "a longe" of St. Alphonsus. It is the "parum distet" of Tamb., at which distance men are wont to speak to one another, not by the aid of trumpet or telephone, but "communi voce, etiam aliquanto altiore." This may not, indeed, be a hard-

and-fast line for all cases, consequently Tamb., leaves the wise to judge whether or not it may be extended to the 20 paces; if they think this distance is such that men are wont to speak at it, "modo dicto" or "communi voce altiore," then let it be set down as sufficient to determine the necessary moral presence, but otherwise not so. It is within those lines that the priest is to absolve the man who is mortally wounded on the wayside; but if he should doubt lest his window was somewhat more than the 20 paces, so that there will be a doubt as to the due presence, let him give the penitent the benefit of the doubt, and absolve him *sub conditione*.

I might still quote other important passages from the works of some of the greatest theologians, as Sporer, Elbel, Holzm, &c., all of whom reject the principle that communication or intercourse through some one sense sufficiently establishes the moral presence between priest and penitent necessary for the valid administration of the Sacrament of Penance.

No doubt, as the writer of the Inquiry states under No. 5, second part, absolution may be given with a single form to a whole multitude of people at one and the same time in a case of necessity—*v.g.*, in a shipwreck, or fire, or to soldiers on the eve of battle, &c.; and no doubt many thus absolved would be a considerable distance from the priest, certainly farther than the 20 paces, and perhaps beyond the reach of hearing and out of sight. But theologians consider this case and say that the grouping together of a multitude in one body constitutes the same moral presence for all. "Quia," says Tamb., "omnes faciunt unum populum."

No doubt, also, the argument taken from the defect of the due *materia proxima* would not hold with regard to the telephone. But I am not so sure that it is very strong as against the validity of absolution at a distance through letter or otherwise; and Suarez, when introducing it, says of it:—"Tertio potest addi *probabiliter* ratio illa, quae desumitur ex parte materiae proximae."

What is said of the form of absolution relative to the telephone is, as is manifest from the preceding remarks, all denied. For valid absolution the priest must pronounce the words of the form orally, and under such circumstances that, according to human estimation, the words are considered to fall upon the penitent who should be morally present to the speaker.

It is denied that, according to human estimation, and especially according to the opinion of theologians and the principles of theology, the telephone communicates or establishes the necessary moral presence; and the contradictory proposition remains to be proved.

A proof is, indeed, given from the case of a superior who should give an order *viva voce* through the telephone to his subject; "the superior's words would certainly be held to fall on the subject, to affect him as individually and directly, and as much to

determine his conduct, as though the order were spoken close at hand." Certainly; and so would the order of a superior delivered by letter; but neither the one nor the other would make the subject morally present. Moreover, as I stated before, the same degree of moral presence is by no means necessary for different acts: should the superior in the preceding case speak to a multitude some thousands of yards from him through a powerful speaking-trumpet, his words would evidently fall upon them and certainly determine their conduct or line of action. Would sacramental absolution given under such circumstances be valid? The answer would be that it is a very doubtful case at most, and if given should be given *sub conditione*. This, of itself, is sufficient to show that there is no parity between the cases, and that an argument cannot be founded thereon.

A second case is given of a deaf priest in one room and the penitent in another adjoining, and if by means of a long speaking-tube the priest hears the penitent's voice no one would doubt that the priest could validly absolve. Certainly not, because they are morally present, and it is only by accident that the priest requires the speaking-tube at all, and as Lugo has it—"Institutio sacramenti non debebat descendere ad casus adeo particulares, et extraordinarias."

This point is further illustrated by an example taken from the sense of sight. "Theologians say that in an urgent necessity absolution may be given at least *sub conditione*, to one who is visible at some considerable distance. Suppose, for instance, a very short-sighted priest is told there is a Catholic man seen off the coast drowning in the sea. The priest cannot see so far off at all with his naked eye, but, putting on his spectacles, he distinctly sees the drowning man and absolves him. In this case if the *materia proxima* be there the absolution would be valid, or probably so, and licitly given too, under the circumstances, and with the use of artificial means." It can scarcely be pretended, I think, that the putting on of his spectacles on the part of the short-sighted priest is the cause of the probable validity of the absolution. Would not the absolution be probably valid in the same case if the priest happened not to have his spectacles about him? I should certainly think so, and attribute the probability of the validity of the absolution rather to the probability of the moral presence existing between them than to the magic effect of putting on the spectacles. In a postscript to this inquiry the writer compares the case of the telegraph with that of the telephone relative to the validity of sacramental absolution. He gives it as his opinion, that should a person wish to extend the speculation on the telephone to the telegraph, such a thesis would not fall under the prohibition and condemnation of Clement VIII., though it would be improbable and utterly untenable according to received principles of theology. Now, I am unable to see how such a thesis

would not fall under the condemnation of the Pontiff. Speaking of the telegraph, the writer says:—"Intercommunication is carried on from a distance, without any moral presence, *inter simpliciter absentes.*" (Do not those words seem admirably suited to the case of the telephone?) In the beginning of the inquiry, after giving the condemnatio S.D.N. Cl. VIII., he says:—"That such absolution, *scil. inter simpliciter absentes*, can never be valid, is clear from the fact of the Pontiff's prohibiting it as unlawful in any case whatever." Therefore, according to the writer, the case of the telegraph comes under the condemnation, since it would be a communication "*inter simpliciter absentes.*" That this is the correct interpretation of the Papal condemnation is clear from the unanimous consent of theologians and from the interpretations given to it by Pope Clement VIII. himself and Pope Paul V., 1605, vid. Lug. et S. Alph.

In my humble opinion the case of the telegraph is, as far as the Sacrament of Penance is concerned, identical with that of the telephone. By means of the new American improvement known as the sounder, a skilful operator standing beside the indicator of the telegraph can, by a series of short and long sounds produced by the armature striking against the electro-magnet of the apparatus, understand what these sounds mean. If the sounds were transmitted to the distant armature by the touch of the penitent, and the priest heard and understood these sounds, would not the case be very like that of the telephone, since it is not essential to the sacrament that the penitent should orally confess his sins, or hear the words of absolution spoken by the confessor. Hoping the insertion of those remarks, which have been made from a desire of seeing more light thrown on so interesting a subject, will not engross too much of your valuable space, I am, dear Mr. Editor,—Yours, &c.,

SAC. DUB.

II.

SPONSALIA.

I have read with much interest the two excellent papers that appeared in the RECORD of last month—one from E.A.S., and the other from yourself—consisting of "Supplementary Notes," as you term them, and both having reference to a number of queries submitted to you by "A Correspondent," on the very important subject of espousals. I think your "Correspondent" has reason to feel more than satisfied for having elicited so large an amount of useful information, and the readers of the RECORD cannot but feel indebted to you and your friend, as I am sure I may call him, for the results you and he have placed before them of your extensive reading and well-matured study on a matter so seriously affecting the practice of the ecclesiastical ministry.

On perusing your "Notes" I was very much struck with the

determine his conduct, as though the order were spoken close at hand." Certainly; and so would the order of a superior delivered by letter; but neither the one nor the other would make the subject morally present. Moreover, as I stated before, the same degree of moral presence is by no means necessary for different acts: should the superior in the preceding case speak to a multitude some thousands of yards from him through a powerful speaking-trumpet, his words would evidently fall upon them and certainly determine their conduct or line of action. Would sacramental absolution given under such circumstances be valid? The answer would be that it is a very doubtful case at most, and if given should be given *sub conditione*. This, of itself, is sufficient to show that there is no parity between the cases, and that an argument cannot be founded thereon.

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This point is further illustrated by an example taken from the sense of sight. "Theologians say that in an urgent necessity absolution may be given at least *sub conditione*, to one who is visible at some considerable distance. Suppose, for instance, a very short-sighted priest is told there is a Catholic man seen off the coast drowning in the sea. The priest cannot see so far off at all with his naked eye, but, putting on his spectacles, he distinctly sees the drowning man and absolves him. In this case if the *materia proxima* be there the absolution would be valid, or probably so, and licitly given too, under the circumstances, and with the use of artificial means." It can scarcely be pretended, I think, that the putting on of his spectacles on the part of the short-sighted priest is the cause of the probable validity of the absolution. Would not the absolution be probably valid in the same case if the priest happened not to have his spectacles about him? I should certainly think so, and attribute the probability of the validity of the absolution rather to the probability of the moral presence existing between them than to the magic effect of putting on the spectacles. In a postscript to this inquiry the writer compares the case of the telegraph with that of the telephone relative to the validity of sacramental absolution. He gives it as his opinion, that should a person wish to extend the speculation on the telephone to the telegraph, such a thesis would not fall under the prohibition and condemnation of Clement VIII., though it would be improbable and utterly untenable according to received principles of theology. Now, I am unable to see how such a thesis

question, had you such an intention? Perhaps what you had in your mind was only a mere purpose, perhaps a pretence, or perhaps you were more serious in case all went well up to the point? Are we not here in a mist, utterly unable to see our way through the clumsy answers we may expect in the generality of cases to be met with in a promiscuous population?

3. And the promise must be mutual. To place this condition clearly before us, it may be well to see it exemplified in some ritual form of espousals. I find the following form in a Diocesan Ritual I have before me. The parties having joined hands in presence of the parish priest, or other priest deputed by him, say, first the male party:—

"*I* (N.) *promise and pledge my faith to marry thee* (N.) *whose hand I hold, and to take thee for my lawful wife, if holy Church, our mother, will it permit.*"

After which the female party, in similar words, repeats:—

"*I* (N.) *promise and pledge my faith to marry thee* (N.) *whose hand I hold, and to take thee for my lawful husband, if holy Church, our mother, will it permit.*"

We see how effectually the condition of mutuality is secured in this form. No precise form of words, as you so properly observe, is required *under pain of nullity*, as may be said also of the marriage itself; and, on this account, a bishop would go beyond his authority who would insist upon a particular form as necessary for the validity of espousals. But it is, nevertheless, essential that the mutual exchange of promises be adequately expressed in the words employed. Now what do we find in the practice of our ministry? Do we find a *substantial* realization of a promise mutually given, as in the above example? The cases, indeed, are very few. The general rule is, the male party promises, and the female accepts, consents, agrees, but that is all.

Let us first take account of these *hugger-mugger*, these *hole-and-corner* courtships among the humbler classes. If a disputed case come before us, we find it easy enough in general to prove a promise on the part of the man; not merely by words, but also by acts, such as giving his hand-and-word, and perhaps he has added an oath. But the female denies having given a promise. She may, indeed, admit that she was disposed to marry him—that therefore she agreed to the promise made by him—she accepted it—she consented to it. But ask, "did you say, 'I promise to marry you,' or did you use any words containing such a promise;" here is the difficulty. She will say no, whilst he will insist she did. Interrogate them separately, you will find their statements utterly contradictory. They have no letters nor witnesses to produce. The result is confusion and uncertainty, and, of course, you must hold there have been no espousals.

Let us go up the scale, and see how it is with the farming class, and we may couple with them the shopkeeping class in towns.

Here the first approaches are *a longe*. The man desirous of marrying a certain female meets the father at fair or market, or gets a friend to meet him, and *break* the matter to him. The overture is well received; but only as an overture. A second advance is made, and the father, having spoken of the matter already to his daughter, is now quite encouraging. The young people may have already known each other, or, if not, the young man is invited to visit for an occasion. The parties are pleased with each other personally; and from this point things become serious. There may be some difficulty and delay about fortune and marriage settlements. All this time what are we to say of the female? In the class of life we are speaking of, she generally leaves herself in the hands of her parents. At length everything is arranged, or seems so, and a day is appointed for the marriage. It may be near, or it may be some weeks off, which is rarely the case. But, whether near or distant, ask the parents about it as an event to come. They will say, "Yes, it is arranged; but so many things turn up in such cases, as we see every day, that you can never be sure of a marriage till you see the ring on." Then, all this time, and up to the last, things have been, and still are, in a contingent state. Will it be said that in such a state of things there have been espousals, so that, even though the marriage did not go on, the parties have contracted the impediment of *publica honestas* in reference to each other's relatives in the first degree? I cannot think so; for even though we bind up the female in the will and intention of the parents, still, they holding themselves up to the last in a state of contingency, the engagement had not the character of certainty requisite for absolute espousals, and for the impediment depending on them.

We may now ascend higher, and see how matters go on in the top stratum of society. Here the issue is slow. After the parties have come to an understanding with each other, the men of the law are set to work. They will require time to put terms and conditions into legal form. Their first drafts may be objected to in several particulars, and corrections are to be made. There is then a delay about fixing a day. The preparations for a *fashionable marriage* cannot be made in a hurry, nor can the bridegroom set himself free all at once for the marriage tour. All this time he is a constant visitor at the home of his bride that is to be, and he and she are held by the public to be engaged to each other. I do think that in such cases, which, indeed, are few and far between here in Ireland, there are espousals resulting from the engagement which is quite mutual; and though there be no religious ceremony, nor formal expression of a mutual promise the impediment of *publica honestas* is nevertheless incurred.

And just here it may be worth noticing, that in the "breach of promise cases" that turn up in our courts of law, we never find in the correspondence produced, or in the evidence of witnesses, a

reciprocation of promise on the part of the female, a circumstance which shows that the other party is satisfied with her assent or consent, and does not press for a promise in return for his promise, or else he treats with her through her parents.

And, with respect to parents or guardians, and their intervention in the marriages of children yet, under their control, who, in technical language, would be called "filii familias" and "filiae familias," it is supposed, as a general rule, that promises of marriage made by them are conditional, awaiting the consent of their parents or guardians. But if we suppose, by way of exception, that they exchanged promises, meaning and intending them to take effect independently of parents or guardians, a serious case would arise. No doubt their marriage would be valid in such a case, no matter how much the parents or guardians dissented or protested, the Council of Trent having so decided in the most distinct and formal manner. But the question of espousals is, nevertheless, disputed by theologians; on which account such espousals are to be held in practice to be invalid, on the principle that the speculative doubt is to be resolved in favour of liberty, as carrying no obligation with it.

With regard to children out of the control of parents and guardians, and in their own hands, they are competent to contract espousals of themselves, observing all the conditions required for their validity.

It is an interesting, and may be a practical question, if *occult* espousals be valid. The question turns on the distinction to be observed between *clandestine*, or *private espousals*, and those that are *occult*, so as to be known only to the parties themselves, or, as it may be, to a few others, through whom there is no likelihood of the matter becoming public.

Before the Council of Trent there were solemn and clandestine or private espousals, as there were solemn, and clandestine or private marriages. The Council annulled such marriages in future, but left the espousals as they were, as to the point of solemnity, or clandestinity, and, therefore, it is properly inferred that, *servatis servandis*, clandestine or private espousals are still valid. But behind them remains the case still of *occult* espousals, in the sense just stated, and it is asked if they be valid also, inasmuch as *occult marriages* were valid before the council.

In the discussion of the question it is observed, that the two things stand entirely on different footings. If the espousals be admitted to be valid, they would carry with them the impediment of *publica honestas*. But it is precisely at this point, the parity gives way, on account of the end and purpose of that impediment, which was to prevent the moral indecency before the public, or the public scandal of a person breaking off from one to whom he was espoused to be her future husband, and marrying a near relative of her's. Now it is argued, there is no room for such an effect, if the espousals be

occult, inasmuch as that which is *occult*, or *an occult cause* cannot produce *a public effect*. Hence the end and purpose of the impediment not existing in the case, the impediment is not incurred, and consequently the espousals are invalid.

The discussion of this matter occurred incidentally, but in nothing the less interesting way, in the deliberations of the S. Congregation, of the Council respecting 'civil marriages,' so lately as 1879.

The Prelate Secretary according to usage had to prepare a disquisition, or as it is called a "discursus" treating of all the points relating to the subject, which it was his duty to distribute amongst their Eminences the Cardinals composing the Congregation, in preparation for their meeting in Council. Amongst the other questions it was asked, if "civil marriages" produced the impediment of "publica honestas" and the consideration of the matter led to the case of *occult* espousals. He quotes various most grave authorities to show that they do not produce the impediment in question, and winds up his pleading by saying: "Ex quibus sufficienter colligitur neque consensum neque dissensum partium simpliciter sumptum in ordine ad futurum matrimonium fuisse causam inducendi hujusmodi impedimentum, sed solum prout habent relationem ad actum externum celebrati contractus publice, vel reciprocae fidei a sponso datae, et e contra, juxta quam publica honestas indecens arbitratur aliquem cum alterius consanguineis copulari, quae qualitas externae apparentiae non potest occultis sponsalibus adaptari."

He urges the matter still farther and states, that in cases referred to the Congregation it decided, that, if on the banns being published, no impediment appeared, the impediment of "publica honestas" did not arise; and he adds the reason, "quia scilicet sponsalia non patefacta tempore denuntiationum censentur occulta;" and he further goes on to quote Pitonius, who states roundly and broadly, "ex quo impedimentum non fuit denuntiatum, jam cessavit illa externa apparentia et publicitas a quibus causatur."

From *occult* espousals he proceeds to the question of *occult* clandestine marriages, as to whether such clandestine marriages, being *occult*, produced the impediment of "publica honestas?" He adduces several authorities against such an effect, ending with Paludanus, who holds that "matrimonium clandestinium non causat publicae honestatis impedimentum, sicut nec sponsalia occulta, quae sunt nulla, utpote revocata; et optima ratione, quia cum matrimonium est clandestinum, vel sponsalia occulta, non est cur ibi consideretur hujusmodi publicae honestatis impedimentum, quod inducitur propter actus externos, et hominum scandalum . . . ac proinde in foro conscientiae non obstat quominus contrahentes nubant propinquis hinc inde desponsatis."

I find also that Mansella treating of "civil marriages" in his recent important work, "De impedimentis matrimonii dirimentibus," takes occasion to speak likewise of *occult* clandestine marriages

(p. 69), and says of them as follows: "Porro, ex matrimonio clandestino *occulto* nequit impedimentum publicae honestatis oriri, quae in *externa* humanae opinionis *decentia* consistit, ut ex decretali Eugenii eruitur, ac docent passim Doctores."

Reverting to *occult* espousals, I own I was puzzled for a moment by your quotation from Benedict XIV., who lays it down, "jure communi remotis arbitris valide contrahuntur." But on reflection I convinced myself that the witnesses he alludes to are *official* witnesses that may be dispensed with in *private* or *clandestine* espousals, and that he does not mean to include *occult* espousals at all.

A word or two only about Civil Marriages. The question of espousals is involved in them also They gave great trouble hitherto to the theologians, some considering they amounted to espousals, whilst others regarded them as clandestine marriages, producing the impediment in the former view of "publica honestas" to the first degree of consanguinity, whilst in the latter the impediment would extend to the fourth degree. But the question has been set at rest by the letter of his present Holiness Pope Leo XIII. to the Archbishops and Bishops of the provinces of Vercelli, Turin, and Genoa, under date 1st June, 1879, and by his decree confirming the decision arrived at by S. Congregation of the Council on the 13th of March, of the same year, in answer to the question: "An actus, qui vulgo audit matrimonium civile pariat impedimentum justitiae publicae honestatis?" The Congregation replied "*Negative*," et consulendum SSmo, ut id declarare et statuere dignetur." Whereupon the Prelate Secretary of the Council waited on His Holiness on the 17th of the same month, who approved of and confirmed the decision of the Most Eminent Fathers, and ordered a Decree to be drawn up to that effect. The Decree was issued in due course, and after reciting certain preliminaries, it declares: "Actum, qui vulgo dicitur matrimonium civile, in locis ubi promulgatum est Decretum Concilii Tridentini, *Sess. xxiv. cap. i., de reform. Matr.* sive fideles actum ipsum explentes intendant, uti par est, (matrimonio ecclesiastico jam rite celebrato, vel cum animo illud quantocius celebrandi) meram ceremoniam civilem peragere, sive intendant sponsalia de futuro inire, sive tandem ex ignorantia, aut inspretum ecclesiasticarum legum intendant matrimonium de praesenti contrahere, impedimentum publicae honestatis non producere." (*Vid. Acta S. Sedis, Vol. xiii, p.* 126).

Are we not to consider the marriage of Catholics by our Marriage Registrars here in Ireland as comprised in this decree? and we are consequently to take no account of them either as marriages or as espousals.

Looking back on all I have written, I would wind up by stating:

1. That espousals having no place in our religious ceremonies, or in our civil institutions, we are to look for them only in the engagements parties themselves enter into who intend marriage.

2. These engagements are generally wanting in the essential conditions required for espousals, or the conditions are so doubtful that they must in practice be treated as invalid.

3. That, nevertheless, exceptional cases may occur in which these engagements are equivalent to espousals, and produce the impediment of "publica honestas."

4. That *clandestine* or *private espousals*, or engagements equivalent to them, are to be considered valid, since the Council of Trent, equally as before it.

5. That *occult* espousals, and *occult* clandestine marriages, do not produce the impediment of "publica honestas."

6. That civil marriages are not to be recognised as marriages in this country between Catholics, nor even as espousals, and consequently do not produce the impediment of "publica honestas."

7. That the conditions required for espousals being so rare in the promises and engagements of parties intending marriage, some Bishops deem it proper in their diocesan statutes, or synodal acts, to lay it down as a general rule for the guidance of their Priests in the ministry, to pay no attention to such promises or engagements, the principle being kept in view, that speculatively *private* or *clandestine* espousals are valid, whenever the requisite conditions are present. In this way the acts of the Bishop, which otherwise would be "ultra vires," may be reconciled with the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of the Council which is careful to uphold the theoretic principle involved, and so we are to account for the words you quote from the "Acta S. Sedis, and to which I have already alluded: "Ex hac causa dignoscitur discrimen, quod non raro intercedit, inter juris theoriam et praxim, aut juris applicationem."

I have the honour to remain, Very Rev. and dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

A Veteran Practitioner.

[We are deeply grateful to our revered Correspondent for the interest he takes in this and other practical questions. We shall have a few remarks to make in a future number on some of the opinions expressed in this paper. In our present number we find it impossible to insert many interesting papers kindly sent to us by correspondents, to whom we wish to offer this explanation for the unavoidable delay in the publication of their valued communications. One of these—a reply to C. J. M.—would have been inserted if its considerable length, coupled with its late arrival, had not rendered its insertion in the present number practically impossible.— Ed. I. E. R.]

LITURGY.

I.

The Form to be used in Blessing Beads.

Dear Rev. Sir,—Under the above title, in Vol. II., page 688, of the Record, you rightly quoted a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, in answer to a correspondent who had asked whether any *special formula* was necessary in blessing and indulgencing beads.

The question addressed to the S. Congregation was as follows:—"Utrum ad Indulgentias applicandas crucibus, rosariis, etc., alius ritus sit necessarius praeterquam signum crucis a sacerdote, qui hanc facultatem accepit, factum?"

S. Cong. Resp.; "Negative." (11 Aprilis, 1840).

In virtue of this authority, one would naturally think that priests need have no scruple in blessing Rosary Beads, by simply making the sign of the cross over them, without reciting any formula of prayer or aspersing them with holy water.

But it so happens that in Ballerini's Edition of Gury (Vol. II., No. 1081, 5°), another and a much later decree rules to the contrary, in the case at least of the Rosary of St. Dominic and that of the Seven Dolours. Now, as we cannot entertain the idea of the Sacred Congregation contradicting itself, which here it appears to do, will you kindly clear up this difficulty for us, and thereby set the matter at rest?

Evidently the question is urgent, practical, and important; and as one involving Indulgences for the faithful, a very serious one too. For the most common Rosary in use is surely that of our Blessed Lady, which, I presume, is otherwise called the Rosary of St. Dominic. E.A.S.

We were asked a very definite question, to which we gave an equally definite answer. The question put by our correspondent was:—Whether a priest who has received power to bless beads, medals, crosses, &c., *vi formulae quae incipit*, "Indulgentiae quas Summus Pontifex vel ab eo delegatus," &c., can bless those objects by merely using the "In nomine Patris," &c., for a form? We answered that no form, not even the "In nomine Patris," &c., is required; and, moreover, that it is not necessary to sprinkle the beads, or medals, or crosses with holy water. All that is necessary, we added, is to make the sign of the cross over the object.

Now, the formula referred to in the question is the one by which the faculty is given of attaching the Apostolic

and Bridgetine indulgences to the ordinary beads, and to attach these indulgences no form is necessary.

It is different with the Dominican rosary. For this there is a prescribed form of blessing, and it is also necessary to sprinkle the beads with holy water. But the power of indulgencing the Dominican rosary is not given in the formula "Indulgentiae quas summus Pontifex."

The difficulty has occurred to our respected correspondent by supposing that the only indulgenced beads or chaplets of the Blessed Virgin are the beads or Rosary of St. Dominic. This is not the case. The indulgences which may be attached to the ordinary beads or rosary are of three kinds—namely, the Apostolic indulgences, the Bridgetine indulgences, and the Dominican indulgences.

To attach the Apostolic and Bridgetine indulgences to the ordinary beads of five decades, it is only necessary for one who has the requisite faculties to make over it the sign of the cross, nor is it a condition for gaining these indulgences that the person saying the rosary should meditate on the mysteries.[1] Now this power of attaching the Apostolic and Bridgetine indulgences is what is usually granted to priests who apply at Rome for the faculty of blessing beads, and it is this also which the bishop ordinarily gives as the delegate of the Pope.

For the blessing of the Dominican rosary a special form and the use of holy water are, as we have said, necessary; and meditation on the mysteries is also necessary, when possible, on the part of him who uses it. The power of imparting the Dominican blessing is usually obtained from the General of the Dominicans, or one of the Dominican Fathers who is duly deputed to give it.

We are much obliged to our respected correspondent for presenting us with the opportunity of removing a possible misconception regarding this matter from the minds of any of our readers.

[1] 1°. Quando Coronis B. V. M. de licentia S. Sedis Apostolicae applicata fuit benedictio cum Indulgentiis Divae Birgittae nuncupatis, fideles illas Coronas recitantes tenenturne meditari quindecim Mysteria D. N. J. C. ut Indulgentias percipere valeant?

S. Cong. Ind. resp.:—*Negative.*

2°. Daturne eadem obligatio Mysteria meditandi, quando Coronis applicata fuit benedictio cum Indulgentiis ordinariis?

S. C. Ind. resp.:—Negative, si benedictio respiciat Indulgentias consuetas, quae citantur ut in elencho ex Typographia R.C.A., anno 1831 edito.

Affirmative, si coronae benedicantur cum Indulgentiis pro recitatione Rosarii." 1 July, 1839. (CDXCI.)

II.

How to know when Prayers composed in nearly the same words are considered to be different.

In the Office of St. Martha (July 29th), a commemoration is to be made of the titular saint of our Church, St. Teresa. Can the prayer *Exaudi nos* be repeated for each saint? I ask because there are a few words more in the prayer for St. Teresa then in that taken from the Common of Virgins. Substantially the prayers seem to be the same.

The prayer *Exaudi nos* may be repeated, because the clause to which you refer (*ita coelestis ejus doctrinae pabulo nutriamur*), renders the petition in the prayer of St. Teresa different from the petition in the prayer taken from the Common.

It is true that the mere difference in a few words in two prayers does not make the prayers themselves different, if the same idea is expressed in the first or thanksgiving portion of the prayer, and the same request grounded on the same motives presented in the second or petition portion. For example, the prayer of St. Matthew, which runs thus: *Beati Apostoli et Evangelistae Matthaei, Domine, praecibus adjuvemur, ut, &c.*, is considered to be identical with the prayer of St. Joseph:—*Sanctissimae genitricis Sponsi, quaesumus, Domine, meritis adjuvemur, ut, &c.* So also the prayer of SS. Philip and James is regarded as identical with the *Deus qui nos annua* from the Common of several martyrs, though the former prayer has towards the end *accendamur exemplis* where the latter has *instruamur.*[1]

On the other hand, a word or two may suffice to make the prayers different when they serve to alter the special virtue or grace commemorated in the first or thanksgiving part of the prayer, or the request or the grounds on which the request is made in the latter part. For instance, the second prayer from the Common of a Martyr-Pontiff is considered to be different from the first prayer for a Confessor non-Pontiff, though the only difference in the wording is that the former ends, *ut cujus natalitia colimus, de ejusdem etiam protectione gaudeamus.* and the latter, *ut cujus natalitia colimus, etiam actiones imitemur.*[2]

[1] Guyetus. *Lib. III. cap. ii. Quaest. I. vii.* [2] *Ibid*

III.

The Conclusion to the prayers in the Mass, Office, and Benediction, of the Most Holy Sacrament.

How are the prayers in the Mass and Office of the Blessed Sacrament to be concluded? The missal gives, "Qui vivas et regnas." In one case I saw, "Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre." I would request you to specify how they are concluded on the feast of Corpus Christi; in Votive Masses, in the Forty Hours' Prayer, at Benediction, and in the Office. Is the conclusion to be different in the Mass, Office, and Benediction? The priests here hold different opinions on the matter, and follow them in practice.

The conclusion for the Mass and Office is, "Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen." This holds for the Mass on all occasions, that is, for Corpus Christi and for the Votive Mass.

On the occasion of the Quarant' Ore, when the prayers are sung in the church after the Litanies and Procession, the prayer of the Blessed Sacrament, *Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili, &c.*, is not followed immediately by any conclusion; but the conclusion to the last of the prayers, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*, will be the long one—viz., "Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, &c."

The conclusion to the *Deus qui nobis sub sacramento*, at the ordinary Benediction ceremony will always be, "Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum." The Sacred Congregation has decided this point.

"An Oratio *Deus qui nobis sub Sacramento mirabili* concludi debeat per verba," "Qui vivis et regnas *in saecula*," seu "Qui vivis regnas *per omnia saecula* saeculorum?"

S.R.C. resp. Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.—29 *Mart.*, 1851 (3152).

IV.

The Ninth Lesson in the Office of the Dead.

When a priest presiding at an Office for the Dead reads the ninth lesson, how soon before reading it does he put on the stole? Does he take the cope also? After reading the ninth lesson does he continue to wear cope and stole until the end of the prayers at Lauds, or does he lay them aside as soon as he has read the ninth lesson, and take them again for the prayers at the end of Lauds?

It is nowhere prescribed that the priest presiding at the Office should read the ninth lesson. Some rubricists,

[1] GARDELLINI. *Commen. ad Instruc. Clement.* ss. xxiii. nn. 22–27.

for instance, Martinucci, forbid the practice. If he reads it, the clergy in choir are to remain seated the while.

In case the presiding priest read the ninth lesson, it is nowhere prescribed that he should put on for the purpose either cope or stole. There is no reason why he should do so.

If the Office was preceded immediately by the ceremony of conveying the corpse from the house to the church, the Sacred Congregation has decided that the priest may continue to wear during the Office the cope and stole, or the stole only, which he wore at the other function. But this is only a permission.

Dub. IV. "Utrum parochus pro deferendo cadavere in ecclesiam possit accipere stolam et Pluviale nigri coloris? Utrum in Exequiis sacerdos qui stolam, vel etiam Pluviale nigri coloris assumpserit pro deferendo cadavere in ecclesiam, possit stolam et Pluviale nigri coloris retinere ad canendum Nocturnum Officii mortuorum aut Vesperas mortuorum, si in casu necessitatis Exequiae vespere fiant, quum immediate cantantur."

S.R.C. resp. "Posse."

Dub. V. "Utrum in die III., VII., XXX., et Anniversaria, caeterisque aliis diebus, sacerdos assumere possit Stolam et Pluviale ab initio Officii mortuorum quod cantatur ante Missam et quatenus negative:

Dubium VI. Utrum teneatur assumere stolam vel Pluviale pro recitandis precibus in fine Nocturni, quum ob rationabilem causam Laudes recitari non possunt.

S.R.C. resp.

Ad. v., "Posse."

Ad. vi., "Non teneri."

12 July, 1854 (5208).

We treated this question at some length in the RECORD, vol. I., pages 626, 635.

V.

Incense used at the Absolutio after a Missa Cantata de Requiem.

Seeing that incense is not allowed, without a special Indult, at a Missa Cantata, I should wish to know whether incense may be used at the *Libera me, Domine*, in the Absolution ceremony, after a Missa Cantata de requiem?

Yes; the incensation is one of the ceremonies prescribed for the Absolution, and should not be omitted whenever this function is celebrated.[1]

[1] MARTINUCCI, lib. III., cap. vi. VAVASEUR, vol. I., part vii., sect. II., cap. v., art. III., nn. 300, 301.

This ceremony of the Absolution is allowed in small churches after a Low Mass *de requiem*, and the rubrics even direct us not to omit this function on the occasion of a funeral service, even though the Office for the Dead and the Mass be not celebrated.[1] De Conny writes,[2] "Il faut noter que l'absoute, avec le *Non intres*, &c., et tout ce qui suit doit toujours se faire, lors meme qu'on ne celebrerait pas la Messe ou qu'on ne chanterait pas l'office."

VI.

The "De profundis" and the "Non intres" in the Burial Service.

If the body be interred on Monday, and the Office and High Mass be celebrated on Tuesday, ought the *De profundis* to be said at the end of Lauds, and the *Non intres* before the *Libera* ?

The general rule is that the *De profundis* is to be said in the Office for the Dead, except on All Souls' Day and on the *dies depositionis;* and that the prayer *Non intres* is restricted to the *dies depositionis.*

If the body has been buried, *ob causam rationabilem*, before the Mass and Office have been celebrated for the deceased—that is to say, if, owing to the danger of spreading the infectious disease of which the person died, or some other similar grave cause, the body has to be buried before the usual time, and previous to the day appointed for the obsequies, we think that the Mass and Office on the day after burial may be regarded as the celebrated on the *dies depositionis*, and would, consequently, be ruled by the rubrics respecting that day as to the saying of the *De profundis* and the *Non intres.*

In other circumstances the rubric is clear and needs no commentary.

VII.

The Position of the Clergy in Choir at the "Domine non sum dignus" in a solemn Requiem Mass.

Ought the priests in choir, at a solemn Mass for the dead, kneel when the celebrant says the "Domine non sum dignus?"

The priests in choir are standing at this time. The rubric directs the clergy in choir to kneel at the prayers (including the Post-communion) and from the beginning of the Canon till the *Pax Domini* inclusive. After the *Pax Domini* they rise.

[1] Exsequiarum Ordo. [2] *Ceremonial Romain*, cap. xxi.

VIII.

When the Priest is to cross the Stole on his Breast.

When the priest uses the stole out of Mass, when is it to be crossed at the breast, and when not crossed?

The priest crosses the stole when it is worn over the alb; he does not cross it when it is worn over the surplice.

IX.

Rev. Dear Sir,—I would feel much obliged if you would kindly answer the following questions in the December number of the Record:—

1. Is it lawful for a priest, on descending the altar after Mass, to kneel on the lowest step and say some prayers, for instance, the "Angelus" or the Litany?

M. O'C.

Yes. There is no rubric forbidding this practice.

2. I am frequently requested to announce from the altar the name of the person for whom I am about to offer Mass, and to ask the prayers of the congregation for the repose of the soul of the deceased. Is it lawful to make such an announcement? In case you answer in the affirmative, please state when should such an announcement be made—whether on the way from the sacristy to the altar, or after arranging the chalice on the corporal, or before I begin Mass.

M. O'C.

It is quite lawful to make such an announcement.

It may be made at any convenient time before you begin Mass; either before you come to the altar fully vested for Mass, or as soon as you have arranged the chalice on the altar.

R. Browne.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

Parental Guardianship and the Civil Law.

Dear Sir,—The annexed reflections on the important question of the guardianship of children, are submitted with much diffidence, rather with a view of eliciting information on a subject of great difficulty and complexity, than with any idea of imparting it. The only authority claimed for them are the writer's notes, during a protracted missionary experience, of several judicial decisions bearing on this question of guardianship, in some of which he has been obliged to take a painful personal interest.

In considering this important question, it is essential to note at the outset, that the relations of parents to their children, are not an *ownership*, conferring absolute control or unlimited power of disposal, or subordinating, as in cases of ownership, the interests of the child to those of the parent; but a *guardianship*, or an intrusting of the interests of the child to the control and authority of the parents for the sole purpose and with the sole end of being safeguarded by them. In accordance with the principle that the means must be subordinate to the end, the civil law, as well as the law of nature, assumes, that whenever the parental control or guardianship comes into collision with, or becomes antagonistic to the well-being or interests of the child, the former must yield to the latter, and either be abrogated or modified, in so far as the interests of the child may demand. Bearing this principle in mind, we shall proceed briefly to note, what are the parental rights or rights of guardianship—first, during the life of the father; secondly, on the death of the father; and thirdly, what are the legal rights of the mother when the father dies without testamentary or other legal provision for the guardianship of his children. As regards the first contingency, it may be set down as an undoubted truism, that the civil law recognises the father as the supreme, and practically the sole repository of parental authority: so much so that, at least after the completion of the period of nurture, or seven years, he alone, in the case of his legitimate children, has the legal right to order, direct, or control their education whether religious or secular. He can exercise this legal right without the consent, and even despite the opposition of the mother; and, *long as it endures*, is limited only in its exercise by the principle already stated, viz., when it becomes incompatible with the well-being or interests of the child. This incompatibility of parental control on the one hand, and the interests of the children on the other, have been judicially decided to exist, whenever, in the matter of religious education, the child is found to have imbibed such fixed religious principles, that an effort to alter or disturb them, in compliance with the wish of the parent, would probably eventuate in upsetting or destroying all religious faith in the mind of the child. In such cases the courts have subordinated

the authority of the parent to the interests of the child, and have accordingly directed the child to be continued in the religious faith whose principles it has already fixedly imbibed. (Longfield v. Purcell, Ir. Chan.) There is no legal decision as to what age a child may be deemed competent to imbibe such fixed religious principles. While in one case in England, a child of nine years was decreed to be so competent, in other cases in Ireland children of eleven or twelve were decided to be incompetent, or at least not to have done so fixedly. (Muder, minor, Ir. Chan.) This authority of fathers to direct and control the education of their legitimate children is extinguished in two ways: first, by process or lapse of time, which by a decision of the Queen's Bench in French *v.* French, is decided to be, in the case of boys, fourteen years complete, and in the case of girls sixteen years complete. At those ages respectively all *coercive* authority on the part of parents, whether father or mother, ceases absolutely; and the child, whether boy or girl, is free to select its own religion, as well as its own guardian. The same result, or extinguishment of his right to control the religious education of his child, is brought about, in the second place, by *waiver;* or in other words, a father by willingly consenting to his child being brought up for a number of years in a religious faith different from his own, is held to have relinquished or abandoned his right in the matter, and has been decided, even in one case of a child only six years old, to have thereby legally forfeited it. Whether a father can, by deed or settlement, divest himself, *by anticipation,* of a right not yet existing, as he certainly can, by waiver, of one already existent, is an important question which has not been *judicially decided;* although several judicial *dicta* have been pronounced adverse to such a power of divestment, notably in Ellis *v.* Ellis. (Eng. Chan.). So far we have dealt with the authority of a father while living; we shall now consider what control he can exercise over his children after his death. Subject to the limitations already indicated, it is quite certain that a father has the legal power to continue after death the same authority he possessed during life; and to that end, can appoint testamentary guardians of his children, who may or may not include his wife; and can delegate to them, all the authority he possessed when living, to be exercised by them, with or without the consent or control of the mother. Further, a father has not merely the power of doing this by will or deed, but in the matter of religious education his verbal directions when dying, will be given legal effect to by the courts of equity and law, whenever such directions are proved to have been given.

This right of testamentary disposition on the part of the father is confined to his legitimate children. In the case of illegitimate children, though the civil law compels him to maintain those that are proved to be his, at least during infancy or incompetency, it, at the same time, accords him no rights of guardianship whatsoever in their regard. In this case the sole legal guardian

is the mother. So also, it is well to observe, that although his rights of coercive control terminate at the ages of 14 and 16 respectively, for boys and girls, his liability to provide *necessaries* for both continues during the whole period of minority, or until 21st year complete, subject to the limitation just indicated.

In reference to the parental rights of mothers, it may be stated as established:—

1st, That all mothers, not legally disqualified, have the right of nurture, that is the right to the custody, care, and personal control of their children up to and including their seventh year, when the right passes unrestricted into the hands of the father.

2nd, That mothers, *as mothers*, possess the rights of parental guardianship in two other cases or contingencies only. The first, when there is question of illegitimate children, of whom the mother is sole legal guardian; and that in all cases where a legally valid marriage cannot be proved or established. The second case is when the father dies intestate, or without having at least given directions as to the education of his children. In this contingency, the civil law recognises the surviving mother as the sole natural guardian of the children, and transmits to her all rights, authority, and control previously vested in the father. In no other contingency that I am aware of does the mother, *as such*, possess the rights of guardianship.

I shall conclude this somewhat crude digest, by merely indicating the practical conclusions to which my observations point. First—the imperative necessity, in cases of mixed marriages, where the father is a Catholic, of his making a will appointing Catholic guardians for his children, and containing explicit directions that they shall be educated in the Catholic faith. This will, unless it also contain provisions disposing of property, does not require to be formally proved, but becomes operative immediately on the death of the testator. Second, where, in such marriages, the mother is a Catholic, the only legal expedient at her command, for securing the religion of her children, is, as already indicated, the very doubtful one, of having a provision to that effect inserted in the marriage settlements. Any pledge or promise, however solemnly given, before or after marriage, has been again and again judicially decided, to have no binding effect in law or equity. And this disposition of the civil law in Ireland, raises a most important question, as to how far we can comply with a condition which the Holy See always requires as an indispensable pre-requisite to the granting of dispensations for mixed marriages. Nor is this difficulty diminished by the notorious fact, that such promises or agreement, too often ignored during the life of both, are all but invariably disregarded, whenever, in such marriages, the non-Catholic parent survives the Catholic. And yet this is the very contingency such promises are mainly intended to meet.

Faithfully yours,

P. Canon O'Neill, Clontarf.

II.

The "Angelus."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

Very Rev. Sir,—In reference to your correspondent's questions in your last issue about the "Angelus," and your replies thereto, I take the liberty of making the following remarks:—

The time and mode of sounding the "Angelus," as practised in Rome, is, I believe, as follows, but whether they have any effect upon the Indulgences I am not prepared to say.

(1). *Time*—6 o'clock a.m.; 12 o'clock noon, and *half an hour after sunset.*

(2). *Mode*—Thus: 3 strokes, 4 strokes, 5 strokes, and after a short pause a single stroke to denote the passing away of time.

I am not aware that there is any peculiar manner of ringing the 3 o'clock bell on Friday, but I believe *five single strokes* to be the correct way.—Yours faithfully in Christ, O.

[The mode of sounding the Angelus does not affect the Indulgence. We have already stated in what sense the time is a condition.—R. B.]

III.

Testimonial Letters.

Very Rev. and Dear Sir,—All who are interested and concerned have reason to thank the Venerable Bishop of Ardagh for the answers his Lordship has obtained from the Propaganda respecting the testimonials required by a Bishop ordaining a subject of his own according to the prescriptions to that effect in the "Constitutio Apost. Sedis."

It is now certain (1) that a Bishop is precluded from ordaining a subject of his own, who has been out of his diocese a sufficient time to incur a canonical impediment, unless the subject present testimonial letters from the Bishop of the diocese where he has been, and neither the Superior of a Seminary, where he has been studying, nor any one else, but the Bishop, is competent to grant such letters, except by delegation, on the part of the Bishop. This is strictly in accordance with the terms and tenor of the enactment in question.

It is certain (2) that the time to be deemed sufficient for incurring an impediment in another diocese is six months, or upwards.

But side by side with the first point remains a grave question, which asks if the Bishop who is precluded from conferring orders on his own subject in the case supposed, is thereby precluded from granting *dimissorial letters* to him for ordination by another Bishop, and is the other Bishop precluded also from ordaining him for want of the testimonial letters referred to, notwithstanding the dimissorial letters of his own Bishop, if granted to him?

To examine this question, it may be well to recite the enactment of the "Constitutio Apost. Sedis" on the point. It is as follows:

"Suspensinem per annum ab ordinum administratione ipso jure incurrunt ordinantes alienum subditum etiam sub praetextu beneficii statim conferendi, aut jam collati, sed minime sufficientis, absque ejus episcopi litteris dimissorialibus, vel etiam subditum proprium, qui alibi tanto tempore moratus sit, ut canonicum impedimentum contrahere ibi potuerit, absque ordinarii ejus loci litteris testimonialibus."

It is contended that a Bishop's jurisdiction is not put under inhibition by either the terms or tenor of this enactment, so as to be precluded from granting dimissorials to his own subjects to be ordained by another Bishop. The enactment says nothing of dimissorials in the case, and it is, therefore, asked, how can it be adduced to deprive the Bishop of the right of granting them? The sole restriction is as to *himself ordaining his own subject.*

But it is argued, on the other side, that the Bishop not being allowed to ordain his own subject, neither may he empower another Bishop to ordain him according to the trite axiom, "nemo dat, quod non habet," and because it would be incongruous for the Bishop to say to another Bishop "I cannot ordain this young man though he be my own subject, but I pray you to ordain him for me."

Against this pleading it is argued that it deals in a confusion of ideas mixing up the power of Orders with that of jurisdiction, and it is maintained, that the Bishop, if he grant dimissorials in the case, exercises only the power of jurisdiction, which is not affected by the "Constitutio Apost. Sedis" at all, and thereby authorizes the other Bishop to exercise his own power of Orders, which he has himself, and which is in no way communicated to him by his brother Bishop. The argument may be illustrated by the example of a Bishop suspended from the exercise of his power of Orders, who, nevertheless, retains jurisdiction to grant dimissorials to his subject to receive Orders at the hands of another Bishop; as it may also be exemplified in the case of a Bishop on his being appointed, though not yet consecrated, and even in the case of a Vicar Capitular after a year's vacancy of the See. In both cases jurisdiction is separated from Orders, the former being allowed its free exercise, whilst the latter is kept under restraint, or does not at all exist, as in the case of the Vicar Capitular.

But it is urged that there is the same reason for requiring testimonial letters in order to grant dimissorials for another Bishop to ordain the subject, as for the Bishop himself of the subject to ordain him.

It is replied that, in the interpretation of Canon Law, you are not allowed to reason *a pari* nor even *a fortiori*, and that you must not argue from case to case in applying an enactment; that the enactment must be confined within its own express terms, and this is to be insisted upon, especially when there is question of restricting official powers of all sorts, on the principle of "Odia

restringenda," as well as other reasons applicable to the matter in hand.

But how does the matter stand as regards the Bishop to whom the candidate for Orders may present dimissorials from his own Bishop in the case supposed: does he incur the penalty pronounced in the enactment above quoted if he ordain such candidate?

It is said "Yes," on the ground that the end and purpose of the law equally affects him. But on the other side, it is said "No," for the reason just stated. The enactment says nothing whatever of him, and besides it is only proper deference sanctioned by the Canon Law towards the Bishop granting dimissorials, for the ordaining Bishop not to go behind these dimissorials, except in a self-evident case.

We see therefore that the difficulties presented by the enactment in question are far from being cleared up, and as long as such doubts remain ought we not conclude that a Bishop, in the case supposed, is free to grant dimissorials to his own subject to be ordained by another Bishop, and that the latter is also free to ordain him notwithstanding the suspension declared by the enactment in question.—Allow me to remain, Very Rev. and dear Sir, very truly yours, A CORRESPONDENT.

[The point raised by our Correspondent is the one on which, as stated in the last number of the RECORD, we hope soon to be able to publish an authoritative decision—ED. I. E. R.]

DOCUMENTS.

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO S. R. E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI MACCABE, ARCHIEPISCOPO DUBLINENSI ET VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS HIBERNIAE EPISCOPIS.

LEO PP. XIII. DILECTE FILI NOSTER, VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Benevolentiae caritas, qua Hibernos complectimur, et cuius augere vim haec ipsa temporum difficultas videtur, Nos adducit, ut rerum vestrarum cursum singulari cura paternoque animo sequamur.—Ex qua tamen cogitatione plus sollicitudinis, quam solatii capimus, quod nondum apud vos rem publicam videre liceat eo, quo vellemus, statu pacatam atque florentem. Nam ex una parte, gravia premunt adhuc incommoda: ex altera, anceps animorum motus ad turbulenta consilia complures temere rapit: nec defuere, qui atroci se hominum caede polluerent, quasi fieri possit ut spes felicitatis publicae in dedecore flagitioque reperiatur.

Harum rerum caussa, Vos, Dilecte Fili Noster, Venerabiles Fratres, non minore quam Nos sollicitudine affectos et antea cognoveramus, et nuper etiam perspeximus ex iis, quae a Vobis in postremo conventu Dublinensi decreta sunt. Communis enim salutis trepidi probe docuistis, quid quemque in tam acri momento, in medioque certamine vitare oporteat.—In quo sane et convenienter muneri episcopali et rei publicae fecistis. Homines enim tunc maxime antistitum suorum indigent consilio, cum, vehementiore aliqua cupiditate acti, emolumenta rerum fallacibus iudiciis vident; ac si quando ad relinquendam honestatem velut impetu quodam feruntur, Episcoporum est, incitatos multitudinis animos temperare, et ad iustitiam necessariamque in omnibus rebus moderationem tempestivis hortationibus revocare. Illud vero optima opportunitate commemoratum a Vobis est divinum praeceptum, quaeri *primum* oportere *regnum Dei et iustitiam eius:* quo iubentur christiani in omni vitae actione atque adeo in civicis etiam rebus salutem suam sempiternam respicere, et prae religione officii mortalia omnia minoris ducere. Haec quidem praescripta servantes, fas est Hibernos fortunae suae afflictae levationem quaerere: fas est et pro iure suo contendere; neque enim existimandum, quod singulis gentibus licet, Hiberniae non licere.—Verumtamen honestate dirigenda utilitas est, ac serio considerandum, caussam quantumvis iustam turpe esse tueri non iuste. Abest vero iustitia cum ab omni vi, tum maxime a societatibus clandestinis, quae per speciem vindicandi iuris illuc ferme evadunt, ut rerum publicarum permoveant statum. Illae quidem quanta animi provisione honesto cuique viro fugiendae sint, sicut non semel Decessores Nostri, Nosque ipsi, ita Vos in conventu Dublinensi opportune monuistis. Nihilominus, his manentibus periculis, erit vigilantiae vestrae idem saepe praecipere, Hibernos universos per sanctitatem catholici nominis, perque ipsam patriae caritatem hortando, nihil ut sibi commune esse velint cum huius generis societatibus: quae et ad ea, quae populus iure petit, nihil prodesse possunt, et nimis saepe ad delinquendum impellunt quos illecebris suis incenderunt. Cum Hiberni homines gestiant, neque id immerito *catholicos* appellari, quod est, uti Augustinus interpretatur, *integritatis custodes et recta sectantes*[1], impleant mensuram nominis, et in ipsa rerum suarum defensione studeant esse quod dicuntur. Meminerint *primam esse libertatem carere criminibus*[2], seque in omni vita sic gerant, ut statutas legibus poenas nemo ipsorum luat *ut homicida, aut fur, aut maledicus, aut alienorum appetitor,*[3]

Par est autem, vestras in populo regendo episcopales curas Cleri totius adiuvari virtute, labore, industria.—Quam ad rem quae de sacerdotibus praesertim iunioribus constituenda censuistis recta et convenientia temporibus iudicamus. Et enim sacerdotes, si unquam alias, certe in istis procellis popularibus solertes et operosos conservandi ordinis adiutores esse necesse est. Et quia

[1] Lib. *De vera Religione*, n. 9.
[2] S. Augustinus tract. XLI *in Ioan.* n. 10. [3] 1 Petr. IV, 15.

ut optima quisque opinione floret, ita in aliorum animos maxime potest, eniti debent ut approbationem hominum moveant gravitate, constantia, moderatione factorum atque dictorum; nec vero agere quidquam, quod a prudentia aut a studio placandorum animorum alienum videatur. Facile autem intelligitur, talem fore Clerum, qualem temporum ratio postulat, si sapienti disciplina optimisque praeceptis fuerit mature institutus. Nam ut Patres Tridentini monuerunt. *adolescentium aetas, nisi a teneris annis ad pietatem et religionem informetur numquam perfecte ac sine maximo ac singulari propemodum Dei omnipotentis auxilio in disciplina ecclesiastica perseveret.*[1]

Hac via et ratione futurum arbitramur, ut Hibernia prosperam rerum conditionem, quam expetit, nemine violando, consequatur. Etenim, sicut alias Vobis significavimus, Hibernis aequa postulantibus, satis facturos, qui rerum publicarum administrationi praesunt, confidimus. Quod non solum veritas suadet, sed spectata etiam ipsorum prudentia civilis, cum dubitari non possit Hiberniae incolumitatem cum tranquillitate totius imperii esse coniunctam.—Nos interim hac spe adducti minime intermittemus Hibernam gentem consiliorum Nostrorum auctoritate iuvare, et incensas studio et caritate preces ad Deum fundere, ut populum tot iam virtutum et nobilitatum laude propitius respiciat, compositisque fluctibus, optata tandem pace et prosperitate muneretur. Horum autem caelestium munerum auspicem et praecipuae benevolentiae Nostrae testem Vobis, Dilecte Fili Noster, Venerabiles Fratres, Clero ac populo universo Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 1 Augusti An. MDCCCLXXXII. Pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The D'Altons of Crag. A Story of '48 *and* '49. By R. B. O'Brien, D.D., Dean of Limerick, &c. Dublin: J. Duffy & Sons. 1882.

The Dean of Limerick has special qualifications and advantages as a writer of historical novels, which he has not failed to turn to good account in his most recent production now before us. While most writers, who take such tasks in hand, have to read up authorities, search amid records, and master as best they can the characteristics of the period of which they intend to treat, that they may throw their minds, and if so be their feelings, into it, the Dean has the advantage of having lived in the midst of the scenes he describes so well, and has in the course of a long, active, and eventful life seen history grow up around him; and that not only

[1] Sess. XXIII. *De Reform.* cap. 18.

in its present phase, which is cotemporary for all of us, but in those which, if not long passed in time, have by the rapid onward march of events become almost ancient history to the men of the present day. Persons and scenes which for a brief period were all in all, have been, the one put aside and the other dimmed by those which hurried to take their place; and the eyes and memories of men have grown wearied and dazed by the quick succession, and have well-nigh forgotten the exciting recent past, in the noise and passion of the still more insisting present.

Of course History will come in time to arrange all in due order, and to assign to each hero and event the fitting place in its record, but this will be too late for the present generation which, if it must of necessity lose the guidance of such matured judgments, has at any rate the consolation of knowing that the rapid sketches contemporaries can give have more life and attraction, and somehow perhaps are more truly history than the cold and ponderous volumes which claim exclusively its name.

Living amidst such rapidly passing events, our author has had the additional advantage of taking no small or insignificant part in them; advantages these which he has qualifications for turning to the best account for the benefit and amusement of his readers. Mixing, as an accomplished priest alone can do, on most intimate terms with every class of society, with quick eye to observe and well-trained mind to grasp each varying phase, and the significance of seemingly trivial events, the venerable author can photograph pictures which imagination could hardly supply, or any amount of reading realise. Hence the especial value of the work before us.

The D'Altons of Crag, a Story of '48 and '49, the author tells us, "can hardly be called a work of the imagination, because every one of the main facts has had a real existence," and that the end of such work is the one so successfully aimed at, we have also the Dean's assurance that "of every single scene the author was a witness, and in every one of them an actor." So may he well claim as one at least of his objects in writing the Story, "to leave an authenticated record of times, when all classes were dreadfully tried, and when honest enthusiasm, that could not bear to see the sum of human suffering, ventured everything to better or remove it."

In this kind spirit is the "Story" told. There is that deep sympathy for suffering which only personal intercourse can develop, that genial humour so racy of the soil, and which somehow finds fitting place even amid the darkest scenes, lubricating, so to speak, the aching limbs, and gently removing the friction which it is too hard to bear; and with all and above all, that love of justice and abhorrence of all that is false and vile, which marks the well-trained mind and unpolluted heart of a true priest of Holy Church.

There is no need to detail the plot or to dwell upon the several characters. The reader must turn to the "Story" for himself; for no description could do justice to what is so much more than an exciting

tale, and which owes its charm quite as much to the reality of the persons introduced as to the strange scenes in which they take a part: and to this end the author uses to the full his privilege of glancing backward behind the famine time, and so of bringing us into the presence of some great men of an antecedent period.

This is the third tale which the Dean has given us, and if we might venture on a suggestion it would be that he would add another to his Trilogy, and give us his personal recollections of a still more recent period, which perhaps might, in more respects than one, follow the example of Classic Antiquity. B.

Uncle Pat's Cabin; or, Life among the Labourers of Ireland. By W. C. Upton.

The labourers of Ireland owe a debt of gratitude to the author of this book. What he has done for them is to let in the light of day more fully on their grievances, claims and feelings. It were idle to expect that, in the present order of Divine Providence, things could be so arranged as that every one would in this life be requited precisely according to the measure of his industry; but the system of wholesale oppression to which Irish labour has been subjected for the sake of pampering a class of non-resident spendthrifts is too gross an outrage on the acknowledged rights of human nature, to withstand much longer the force of public and general remonstrance. The case of the labourers is fully stated by Mr. Upton. His book displays extensive reading, much experience, and close observation. A tendency to repetition seems to be the most objectionable feature. P. O'D.

The Groundwork of the Christian Virtues: A Course of Lectures by Bishop Ullathorne. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

Like everything from Dr. Ullathorne's pen, the "Groundwork of the Christian Virtues" is replete with solid piety and learning. As might be expected from its name, this work deals with a great variety of matter in the sixteen Lectures of which it is composed; and yet unity of purpose is perfectly preserved throughout the entire volume. The Lectures are so many chapters in the fundamental treatise of saintly science,—Humility. Dr. Ullathorne's book is in point of fact a philosophy of Humility, explaining its conditions, nature, and practice. Lecture VIII., on the "Divine Master of Humility," and Lecture XII. on the "World without Humility," are particularly readable, and their perusal would serve a certain class of modern unbelievers, who, though devoid of any adequate idea of this purely Christian virtue, make show of believing in the humility of Christ, and of being able to trace thereto the success of His Mission. P. O'D.

[Books received for notice will be acknowledged in our next number.—Ed. I. E. R.]

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